# A COMMENTARY

ON THE

# ACTS OF THE APOSTLES,

BY

C. M. DU VEIL, D.D.

EDITED FOR

The Hanserd Knollys Society,

WITH AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,

BY THE

REV. F. A. COX, D.D., LL.D.

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# HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

Among the various classes of knowledge, that which relates to what may be denominated the biography of the mind must be regarded as one of the most important. By this expression it is intended to make a clear distinction between the mental and physical phenomena, which are in general blended together in the term biography. Where a man was born, in what schools he was instructed, what profession or trade, if any, he followed, what connexions he formed, in what sphere he lived, where he died, with many other particulars respecting any notorious individual, possess a certain degree of interest; but incomparably less than what concerns the habits of his mind, the processes of his thought, and the formation of his character.

In contemplating some minds we look upon a dead level, a sort of quiet lake, so enclosed and contracted as never to have been ruffled by the inward stirrings of anxious thought, or the winds and storms of controversy. There is little to discover and little to instruct. There is a surface smooth enough, but too flat and tame to be truly interesting; and though they may excite to approval and even some admiration, they fade from the memory. Others there are, whose peculiarities are such, or who have passed through such courses of thought and action, as to awaken the utmost attention, and claim a scrupulous inquiry. We ask, What led them to the extraordinary changes they underwent—what influenced at this or that time, their decisions—what altered their decisions—what fixed and unfixed them in their revolutions of sentiment—by what motives were they urged, and where at last they landed?

There may be a great apparent similarity between caprice and principle; yet are they widely different. Both admit of great changes; but changes upon different grounds; and nicely to distinguish these differences is a pro-



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gress in the science of mental philosophy. In regard to religion this is of the utmost moment, and must necessarily regulate our contempt or admiration. The researches of a mind really engaged in the pursuit of truth are worthy of the greatest attention; its struggles claim our sympathy; its progress on this great voyage of discovery, as we may say, may assist our own inquiries, or strengthen our own faith.

Few persons, we believe, hold important truth firmly who have not experienced some, it may be very considerable, alterations of opinion. Light has broken in gradually upon them, errors have been for a time tenaciously held; but the day of their knowledge has often been the brighter for the mists of the early morning. All minds indeed are not thus, or similarly constituted; but we must make allowances for those that are, and gain this general instruction from their history, to look well and often to the foundations, that we may secure the stability of our faith.

These remarks have been elicited by a view of the peculiar career of the author of the following Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. But of this we know little more than the general outline. Memoranda, letters, and documents of a similar kind which would have interested us, do not appear to have survived the wreck of time. While these might be very well dispensed with in ordinary cases, their almost entire absence is to be greatly regretted in the present instance, as the mind of Du Veil passed through many and remarkable changes. These he had the nobleness to avow as they occurred, though the particular processes of thought are not recorded; sufficient evidence however being afforded that they were not the result of a spirit of vacillation, or of imbecility of judgment, but rather of patient inquiry, deliberate reflection, and profound conscientiousness.

With what scanty materials of his life we are furnished we shall now proceed to supply our readers; and as they chiefly relate to vicissitudes of opinion, they will the better prepare us for duly appreciating the present, which is among the last of his critical compositions.

Carolus Maria de Veil, or as it is frequently written Duveil, was born of Jewish parents, and was educated accordingly. His writings furnish ample evidence of his intimate acquaintance with the rites and ceremonies of that people. Endowed with a strong and inquiring mind, however, the result of a careful investigation of the prophetical parts of the Old Testament was, an irresistible conviction that Jesus Christ was the true Messiah; a discovery which induced him without hesitation to embrace Christianity. His father violently resented this departure from his educational faith, and even attempted to kill him with a sword; from which danger he was only rescued

by the prompt interference of the by-standers. This early discipline in the school of persecution was probably by no means unfavourable to his character; but on the contrary tended to brace his mind to more vigorous research for the assurance of his principles, and to prepare him for the brave endurance of contumely and sufferings for righteousness' sake.

From Judaism he passed over to Roman Catholicism; that being, it seems, the first form of the Christian faith to which he was introduced; probably by some accidental associations. His literature and great abilities soon rendered him distinguished among the members of that community which he had newly chosen, and he figured as a preacher of no little celebrity among them in the Gallican church. In a short time he received the diploma of Doctor in Divinity from the University of Anjou. With characteristic zeal he took occasion, on publishing a commentary on the Gospels of Mark and Luke, to plead for the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome, which he accomplished in so satisfactory a manner to that body, that he was immediately invited to a controversy with the Huguenots, who were at the time the great antagonists of popery in France.

The investigations of De Veil into the grounds of difference between Catholics and Protestants, which were pursued with no little diligence and research, for the purpose of refuting the latter, issued, however, in his own conviction of the fallacy of those dogmas which he had hitherto maintained. He was not a man to hesitate about the avowal of his sentiments; but he deemed it prudent to flee from the fury of those whom his change at once converted into persecuting enemies. It may be thought that it was his duty rather to have braved martyrdom than to have taken to flight, and we must confess, while unacquainted with the circumstances which might have justified, or or least modified, any condemnation of his apparent cowardice, we should have honoured above no ordinary estimate the great act of sacrificing his reputation and his life upon the altar of his God. He was not, however, it appears, in this the incipient state of his new faith, strong enough in his principles to die for them.

Escaping to Holland, he abjured popery, and soon hastened to England, where he was introduced to new and important associations. In what manner he became acquainted with Dr. Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester; Dr. Sharp, dean of Norwich; Dr. Tillotson, dean of St. Paul's, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Patrick, dean of Peterborough, afterwards bishop of Ely; Dr, Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph's; Dr. Compton, bishop of London, a munificent patron of learned men; and many other clergymen of eminence, we are not informed; only that these were his patrons and

friends. The result was naturally that he should be admitted into the orders of the English church; and he was appointed chaplain and tutor in a noble family.

In a revised edition of a Commentary on Matthew and Mark, published in A.D. 1670, he furnishes some account of the alterations he had made, and of himself. This work had issued from the press six years previously, and contained a very literal explanation of the words, which was conformable to his usual method. In composing it, he states that he availed himself both of what he had found in searching into the monuments of antiquity, as transmitted to us by the fathers, and of what he had himself observed during a careful examination of ancient and modern writers. The Hebrew rites and the idioms of the language, among which, he emphatically remarks, he was *born, instructed, and brought up*, afforded no small degree of light, in aid of his explanations. At that time he was a public teacher of Divinity in the University of Anjou, and was therefore induced, probably with a particular view to his immediate pupils, to intersperse in his Commentary several dissertations on the Divine doctrine and history of the Christian religion. These abounded with defences of the superstitions and erroneous dogmas of the Romish church, and "therefore," says he, "since God has delivered me from that dismal darkness out of his abundant mercy, it is fitting that I should use the greatest diligence to have this my Commentary reprinted, that I may therein publicly oppose the errors which I have defended; and here and there briefly explain the weighty reasons which God employed to dispel the darkness of my mind." He further proceeds to inform the reader that he had made considerable alterations even where the controversy was not concerned, so as almost to make a new book, as well as a new edition. What he means by intimating that "now, whatever writers he quoted, he quoted *truly*," we are at some loss to divine. Are we to understand that he had formerly, under the influence of papistical prejudice, and Jesuitical contrivance, to enforce an error, willingly perverted the words of scripture, by distorting and falsifying learned authorities? If so, it is a sad suicidal charge, yet not without its sanction by even eminent names in the annals of those bitter religious controversies which agitated former times. These culpable perversions have, alas! too often evinced that passion has for a season over-mastered principle, in ecclesiastical conflicts; but they are now, we have reason to believe, of very rare occurrence.

In the year 1679, De Veil published his "Literal Explication of Solomon's Song," dedicating it, according to the fashion of the age, to Sir

Joseph Williamson, a privy counsellor and president of the Royal Society. This work became very popular both among the clergy at home, and the reformed churches abroad, who, in letters, urged the author to engage in similar expositions of other portions of the Scriptures. Accordingly, in 1680, he published his "Literal Exposition of the Minor Prophets," which was dedicated to Lord Heneage Finch, Baron of Daventry, lord high chancellor, privy counsellor, and keeper of the royal seal.

The celebrity of this performance paved the way for another important alteration of his religious opinions. The Bishop of London was so gratified by it, and so highly estimated the commentator's abilities, that he studiously encouraged him by every means, and gave him free access to his library at all times. In that library, the bishop little thought of what would be the consequence of his finding and perusing attentively, some of the writings of the English Baptists, which he very soon began to suspect were in accordance with the word of God. In the bishop's household was a young woman, a servant, who avowed baptist principles, and probably belonged to a baptist church. She was much derided by her fellow servants for her peculiar sentiments, but was no doubt amply repaid by an approving conscience for her faithful adherence to what she deemed scriptural truth and apostolic practice, and by the opportunity she had of obtaining for Du Veil an interview with Hanserd Knollys, at the house of a nobleman where that eminent individual was accustomed frequently to resort. He also became still more intimately acquainted with the Rev. John Gosnold, a man of great learning, whose conversation he found both pleasing and instructive, and who doubtless aided his researches into the Baptist controversy. After some time he was fully convinced on the subject, renounced the principles of Pædobaptism, and joined Mr. Gosnold's community.

His former friends, with the honourable exception of Tillotson, now forsook him, and he had to seek as he could, literary or other employment. He had a mind, however, capable of rising superior to this unhappy sectarianism; but was not improbably led by it to a closer examination of the earliest documents of the Christian church, and thus to confirm his confidence in the sentiments which he had deliberately adopted. Very soon he applied himself to the task of producing his "Literal Explanation of the Acts of the Apostles," in which he takes occasion, with much accuracy of criticism to vindicate the principles and practices of the Baptists. M. Claude, one of the most celebrated and learned of the French Protestants at the time, though a Pædobaptist, wrote the following letter:—

" Sir,—

" I received your Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles which you were pleased to send me, and give you a thousand thanks for the share which you are thus so kind as to afford me in your remembrance, which I have entertained, not only with all due acknowledgment, but also with much joy, as coming from a person who is and ever shall be very dear to me, and for whom I have a most particular esteem. I have perused your Commentary, though it came but lately to my hands, and I have found in it, as in all your other works, the marks of a copious reading, abundance of sense, right reason, and a just and exact understanding; and I do not doubt but that this Commentary will be kindly received by the learned, and prove very useful to all those who apply themselves to understand the Scriptures. This shows you, Sir, not to be idle, and that you manage well the talents God has been pleased to bestow upon you. The public will be very much obliged to you, if you continue, as I hope you will, and which I take the freedom to exhort you to do, to make similar presents. For my own part, I find in it a great edification, and wish with all my heart, it lay in my power to manifest it to you by effectual services. I beseech you to be persuaded of this truth, and that you would preserve me the honour of your friendship, which I shall ever look upon as very much to my advantage. I take my leave, praying God he would continue to pour out upon you his holy benedictions; assuring you that I am,

" Sir,

" Your most humble and most obedient servant,

" CLAUDE."

" Paris, April 15, 1684.

" For Dr. Du Veil, London."

By comparing the Commentaries of Du Veil, and particularly this of the Acts of the Apostles, with others, their real value will be more distinctly seen. This Commentary, like most that he has produced, holds a kind of middle place between those of an elaborate description, and those which, the expression being allowed, we may term more *densely* critical. He does not expatiate on the general truths he discovers for the purpose of spiritual improvement, like Henry; nor interweave theological sentiments or questionings, with vast masses of rabbinical or other foreign literature in the form of long and learned citations like Gill, some of which are, but many of which are not really illustrative; and on the otherh and, he does not, like the German critics, such as Rosenmuller, travel down the rugged path of

critical bye-roads, to the most literal of all literal investigations, holding converse with letters, points, and punctuations : but yet he is sufficiently verbal and minute to make even the unlearned reader acquainted with the meaning of words and phrases, and sufficiently suggestive to indicate the important truths that are to be found in Scripture phraseology. Occasionally, however, he is somewhat more elaborate than even the ordinary expositors ; as for example, in his geographical and historical explanations in the second chapter. His learned references, it will be seen, evince a remarkably extensive acquaintance with writers, both ancient and modern ; and though we might sometimes spare them, they are usually introduced in a manner that shows a mind so replete and overflowing with knowledge, as to prevent the suspicion of their being intended as an ostentatious display. Subsequent commentators have perhaps in one form or another, and one after another, given most of the criticisms to be found in this volume ; but it is to be remembered that our author led the way, and it would not be easy to trace them in other writings in such rich and varied combination.

Among other reasons which might be assigned for carefully and critically studying the Acts of the Apostles, there is one which invests this portion of the sacred volume with attractive peculiarity. It introduces us into the interior of the primitive church. We see Christianity in its first elements, in the primary period of its growth, in the zeal that actuated, the love that united, and the wisdom that guided, under Divine teaching and influence, the regulations made by its earliest and most endowed disciples. We see how they gloried in the cross, took joyfully for Christ's sake the spoiling of their goods, baffled the purposes of their persecutors by an indomitable courage and death-defying adherence to the gospel, abounded in devotion, in faith and in charity, set their faces as a flint against error, steeled their hearts against the fascinations of the world, and wore with exultation the thorny crown which was transferred from their Divine Master to them,— "glorying in tribulation, that the power of Christ might rest upon them." We see in that age of purity and power what may well in this fill us with shame, and stimulate us to a better course. While led to mourn over our deficiencies, let us cultivate their piety, and emulate their example. The grace poured forth upon them, with all its sweetness of spirit and energy of action, our God is still able and willing to impart to us. Let us pray for it ; for these are times which demand the apostles' principles, the martyrs' courage, and the Redeemer's love.

[The Translation of the Dissertation of Spanhemius has been omitted from the present reprint, as it does not appear to have been the work of Dr. Du Veil.]

A Literal

# EXPLANATION

OF THE

# ACTS

OF THE

# Holy Apoſtles.

Written in Latine by *C. M. DuVeil*, D.D.

Now Tranſlated into Engliſh out of a Copy carefully reviewed and corrected by the Author.

To which is added

A Tranſlation of a Learned Diſſertation about *Baptism for the Dead*, 1 Cor. 15. 29. Written in Latine by the Famous *Fridericus Spanhemius Filius.*

John 5. 39. *Search the Scriptures.*

Theodoret on *Ezekiel* 16. *we must ſearch the Scripture Idioms, elſe we cannot attain its ſcope.*

Photius in Biblioth. Cod. 177. *Whatſoever is conſonant to Right Reaſon, & plainly delivered in the Holy Scriptures that alone is to be approved of.*

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*LONDON*, Printed for *Francis Pearſe*, at the *Blew Anchor*, at the Weſt End of St. *Pauls*. 1685.

# THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

## TO THE READER.

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St. Luke gives an account of the most considerable actions of the apostles, especially of Peter and Paul, in that golden book of his, which by the Greeks is commonly called πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων, "the Acts of the Apostles;" by Epiphanius, Hær. 30, τῶν πράξεων τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἡ βίβλος, "the book of the Acts of the Apostles;" Can. 16. Conc. in Trul., αἱ τῶν πράξεων βίβλοι, "the books of the Acts of the Apostles;" by the Latins (if ye except only Hilarius, who, citing this book in his annotations on Matthew, retained the Greek word) it is called the Acts and Deeds of the Apostles. There is scarce any book that treateth of the Christian religion, which so clearly explains the doctrine of truth by examples that cannot be spoke against, and truth of history attending it. And truly there is no other book, save the apostolic epistles, that intermingles these two.

Courteous reader, I here present thee with a commentary on this most excellent book of Luke's, which plainly unfolds the meaning that is wrapt up in the words, and that agreeable to the letter. In composing whereof I have made use of both what I could find in the sacred fountains of the scriptures, and what I have taken notice of in searching out those monuments which the Hebrew rabbis and fathers of the churches have left behind them, and what I have observed in reading over, and carefully examining many and several writers, as well ancient as modern, and what talent of prudence and knowledge God, the donor of all good things, has bestowed upon me.

In this my commentary, as in those which I formerly published on Matthew, Mark, Solomon's Song, Ecclesiastes, and the twelve lesser prophets, I for the most part use the ancient Latin version of the scriptures, as being that which I am best acquainted with: but I always diligently remark what it differs from the original texts, the Hebrew and Greek. I vindicate those places which heretics abuse with some pretence, especially

papists, from their abuse and corruption. I likewise briefly make several profitable observations out of philology, history, geography, and grammar, where I see it necessary either for the confirmation or explication of this sacred history of the Acts of the Apostles. Courteous reader, if thou meetest with anything in these my observations that is skilfully spoken, ascribe that not to me, but to God, the fountain of all goodness; to me only what my hand has not well penned, and what my mind has not well conceived. Moreover, if I have erred in any place, as such cases may easily happen, I neither stubbornly refuse to profess my error, nor to be better instructed. I desire to learn what I am ignorant of, and willingly offer myself to be a scholar to any, provided (to use Jerome's phrase) that he instruct, and do not detract; for there is nothing so easy as for an idle and lazy person to carp at other men's labours and watchings. In the meanwhile, candid reader, peruse my writings, such as they are, and join your earnest prayers to God with mine, that he may make them profitable to his church; which when I shall see performed, I shall never repent of my labours and studies.

Farewell.

*A Letter from the Eminent and Learned Monsieur Claude, to the Author.*

Monsieur,

I received your Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, you were pleased to send me, and give you a thousand thanks for this share you are so kind as to afford me in your remembrance; which I have entertained not only with all due acknowledgment, but also with much joy, as coming from a person who is and ever shall be very dear to me, and for whom I have a most peculiar esteem. I have redused your Commentary, though it came but very lately to my hands, and have found therein, as in all your other works, the marks of a copious reading, abundance of sense, right reason, and just and exact understanding, and I do not doubt but that this Commentary will be kindly received by the learned and prove very useful to all those who apply themselves to understand the Scripture. This shows you, Monsieur, not idle, and that you manage well the talents God has been pleased to bestow upon you. The public will be very much obliged to you, if you continue (as I hope you will, and which I take the freedom to exhort you to) making it such like presents. For my own part I find therein a very great edification, and wish with all my heart it lay in my power to manifest it to you by effectual services. I beseech you to be persuaded of this truth, and that you would preserve me the honour of your friendship, which I shall ever look upon as very much to my advantage. I take my leave, praying God he would continue to pour upon you his holy benedictions, and assuring you that I am,

Monsieur,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

CLAUDE.

Paris, April 15, 1684.

These for Monsieur Du Veil, D.D.,

London.

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*Augustine, in his 137th Epistle, otherwise Third, to Volusianus, Proconsul of Africa, Uncle to Melania the Younger, Numb. 3.*

Such is the depth of the Christian Scripture, that therein I could reap new advantage every day, if I had given myself over to the study of it alone, from my very first childhood even to decrepit old age, with the greatest leisure earnestest study, and a more happy genius; not that it is so difficult to attain to the knowledge of those things that are necessary to salvation; but after

every man holds his faith there, without which he cannot live godly and righteously; there are so many things wrapt up in such multiplicity of veils, that are to be understood by proficients, and there is such depth of wisdom couched, not only in the words whereby these things are expressed, but also in the things that are to be understood, that it fares with the most aged, the most acute, and those who are most desirous of learning, as the same Scripture has in a certain place, "When a man has done, then he beginneth."

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*The same Augustine in the same place, Numb.* 18.

The manner of speaking, whereby the holy Scripture is connected, how accessible is it to all, though it be penetrable by very few! Those things which it contains that are manifest, it speaks as a familiar friend without sophistication to the hearts of the unlearned and learned. And those things that it hides in mysteries, it does not raise them up beyond our capacities by loftiness of style, so as a dull and illiterate mind dare not approach, as one that is poor to a rich person; but it invites all by its low style, whom it may not only feed by manifest truth, but also exercise with hidden, having the same things in what is manifest as in what is hid. But that the things being plain might not be loathed, the same things being again hidden are desired, being desired, they are in some manner renewed, being renewed they are delightfully received. By these both depraved minds are wholesomely amended, the mean are nourished, and the great delighted. He only is an enemy to this learning who, either by reason of his mistakes, is ignorant of its soundness, or by reason of his distemper has an aversation to medicine.

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*The Golden Saying of St. Prosper.*

Reader, though in the sacred books thou long'st to know,
Many things are concealed and hid thee fro;
Yet watch, and still pursue thy good intent,
Gifts that are stay'd for move thy mind, if bent;
That fruit's more grate which hope drawn out brings forth,
Things easily attain'd are nothing worth,
Even hidden mysteries solace the mind;
Who gave to ask, will further give to find.

THE

# ACTS OF THE HOLY APOSTLES

## LITERALLY EXPLAINED.

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THE authority of this book, which is entitled "The Acts of the Holy Apostles," has been denied by Cerinthus, who lived in the primitive times, as Philastrius records;[1] as also by Tatianus and Severus, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.[2] For whatever book of the New Testament the heretics thought to be opposite to their own mad inventions, that they presently condemned. Hence it was that the Manichæans likewise refused to give credit to this book, because the author of it writes, that the Comforter, even the Spirit of Truth promised by Christ, did descend upon the day of Pentecost, long before Manes, who presumed to call himself the Holy Ghost promised by Christ, was born. But seeing this book, as St. Austin well observes,[3] doth contain so many things like those which the Manichæans themselves take for granted, and believe to be parts of the holy scriptures, it seems a very great folly that they do not also believe and allow its authority. St. Luke declares himself to be the author of this book in his proëm to the same Theophilus to whom he makes his address at the beginning of his gospel, and intimates that he had before that time committed to writing the several acts of Christ. Surpassingly well, therefore, saith St. Jerome,[4] "The Acts of the Apostles seem to represent a bare history, and to set forth the infancy of the growing church; but if once we know St. Luke, the physician (whose praise is in

[1] Hær. 36. [2] Euseb. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 29. [3] Lib. de Util. Cred. c. 3.
[4] Epist. ad Paulin.

the gospel) to be the writer thereof, we shall also find all his words to be the physic of a languishing soul." Philostratus, who flourished under Severus Augustus, affords us a singular testimony of the antiquity not only of the evangelical history in general, but of the gospel of St. Luke in particular, and of the Acts of the Apostles by him written. For he has transcribed into his Apollonius many miracles of Christ and his apostles, so manifestly out of those books that he has not forborne to make use of the very words themselves, as the most famous Huetius apparently makes out.[1] Josephus, by birth a Jew, honoured with the dignity of an earl, as Epiphanius witnesseth,[2] Hær. 30, which is of the Ebionites, three hundred and seventy years after Christ's nativity as Sixtus Senensis reports, found at Scythopolis, in a private treasury of the Jews, this book which records the most remarkable acts of the apostles, translated out of Greek into Hebrew, together with the Gospel of St. Matthew, written with his own hand in the Hebrew language, and the Gospel of St. John, translated likewise out of Greek into the same language.

This golden book, quite through, displays the singular providence of God in gathering together to himself and preserving his church. It opens and explains what was the beginning and rise of the Christian religion; after what manner the apostles began the preaching of the gospel; how strenuously and courageously a few obscure, unarmed, and contemptible persons opposed by the power of the whole world, while all the potentates of those ages employed their forces to oppress the gospel, relying only upon the assistance of the Spirit and truth, indefatigably defended the faith of Christ, refused no labours nor dangers, but combated with an unshaken constancy against all opposition, till at length they became victors, and the power of God, under the ignominy of the cross, magnificently triumphed over all the pride of the earth.

The chapters of this book are twenty-eight; the principal parts are four. The first of which, in the first eight chapters, sets down the original and progress of the New Testament church among the Jews. The next from the ninth to the sixteenth, declares how greatly the church was multiplied and propagated among the Gentiles. The third part, from the sixteenth to the twentieth,

[1] Demonstrat. Evang. Prop. non. cap. 147, num. 4. [2] In Bibliothec. Sanct.

relates the several travels and voyages of St. Paul, to his very last journey to Jerusalem. The last, from the twentieth to the end, gives an account with what perseverance St. Paul endured a thousand troubles, hardships, and indignities; with what patience he surmounted the raging floods of persecution; and lastly, how mildly, and with what an equal temper he carried himself in the midst of all manner of calumnies and reproaches, and all sorts of miseries.

## CHAPTER I.

1. *The former.* The evangelist St. Luke makes this introduction as he passes from the history of the gospel, comprehending the sayings and acts of Christ, to the acts of the apostles. Now, whereas, the Vulgar Latin interpreter rendering here the positive πρῶτον, has used the superlative *first*, instead of the comparative *former*, the words having relation to Luke's former book which he had published before: he has been therein followed by Beza, who justifies himself by the authority of Cicero, who in his second book of Invention, citing his former calls it his first. You shall also find the positive, πρῶτος, used for the comparative, *former*, by St. John in his Gospel, ch. i. 15, 30. xv. 18; 1 Epist. iv. 19.

*Discourse have I made.* This is a Græcism; as much as to say, The former book have I made. Thus in Lucian, The first Discourse of the true History, is the first book. And Galen calls his seventh book his seventh discourse.

*Of all.* But not setting down all things. For though a person might discourse of the works and doctrine of Christ to a considerable extent, yet to set down the whole series of what he said and did, so as to make a full narration, was an undertaking of that prodigious labour, that St. John in his Gospel tells us, the world would not contain the books, ch. xxi. 25.

*O Theophilus.* This Theophilus, to whom St. Luke dedicates his Gospel also, seems to many to have been a person in high dignity, Luke i. 3. For the title attributed to him of *most excellent*, not wont to be given but only to princes and persons in great authority, does

plainly demonstrate, as they allege, that it was the proper name of some noble personage. The author of the books of Recognitions, under the name of Clement,[1] the first of that name, bishop of Rome, says that this Theophilus was one of the principal men of Antiochia, who being converted by Peter to the faith of Christ set apart his houses for the public and solemn meetings of the church.[2] Theophylact[3] calls this Theophilus, a consular person, and perhaps a prince. A certain author cited by Abulensis, conjectures this Theophilus, prince of Antiochia, to have been, after the departure of Peter, bishop of that city; and that upon his persuasion and encouragement, both the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles were written by St. Luke. Grotius believes him to have been the chief magistrate of some city in Achaia, and baptized by Luke. But though the additional *most excellent*, which by several writers is frequently given to persons in high authority, as for example by Paul, Acts xxiii. 26; xxvi. 25, to both the procurators or vice-governors of Judæa, Felix and Festus, and by Josephus[4] to Epaphroditus, to whom he dedicates the History of his Life, and by Justin Martyr to Diognetus, to whom he writes a Compendium of the Christian Religion: yet it does not seem to be a note of dignity in Theophilus, in regard it does not appear likely that St. Luke would have omitted to have given the same addition to Theophilus when he recommends to him his Acts of the Apostles, had it been a title of dignity. Therefore Origen,[5] St. Ambrose,[6] and Epiphanius[7] believe it more probable that Theophilus was an appellative made use of by St. Luke, as belonging to all that professed the Christian religion out of a sincere love of God. "Nor ought it," saith Camero,[8] "to be thought a thing out of practice, seeing that Athanasius uses the same sort of compellation. For in his book of the Incarnation, he gives the titles of happy, and friend of Christ, and sometimes both together, without distinction, to every pious and true Christian."

*Which Jesus began to do and teach.* That is, which make to the whole of our salvation from the beginning of the works and doctrine of Christ. Learnedly the Greek scholiast observes, that Luke wrote of all things from the beginning till Jesus was translated into heaven; of which St. Chrysostom takes notice also,

[1] Lib. x. near the end. [2] Argum. in Luc. [3] In Prolog. in Matt. q. 21.
[4] In fin. vit. suæ. [5] Hom. 1, in Luc. [6] In Luc. 1.
[7] Hær. 51. [8] In Luc. 1.

where he says that Luke wrote, "not simply of all things, but of all things from the beginning to the end." And this is that which St. Luke himself says in the preface to his Gospel, ver. 3; *That he had perfect understanding of all things from the very beginning:* that is, what Christ, powerful both in deed and word, both taught and acted most remarkable while he conversed upon earth. Others will have these words, *Which Jesus began to do and teach*, to be understood according to a usual Hebrew phrase, "which Jesus did and taught." Most excellently, therefore, Calvin: "Now," saith he, "we see the sum of the gospel contained in these two parts, the doctrine and deeds of Christ. Forasmuch as he not only performed the duty of that embassy, for which he was sent by the Father to men, but effectually discharged whatever could be required from the Messiah. He laid the foundations of his kingdom; he atoned the wrath of God by offering himself; he expiated the sins of men with his own blood; he overcame death and the devil; he restored us to our true liberty, and acquired for us justice and life eternal; and that every thing that he said or did might be ratified among mankind, he proved himself to be the Son of God by his miracles."

2. *Until the day.* That is, until the 14th day of our May, according to Bishop Usher.

*In which time giving commandment.* As if he had said, Upon which day, after he had dictated to the apostles by him elected, lest they should deliver any thing but what was truly divine, through the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, what they should teach and preach, he was taken up into heaven. "The apostles," says the learned John Lightfoot, "had cast out devils, and had healed the sick, by the assistance of the Spirit, but it is to be doubted, whether they had taught any thing which they had not heard verbatim from the lips of their Master. He had promised them that they should bind and let loose the law of Moses; he had told them that there were several things to be revealed to them, which they could not bear, in which they should be instructed by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Therefore when he arose, and had breathed upon their faces, saying, *Receive the Holy Ghost* (John xx. 22), then they were inspired with the Holy Spirit, like the prophets of old, who dictated to them what they should preach, what they should require, and what they should enjoin. And now they wanted nothing but the gift of tongues, that they might

be able to deliver what was dictated to them in the proper languages of those to whom they should speak."

*Which he had chosen.* That is, whom he created his messengers, to publish the doctrine of the gospel two years before he suffered over all Judea, and after his resurrection over all the world. These messengers Christ called his apostles, or envoys. Luke vi. 13. Thus formerly the emperors of the east, and popes, called their legates envoys, as is frequently apparent from Anastasius the Bibliothecarian, and others.

*He was taken up.* That is, by the interposition of a cloud he was taken from the sight of men, as is said below, ver. 9.

3. *To whom,* &c. As if he had said: And that the apostles might be most credible and substantial witnesses of the resurrection of Christ, upon the truth of which is founded all the majesty of the gospel, he, being restored from the grave, by most solid and incontrovertible arguments proved himself to be truly risen from the dead, as often as he showed himself visible to his apostles, during the forty days between his resurrection and ascension; and discoursed with them concerning the kingdom of God.

*He showed himself alive.* That is, ocularly proved himself to be risen.

*After his passion.* That is, after he had been put to a most ignominious death, for the sake of our salvation.

*By many proofs.* A Hebraism; that is, by many evident signs, that had the force of a most powerful and irresistible proof. The Greek calls "theses" proofs, τεκμήρια, "which word signifieth," says Beza, as Quintilian affirms out of Aristotle,[1] "signs necessary and indubitable: as these actions, speaking, walking, eating, drinking, are undoubted signs of life." To appear publicly in sight, and to be felt by the hands, are certain signs of a real natural body. Also the wounds of the hands, feet, and side, were indubitable signs that the same body rose that was crucified and pierced with a lance. The blood and water flowing from his wounded side, was for a certainty a sign of the parts about the heart being wounded, and of death. These were therefore the signs by which St. Luke affirms that Christ confirmed his resurrection; of which he treats more fully in his gospel.

*Being seen.* Often and long together. For it was but necessary that Christ, in regard of the infirmity of his disciples,

[1] Lib. v. cap. 9.

should converse with them both frequently, and for a good while together, to the end they might have a full assurance of his resurrection. For we know how difficultly they were induced to believe it; and how at first, when he appeared to them, they thought it only a delusion of the sight, and that it had been only some apparition that deceived them.

*And speaking of the kingdom of God.* That is, of the spiritual kingdom, the possession of which Christ was to take upon his ascent into heaven. The apostles were as yet but ignorant in many points of faith, which before the suffering of Christ, being blinded by their own prejudices, they could not sufficiently apprehend, though they had frequently heard them from his mouth. Therefore, after his resurrection, he delayed his ascension forty days, and took in that interval as much time as he thought to be sufficient, to instruct his disciples in what was necessary for them to know, to the end they might the more faithfully perform the function which they were to undertake.

4. *And being assembled together.* The Greek word is, "using one common table," or eating the same salt and meat together. Whence the proverb, To have eaten many bushels of salt with any one, is the same thing as to have had long converse with any one. Says the most learned Sir Edward Leigh,[1] "There are some that endeavour to prove by examples, that the Greek word signifies properly the rallying of soldiers dispersed in pursuit after a battle won: or, as when a shepherd gathers his scattered sheep into one fold. Which significations agree very exactly to the sense of this place, because Christ doth re-collect his disciples dispersed like scattered sheep, and give them instructions for the spiritual warfare which they were to undergo." The same author in the same place affirms the Greek word to be a military word, and to signify the pitching of the victor captain in the field of battle. The most learned Lightfoot deduces the word συναλιζόμενος, not from *hals*, which signifies salt, but from *halia*, which signifies an assembled congregation. But whereas Christ, after his resurrection, never appeared to his disciples but of a sudden, and when he was least expected, but only upon the mountain of Galilee, Matt. xxviii. 6, where he had appointed a meeting, that most learned man refers this verse to that meeting, as if this were the sense of the words; Jesus a little before his ascent into heaven being met

[1] In his Critica Sacra.

in an assembly of five hundred of the brethren, 1 Cor. xv. 6, upon the mountain of Galilee, according to his own appointment, finding his disciples not willing to return to Jerusalem still as it were reeking with his blood without his express order, he commanded them to repair thither forthwith, and not to stir from thence, until they had received the Holy Ghost according to his promise.

*They should wait for the promise of the Father.* Thus he calls, both here and Luke xxiv. 49, the gift of the Holy Ghost promised by the Father to all believers, Isa. xliv. 3; Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27; and Joel ii. 28.

*Which, saith he, ye have heard from my mouth.* As if he had said: the performance of which promise I have told you that I will make good to you, Luke xxiv. 49. A passing like to this, from an oblique to a direct speech, is frequent in history.

5. *Because John,* &c. As if he had said, Because within a few days ye shall find by experience, how truly my forerunner John said formerly that he baptized indeed with water, but that I would baptize with the Holy Ghost. See our literal explication on Matt. iii. 11.

*Shall be baptized.* The Greek word *βαπτίζειν,* says Casaubon, is to dip or plunge, as if it were to dye colour. In which sense the apostles may be truly said to have been baptized. For the house in which this was done was filled with the Holy Ghost. So that the apostles may seem to have been plunged into it, as into a large fish-pond. Hence Œcumenius, upon Acts ii. 2: "A wind filled the whole house, that it seemed like a fish-pond; because it was promised to the apostles, that they should be baptized with the Holy Ghost."

*Not many days hence.* Christ seems as it were to point out with his finger those few days between the time wherein he had charged his disciples not to stir out of Jerusalem, and the approaching Pentecost.

6. *When they therefore were all met.* That is, all the apostles at Jerusalem.

*They asked him.* When he appeared to them upon the very day of his ascent into heaven, as appears out of the 1 Cor. xv. 7; Luke xxiv. 50, 51, compared together.

*Wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom of Israel?* That is, Now thou art again risen from the dead, wilt thou reign over

the Israelites after the manner of other kings, and free them from the yoke of the heathens? Christ had really proposed to restore the kingdom of Israel, but not the earthly and worldly kingdom, as both now and at other times the apostles imagined; but by recalling that people from their incredulity to the knowledge of himself, that he might rule in the midst of them by the power of his gospel; which St. Paul foretells shall be, Rom. xi. 25, &c.; but by reason their minds were clouded with worldly thoughts, they could not yet understand this mystery. Christ, therefore, contenting himself to restrain their curiosity as to the point of time when it should come to pass, and which it nothing concerned them to know, adds to his answer, *But you shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost upon you.* As if he had said, That heavenly Doctor, whom I shall send to you, shall instruct you as to that which now ye seek from me; that is to say, what that future restitution of the kingdom of Israel shall be, which you expect. Though as to the time, that is a secret which my Father thinks not proper as yet to reveal to you, in regard that without that knowledge you may perform the work committed to your charge. Some are of opinion that the kingdom of Israel was then restored by Christ, when the church of Christ, which is the spiritual Israel, began to be governed by Christian kings and princes; such as were three hundred years after the birth of Christ, Constantine the Great, and several other emperors; but the first interpretation seems to be the best. For though under those princes, the church rested from persecution, yet ambition, covetousness, and many other evils got footing in it, so that the kingdom could not be then truly said [to be] restored to Israel.

*It is not your business to know times,* &c. As if he had said, It is not proper nor expedient for you; according to the common English version, *It is not for you.* It is not a thing permitted for you to know to what point of time the restoration of the kingdom of Israel is reserved, in regard this is one of those mysteries which the heavenly Father will have lie hid, and to be at his disposal to act as he pleases, otherwise than men look for, and beyond the reach of human capacity. "It is the custom of Christ," saith Grotius, "to refer secret dispensations to the Father," Matt. xx. 23; Mark xiii. 32. See our literal expositions upon those places.

8. *But ye shall receive,* &c. As if he had said, But I will supply

that power, which I know you want at present from heaven; and will fill your breasts with the celestial Spirit, that you may learn with patience to expect the promised restoration of Israel's kingdom, not the earthly as you vainly now dream, but the spiritual dominion of the Jews: and in the meantime, be zealous to publish to all the world the doctrine of the gospel, and by your testimony to confirm my resurrection, which not being believed the whole gospel falls.

*And ye shall be witnesses unto me,* &c. St Austin saith,[1] "It was not so said to the apostles, *ye shall be witnesses unto me,* &c., as if they alone to whom the words were spoken, were to fulfil so great a trust, but as he seems to have spoken to them alone that other saying of his, *Behold I am with you to the end of the world,* &c. Which, nevertheless, who does not understand to have been promised to the whole church, which, while some die, others are born, shall remain to the end of time? As he speaks again to them what does not at all concern them, and yet is so spoken to them, as if it concerned nobody else: *when ye behold all these things, know ye that it is at the doors.* For whom does this concern unless ourselves, who shall be then in the flesh, when all those things come to be fulfilled? How much more that, in doing of which they were to bear a great share, though the same act was also to be continued by their successors?"

*In Jerusalem.* It behoved the apostles to begin the preaching of the gospel in Jerusalem, that the prophecies might be fulfilled, Isa. ii. 2, 3; Mich. iv. 1, 2. See what we have said upon the word Jerusalem, Matt. ii. 3.

*And in all Judea.* The word Judea is here used in the dilated sense; which, when Christ was upon the earth, was divided into six parts; to wit, into Galilee, Samaria, and Judea, strictly taken, which lay on this side Jordan, and reached to the Mediterranean Sea; and into Trachonitis, Iturea, or Perea, and Idumea, that lie beyond Jordan, and are seated in the midland country. Christ, therefore, would have the Jews enjoy their privileges, till they themselves, through their impiety and perverseness, forfeited and lost them. For he does not indulge the preaching of the gospel either to the Samaritans or Gentiles, before it was offered to the nation of the Jews; for that he was sent by the Father [as] minister of the circumcision, to perform those promises which were formerly

[1] Epist. 199, N. 49, novæ edit. Parisiensis.

made to the patriarchs of the Jews, Rom. xv. 8. See our literal explication upon Matt. x. 5.

*And Samaria.* As if he had said, Out of all Judea, taken in the dilated signification, I do not except Samaria, as formerly, Matt. x. 5; but in express words I enjoin you to preach the gospel as well in Samaria, as in the other provinces of Judea. Philip the deacon, in obedience to this command, was the first who preached up Jesus in Samaria, which was approved by the apostles sending to the Samaritans Peter and John, who by imposition of hands, communicated the Holy Ghost to the believing Samaritans, ch. viii. 17. Now, Samaria is a province of Palestine, lying between Judea, strictly taken, to the south, and Galilee to the north, comprehending the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh on this side Jordan: so called from the metropolitan city of the whole country, deriving its name from a mountain, as the mountain took its name from one Somer or Shemer, who was lord of it, 1 Kings xvi. 24. In this city of Samaria, built by Amri or Omri, king of Israel, the kings who ruled the ten tribes that were rent from the house of David kept their seat, till Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, carried away captive their last king, Hoshea, and with him, having taken the city of Samaria itself after three years' siege, all the ten tribes, and then dispersed them over Media to prevent their revolting. Some years after that, Esarhaddon, the nephew of Shalmaneser,—who is also called Asnappar the great and noble by Ezra, as also Asbazareth, Ezra iv. 10; 3 Esd. xv. 69: by Ptolemy Assaradin, and by Josephus Asseradoch, the youngest son of Sennacherib, who succeeded his father, slain by his eldest sons,—gathered a confused multitude of inhabitants together out of the provinces of the Cuthæans, Babylonians, Hamathæans, Sepharvaimites, and Chavæans, and sent them to re-people the country which his grandfather had emptied of the Israelites, to possess henceforth Samaria as their own inheritance, and dwell in the cities thereof, 2 Kings xvii. 24; Ezra iv. 2, 10; 3 Esd. xv. 69. These new inhabitants were by the Greeks called Samarites, not because the Assyrians in their language call keepers or guardians Samarites, as affirms Sulpitius Severus; but because they inhabited Samaria; and Cuthæans by the Hebrews, because the chiefest part of them came out of Cuth, a province of Persia, so called from the river Cuthah upon which it

borders, as Josephus testifies.[1] These Cuthæans, when they first inhabited Samaria, did not worship the God of Israel, but each of them adored the idols of his own country; but many of them having been therefore destroyed by lions, Esarhaddon took care to send to the remnant one of the priests which his grandfather Shalmaneser had carried away captive. This priest residing at Bethel taught the inhabitants the worship of God, after the manner of Jeroboam. Of the Samaritans thus adoring their ancient idols, together with their new calf, it is said, 2 Kings xvii. 25, 33, 41: *They feared the Lord,* and *they feared not the Lord;* there being a small difference between adoring many gods and no god at all. They had a temple built them at length by Sanballat, upon Mount Gerizim, where the blessings were pronounced, Deut. xi. 29, in imitation of the temple of Jerusalem, which temple, Hircan, the high priest of the Jews, afterwards destroyed, two hundred years after it had been built, as Josephus reports.[2] However, though the temple was destroyed, the Samaritans continued their divine worship upon the same mountain still, John iv. 20: having, not by any scripture rule, as the Jews had for worshipping upon Mount Sion, but by the example of the patriarchs, designed that place for the public worship of God, Gen. xii. 6, 7; xxxiii. 18, 20. Thus Abraham and Jacob are said to have built an altar near to Sichem, threescore furlongs distant from the city of Samaria, Judg. ix. 7. But seeing that the Mount Gerizim overlooked Sichem,[3] and that the patriarchs made choice of mountains for the building of altars, it is probably conjectured that the patriarchs Abraham and Jacob did rear an altar to God upon Mount Gerizim, Gen. xxii. 2; 2 Sam. xxiv. 18; 2 Chron. i. 3. "Now," says Thomas de Pinedo, the Portuguese, "The Samaritans only believed the Pentateuch of the omniscient Moses, and thence arose the hatred between them and the Hebrews. For, as sin entered the world by the law, so hatred invades particular societies through diversity of religion, with which distemper, men of obscure birth and illiterate, labour; the noble and learned hate the vices, not the men, because they follow this or that religion. Whence it was, that the Samaritans traduced the high priest Eli as a magician, for that he translated the sacrifices and the worship of God, out of a schismatical boldness, to Shiloh, contrary to the command of God. They also condemned Samuel the

[1] Antiq. lib. ix. cap. 14. [2] Ibid. lib. xiii. cap. 17. [3] Ibid. lib. xi. cap. 8.

prophet for a magician, as appears by the Samaritan Chronicles; the epitome of which is set forth by Hottinger in his Antimorinian Exercitations upon the Samaritan Pentateuch.[1] Nor were the Jews behindhand with the Samaritans. For Aben Ezra, the most learned of the Hebrews, upon the book of Esther: 'The Cuthæans,' saith he, 'instead of those words of Genesis, *In the beginning God created,* have put, In the beginning Asima created, which Asima was an idol in the shape of a goat.' Benjamin Tudelensis, in his Itinerary reports, that the Samaritans wanted the three Hebrew guttural letters, *he, cheth,* and *ain;* both which are false, for that neither are those guttural letters wanting in any of the Samaritan Pentateuchs. Neither was Asima, but Nergal, the idol of the Cuthæans, of whom consisted the greatest number of the Samaritans," 2 Kings xvii. 30. Many other such stories the Jews invented, in hatred of the Samaritans; as how they worshipped a dove, and were circumcised in veneration of that creature; and that they worshipped the images that were brought by Jacob out of Assyria, and lay buried behind Shechem, under a turpentine tree. To this, the learned Pinedo, "I make no doubt," saith he, "but that they worshipped the image of a dove, in regard they were subject to the empire of the Assyrians: for that the kings of Assyria always bare in their ensigns the figure of a dove, ever since the reign of Semiramis. To which Jeremiah alludes, ch. xxv. 38, where, 'from the face of the anger of the dove,'[2] is no more than from the face of the anger of the kings of Assyria; in regard the kings of Assyria carry the figure of a dove in their standards, as now the kings of Spain and the emperor bear the lion and the eagle." But the Samarites abolished all worship of idols from the time that Sanballat built them a temple upon Mount Gerizim, after leave obtained from Alexander the Great, and made Manasseh, his son-in-law, and brother of Jaddi, the first high-priest, to officiate therein. And whereas Epiphanius affirms, that the Samarites celebrated the feast of Pentecost, and the paschal feast in Autumn, so Scaliger asserts it to be untrue. But this is certain, that when the Jews lived in prosperity, the Samaritans affirmed themselves to be Jews, de-

[1] Cap. 41.

[2] [Authorized version, *Because of the fierceness of the oppressor.* מִפְּנֵי חֲרוֹן הַיּוֹנָה. Gesenius translates this, *the anger of the oppressive sword.* הַיּוֹנָה is found translated *dove* in Gen. viii. 8, and Lev. v. 7.

scended from the grandchildren of Joseph, Ephraim, and Manasseh; but when the Jews were in adversity, then they would neither acknowledge themselves to be Jews, nor to be allied to them by any tie of blood or relation whatsoever.

*And unto the uttermost part of the earth.* To the intent that the doctrine of salvation might be published to all the corners of the world. Thus was fulfilled that prophecy of Isaiah, ch. xlix. 6, with others of the same nature, that Christ was given as a light to the Gentiles, and to be the salvation of God unto the ends of the earth.

9. *And when he had spoken these things.* Supply out of Luke xxiv. 50, 51. He led out his apostles as far as Bethany, a village belonging to Mary and Martha, the sisters of Lazarus, about fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem, John xi. 18, and stretching forth his supplicating hands, *he blessed them.* The ceremony of benediction, saith Grotius,[1] was wont to be solemnized with the imposition of hands, as we find by the story of Isaac and Jacob, Gen. xxvii. 4, 7, 12, 19, 21, 22; xlviii. 9, 14, 15, &c. But when the blessing was to be given to many, then, for the quicker despatch, only the stretching forth, or lifting up of the hands, was used toward them that were to be blessed: thus *Aaron lifted up his hand toward the people, and blessed them,* Lev. ix. 22; that is, prayed for their prosperity and success.

*While they beheld.* He did not disappear, nor become invisible, privately or remote from company, as Luke xxiv. 31, but by degrees; while the disciples beheld the action, he was by the Divine power raised, or drawn up to a cloud, which soon received him, and conveyed him out of their sight. But as Christ after his resurrection would not be promiscuously seen by all, so did he not admit every one to be witnesses of his ascension, as designing that mystery of faith to be rather known by the preaching of the gospel than by ocular testimony. "This shows the vigour of great minds," saith Leo,[2] "this the true light of faithful souls, undoubtedly to believe what they do not behold with the corporeal eye, and there to fix their desire where they cannot reach with their most piercing sight. Which piety, how should it breed in our hearts, should our salvation consist only in those things which are obvious to the sense?" Thus St. Austin,[3] "The faith of those who will see God, while they are in their pilgrimage and cleaning

[1] Upon Luke xxiv. 50. [2] Serm. 2, de Ascens. [3] Tract 68, in Johan.

their hearts, believes what it sees not. The merit accrues by believing; the reward is seeing afterwards. Let the Lord go and prepare a place. Let him go, that he may not be seen; let him be concealed, that he may be believed: for then the place will be prepared, when our life is according to faith. Let us desire him in whom we believe, that being desired he may be enjoyed. The desire out of love is the preparation of the mansion."

*He was lifted up.* Supply out of Luke xxiv. 51, *While he blessed them.* Thus Plautus uses the word, "Take this stone," saith he, "and lift it up." Sulpitius Severus hath these words:[1] "This is wonderful," saith he, "that the place whereon Christ set his last footsteps, when he was taken up in a cloud into heaven, should still continue marked out, and could not be paved with the rest of the place about it. For whatsoever else was applied, the earth disdaining human workmanship, refused, while the stones flew in the faces of them that attempted it. Yea, it is such a lasting monument of the dust being trampled by Divine feet, that the impression of the footsteps still remains. And though the multitude of believers every day carry away some parcels of the place where our Lord set his feet, yet the sand is not diminished, and the earth that received the mark of the footsteps still preserves the same form." That men have endeavoured in vain from time to time to cover or pave the place still preserving the footsteps of our Lord, Pseudo-Jerome,[2] Paulinus,[3] and Bede,[4] have delivered in their writings. But in regard there is no mention made of any such miracle either by Eusebius, Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen, or Nicephorus, we may thence conjecture the liberty which former ages took to frame little stories of their own, merely to impose upon the ignorant people. Neither do the mythologists agree in this fable. For Baronius,[5] following Burchardus, will have these footsteps imprinted in stone, Paulinus in the green turf, Sulpitius Severus in dust or sand, Pseudo-Jerome and Bede upon the ground in the earth itself. Which of these must we believe? Certainly none of them. Nor does Pseudo-Jerome affirm that he ever saw these imprinted footsteps, but only says, "as is reported." But one eye-witness is better than ten hear-say testimonies. Hornius believes this fable arose from the words of Eusebius misunderstood. For he, speaking of Helena's arrival in Judea,[6]

[1] Lib. ii. Hist. Sac. [2] Lib. de Loc. Act. Apost. [3] In Ep. ad Sever.
[4] De Loc. Sanct. cap. 7. [5] A.D. 34, 11. 232. [6] Lib. iii. de Vit. Const. cap. 41.

"Then," saith he, "she gave decent reverence to the places where the steps of our Saviour had trod." Which was not spoken particularly of Mount Olivet, but in general of all Judea, "where Christ as man was born, where he set his sacred footsteps, where walked his adorable feet, where so many and so great miracles were wrought by him."[1]

*A cloud received him out of their sight.* Not that the cloud, which having received Christ took him from the sight of the apostles, was to him any assistance in his ascension; for a cloud is no solid body that can afford any such help. Besides, the highest clouds do not rise above a mile or two above the earth, being only nourished by the exhalations of the land and water; but it was for state and grandeur. Thus it is said of God himself, *Who maketh the clouds his chariot*, Ps. civ. 3. And that other, *He maketh darkness his secret place*, Ps. xviii. 11. For obscurity and gloominess get devotion and reverence to sacred things.

10. *And while they looked.* That is, with more eager eyes and diligent marking.

*As he went up.* That is, into heaven, as appears by the following verse.

*Behold two men.* That is to say, angels in human shape.

*In white apparel.* White, of all colours, is the most pure and spotless; it admits no defilement, and borrows nothing from any other mixture; therefore it is the most proper emblem of candour of mind, justice, and sanctity. Thus the angels both here and in other places, as also the martyrs, and all the saints in heaven, where there is nothing of contamination to be found, are said to be clothed in white garments, Matt. xxviii. 3; Mark xvi. 5; John xx. 12; Rev. iii. 4, 5; iv. 4, 6, 11; vii. 3, 13. "And indeed," saith the most learned Braunius,[2] "the Hebrews themselves confessed that white was the symbol of cleanness and sanctity, and consequently of justice and integrity. For whoever among the priests was polluted by the law, was bound immediately to put off his white garments, as being unworthy to wear them, and after he had put on black to depart out of the temple. To which that of St. John seems to have relation, where he says, *They who have not defiled their garments shall walk in white, because they are worthy*, Rev. iii. 4. And for that reason the white colour in the garments of the high priest signified the innocency, justice, and sanctity of Christ. Therefore

[1] Optat. Milevit. lib. vi. contra Parmen. [2] Lib. ii. de Vest. Sac. Heb. cap. 26. n. 34.

white linen is called the righteousness of the saints, Rev. xix. 8. And though the holy garments were mixed with scarlet and purple, yet there was also a mixture of white, and some of the garments were white altogether. So that although Christ were laden with our sins, which were signified by the scarlet colour, Isa. i. 18, and sprinkled for our sins with blood, which was signified by the purple, yet was he most holy and just.

11. *Ye men of Galilee.* The disciples of Christ are called Galileans as being natives of Galilee; though all the Christians were generally so called by the Jews and ethnics, as we have observed upon these words of St. Matthew, *into the parts of Galilee*, Matt. ii. 22. Julian the apostate in an epistle saith, "That the religion of the Galileans increased by their kindness to strangers."

*Why stand ye gazing up into heaven?* That is, In vain do ye now expect the return of Christ with your eyes fixed upon heaven. Saith St. Austin,[1] "The angels by those words, *Why stand ye gazing up into heaven?* what did they mean else but to infer, That it was impossible for human eyes to penetrate into that secret place whither Christ went, when he was carried up to heaven in the sight of his disciples?"

*This same Jesus*, &c. The particle, *this same*, is emphatical, and denotes that the angels pointed with their fingers towards the Lord Jesus. "Cease therefore to doubt," saith St. Austin,[2] "that the man Christ Jesus is now there, from whence he shall come; but diligently get by heart, and faithfully retain the Christian confession, that Christ rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, sits at the right hand of the Father, and that he shall come from thence, and from no other place, to judge the quick and the dead. And so shall he come, according to the testimony of that angelic voice, as he was seen to ascend into heaven; that is, in the same form and substance of the flesh, to which he gave immortality, but took away nothing of its nature. Yet he is not to be thought to be everywhere diffused, according to that form. For we must be careful that we do not so uphold the divinity of this Man, as to take away the reality of his body. For it is not consequential, that what is in God should be everywhere as God. For the most true scripture speaks also of us, that we *live, move, and have our being in God*, yet are we not everywhere as he is; but man is after

[1] Lib. ii., Quest. Evang. 38, n. 9. [2] Ep. 187, alias 57, ad Dardan. n. 10.

another manner in God, and God is after another manner in man, after a manner both singular and proper. For God and man is one person, and one Christ Jesus is both. Everywhere as he is God, but only in heaven as he is man." "Again," as Leo well observes,[1] "The ascension of Christ is our advancement, and whither the glory of the head is gone before, thither also is the hope of the body called."

12. *Then.* That is to say, when the majesty of Christ was apparently known, the apostles adored him as the King of glory, and Judge of the world, and he being adored, as appears out of Luke xxiv. 52, they return to Jerusalem, rejoicing in their hearts, as now having attained to understand that wonderful mean by which the redemption of mankind was procured, and full of expectation of the descent of the Holy Ghost from heaven upon them, now approaching and at hand.

*From the mount called Olivet.* That is, from the farther side of Mount Olivet, to which the village of Bethany adjoined, distant from Jerusalem about fifteen furlongs, John ii. 18. Whereas the beginning or foot of the mount was distant not above a sabbath day's journey, or five furlongs, as we find in Josephus.[2] Moreover, lest we should extend the length or latitude of Mount Olivet too far, the most famous Ludovicus de Dieu gives us this caution, that St. John may be understood [as speaking] of the Jewish furlongs, whereas Josephus is to be understood of the Grecian furlongs. "And so," saith he "Bethany, situated in the farther side of this mountain, will be no farther distant from the foot of the mountain than the foot of the same mountain from Jerusalem. For since five Grecian furlongs make seven Jewish furlongs and a half, that number doubled will make fifteen Jewish, or ten Grecian furlongs, which make exactly two Jewish miles, or a double sabbath-day's journey. In which sense may be taken that of St. Jerome.[3] "Bethany, a town two miles from Ælia, upon the side of Mount Olivet." Now if Bethany did not join close to Mount Olivet, but were seated beyond it, as Adrichomius will have it, or some furlongs distant from it, as it is in the Jewish map set forth by the Jews at Amsterdam, then the words were to be translated: "and they returned by Mount Olivet;" and from the mount seems to denote that the mountain Olivet lay between the fields of Bethany whither Christ carried his disciples, being [about] to

[1] Serm. 1, de Ascens. [2] Antiq. lib. xx., c. 6. [3] De loc. Heb.

ascend into heaven, and the city of Jerusalem, which they were of necessity to pass over before they could come to Jerusalem. "As Bethany," says De Dieu, "is said in the Greek text to have been near to Jerusalem from almost fifteen furlongs, John xi. 18, the *from* signifies the fifteen furlongs lying between, which are of necessity to be passed over from Bethany to Jerusalem. Thus Rev. xiv. 20: *And the blood came out of the wine-press unto the horse-bridles, from the space of a thousand six hundred furlongs.* The vulgar translation rendering the adverb *from, per* or *by*, a thousand six hundred furlongs; and that rightly, for *from* signifies the adjoining space lying between. Thus, Acts xiv. 24, *They coming from Perga*, the vulgar version translates, They coming by Perga. Whence it would follow that Christ did not ascend into heaven from Mount Olivet, which nevertheless St. Jerome frequently affirms, and which has always hitherto been believed, as conjectured from Acts i. 12, where however Luke does not aver it, but from the fields of Bethany, which the gospel sufficiently declares, Luke xxiv. 50, 51; from which fields of Bethany the apostles went to Mount Olivet, and took the shortest way over that hill to Jerusalem."

*Which is a sabbath-day's journey.* That is, the space between the city and the foot of the hill, was a sabbath-day's journey. See our literal explication upon Matt. xxiv. 20. Says the lately commended De Dieu: "The learned easily reconcile this difference with Josephus, asserting the mountain to be five furlongs distant from the city. For a sabbath-day's journey consisted of two thousand cubits, which extent of ground the Hebrews called a mile, as is manifest out of their writings. But a furlong among the Greeks contained a hundred paces, a pace six foot, or four cubits, as appears from the words of Herodotus,[1] a hundred just paces are one furlong of six acres, but a pace is the measure of six foot, or four cubits. One foot contains the breadth of four hands, and a cubit six hands breadth. Thus far Herodotus. You see he measures the cubit to be a foot and a half. Therefore six hundred foot, which made a furlong, amount to four hundred cubits; and, consequently, five furlongs two thousand cubits. But how this agrees with the Syrian interpreter, who will have a sabbath-day's journey to be about seven furlongs, the learned do not so easily resolve. For our parts we affirm, that the Syrian spake

[1] Lib. ii.

not of the Grecian, but the Hebrew furlongs, of which seven and a half make a mile, or sabbath-day's journey. See Baal Aruch upon the word רוס, *rus*. See the Jewish Map set forth at Amsterdam; where seven furlongs and a half make a Hebrew short mile; and four short miles a long one called Parsa.

13. *And when they were come in.* That is, into the city of Jerusalem.

*They went into an upper room.* The Greek has it, "into the upper part of the house." But whose house this was is a thing very much controverted among the learned. Nicephorus, out of one Euodius,[1] affirms it to have been the house of St. John the Evangelist, the son of Zebedeus. Baronius and Bede assert it to have been the house of that Mary who was the mother of John, surnamed Mark, of whom Luke makes mention in some chapters lower. Theophylact[2] believes it to have been the house of Simon the leper. Others will have it to have been the house of Nicodemus, or Joseph of Arimathea. For my part I am apt to believe, that this house was the temple of Jerusalem itself, according to the testimony of Luke himself in his gospel: *And they returned to Jerusalem with great joy; and were continually in the temple, praising and blessing God*, ch. xxiv. 52, 53. Observe, that it is there said, "they were there continually," which is here said, they were "remaining together," which being the same in signification, you shall never reconcile the two places if they remained in any other place than the temple. "Neither is this opinion obstructed," saith the famous Lewis de Dieu, "by this, that they are said to have ascended into an upper room, or according to the Syrian interpreter, into a dining room; for that the temple had several upper rooms built round about the outside of it is apparent from the 1st of Chron. xxviii. 11, and 2 Chron. iii. 9. As also chambers and apartments, such as was the chamber of Gemariah, where *Baruch read the book of Jeremiah in the house of the Lord*, Jer. xxxvi. 10. "And Baruch read in the book the words of Jeremiah in the house of the Lord, in the house of Gemariah," according to the Septuagint; where we are also to observe that the temple is not only called a house, but also that the chamber is also translated a house, both there and ver. 12, 20, 21, as likewise ch. xxxv. 4, just as the upper chamber where the apostles were, Acts i. 13, is called a house, Acts ii. 2; for those chambers

[1] Lib. i. Hist. c. 28. A.D. 34, n. 236. [2] In Matt. xxvi.

and dining-rooms served not only for the keepers and ministers of the temple, the priests and Levites, and for the preservation of the holy things, but also for the assembling of devout people to attend to religious exercises. Hence it was that Baruch read the book of Jeremiah in the chamber of Gemariah. In such a chamber it is probable that the devout women met, and were defiled by the sons of Eli, who are said to have had their lodgings at the door of the tabernacle, 1 Sam. ii. 22. Some such place had Anna the prophetess to stay in, *who departed not from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers night and day*, Luke ii. 37. Nor is it to be questioned but that the apostles chose to themselves such a place, while they are said to have been *continually in the temple praising and blessing God*, Luke xxiv. 53. St. Luke describes the place, that is to say, that it was an upper room where they remained together, and *continued with one accord in prayer and supplication*, Acts i. 13. And this adds much to the lustre of that illustrious descent of the Holy Ghost upon the apostles, whereof in the following chapter, if we agree it to have fallen out in the temple, where formerly the majestical shadow of God inhabited, but was withdrawn ever since the Babylonish captivity and the loss of the ark; to the end that laying aside that allegorical type of God's presence, they might aspire to the enjoyment of that real presence which God was shortly to impart to them, in that very place where his presence was only figuratively represented before; and as the cloud is said to have filled the house, by Solomon dedicated and consecrated, 1 Kings viii. 10; so the wind of the Holy Ghost filled the same house, Acts ii. 2, not that from thenceforward they should remain fixed to that house, but that being driven by the same wind, they might fill the whole world with the gales of evangelic grace; and thus the law went truly out of Sion. Wherefore Erasmus[1] places this upper room in Mount Sion. For comparing this place with that where the law was given of old, "in both," saith he, "there is height of place; but in this there is nothing but a mountain, which the people also are forbid to approach, that is, the dull and earthly, not capable of spiritual things; here there is a house upon the mountain itself, to let thee understand the concord of the church. There was Mount Sinai proper for the promulgation of the law, which by the multitude of its precepts curbs a rebellious people; for it is called Sinai

[1] Paraph. ad Act. ii.

from precept. Here is Mount Sion, which in the Hebrew language signifies a watch-tower, from whence all earthly things are looked on with disdain. Neither does it make against where it is said that the wind filled the house, and not the temple. For it is known that the temple of Solomon was called the first house, and the temple of Zerubbabel the second house. To all this we may add that noted place: *And I will fill this house with glory. The glory of the latter house shall be greater than of the former*, Hag. ii. 7, 9. Which prophecy was fulfilled upon the feast of Pentecost, when the Holy Spirit, with which the first temple was adorned, but of which the second temple was deprived, according to the confession of the Hebrews, as also of the ark, the Urim and Thummim, the perpetual fire, and the typical presence of the Divine Majesty, filled that temple with the sacred blast, and the apostles with those gifts, which struck all nations into admiration. So that from that time the Holy Spirit alone supplied the absence of the ark, the Urim and Thummim, and the perpetual fire; and, converting type into verity, granted to us the majesty of God everywhere present with his church."

*Abode.* In the Greek, "were remaining," or "did remain together."

*Peter*, &c. See our explication upon Matt. x. 2, 3.

*James.* Supply, "the son of Alpheus." This Alpheus is thought to be called Cleophas, or Cleopas. For that she who is called Mary the mother of James the lesser, and Joses, is called Mary the wife of Cleopas, or Cleophas, Luke xxiv. 18; Mark xv. 40; John xix. 25.

*And Judas.* Supply, "the brother of James," as he calls himself in his own Epistle General. This person, that he might be the more truly distinguished from Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon, is by St. Matthew surnamed Thaddeus; and from Lebba, a sea town of Galilee, of which Pliny[1] makes mention, called also Lebbeus, as Lightfoot conjectures in his Hebraic Hours upon Matt. x. 3; John xii. 4. Although in the Hackian edition of Pliny, in the place cited by Lightfoot, the town is not called Lebba, but Jebba.

14. *These all continued with one accord in prayer.* This St. Luke expresses by other words in his Gospel, ch. xxiv. 53: *And they were continually in the temple, praising and blessing God.* The words, *with one accord*, denote, that they did not only agree with hearts

[1] Lib. v. cap. 19.

and minds among themselves, and cohabit together without strife or contention, but also acted and desired the same thing, chiefly in matters of religion, and more particularly in the duty of prayer.

*In prayer.* According to the Greek, "in prayer and supplication." This St. Luke in his Gospel, ch. xxiv. 53, expresses in these words, *praising and blessing God.* Thus St. Paul makes prayer, blessing, and giving thanks, to be all one, 1 Cor. xiv. 4, &c. Thus supplication seems also to be taken for giving thanks, Phil. i. 4. Nevertheless, sometimes supplication is distinguished from prayer, and then it is taken for deprecation, or prayer to remove or repel some evil. Hence Junius upon this place: "The disciples," saith he, "besought as well the sending of the Holy Ghost, as to be freed from all the present evils with which they were encompassed."

*With the women.* Meaning those women of whom mention is made, Matt. xxvii. 55, and with them the wives of the apostles. "For," saith the famous Beza, "As it is well observed by others, it was requisite that the wives of the apostles should be confirmed, whom it behoved either to be the companions of their travels, or patiently at home to endure their absence." An ancient book of mine adds also, "and with their children."

*And Mary the mother of Jesus.* Mary is exempted from the common sort of women, as the most excellent of women. According to this phrase, David, in the title of the 18th Psalm, is said to be delivered out of the hand of his enemies, and out of the hand of Saul, as being the most potent of his adversaries. And in the Hebrew bibles, *reches*, a most excellent sort of horses, is particularly distinguished from other horses in general: *And they brought forth barley and straw for the horses and the reches*, 1 Kings iv. 28.[1]

15. *In those days.* That is, when the apostles and the rest of the disciples abode together, expecting the coming of the Holy Ghost.

*Peter standing up.* To whom the priority of degree was given, in regard of his seniority, according to St. Jerome, Cassian, and several others of the fathers.

*The number of men.* Some ancient Latin exemplars, together with the Greek, read *names*, as it is in the English version. But by *names* is to be understood men. Thus the name of Christ is taken for Christ himself, ch. iv. 12. The name of God is used for God

[1] [Authorized version, *Barley also and straw for the horses and* DROMEDARIES, רַכֶּשׁ; translated by Gesenius, *a swift horse*, one of a peculiar and noble breed.]

himself, Psa. xx. 1, and in other places. Thus in Cicero pro Archia: "Thou demandest of us, why we are so delighted with this name," i. e. this man. Tibullus: "Nor is woman a faithful name."

*Near a hundred and twenty.* So that there were present at this most noble and holy college, besides the eleven apostles and seventy disciples, thirty-seven others, who, together with them, made up the number of a hundred and twenty.

16. *The scripture must needs have been fulfilled.* That is, according to the interpretation of Christ, from whose lips all the disciples, who were then present, had a little before understood the mystical sense intended by the Holy Ghost from the mouth of David, when he interpreted the scriptures after his resurrection, Luke xxiv. 44, 45.

*Concerning Judas.* The rival in wickedness with the impious enemies of David.

*Who.* In the malice of his heart.

*Was guide to them.* Those bloody murderers, of whom, John xviii. 3.

17. *Who,* &c. In the Greek, "because," instead of the adversative particle, "although." As if he had said, Who, seduced by the devil, soared to that height of impiety, that he most shamefully betrayed the Lord Christ, although among many other benefits he also attained this, to be enrolled into our number and apostolic college.

*Lot.* That is, ministry or function. That *lot* is taken for office or employment, is apparent out of Livy and the lexicon writers; *kleros* in Greek, and *sors* in Latin. *Lot* is said in the first place to be any thing cast into a little vessel, and then drawn forth again. In the next place, the same words are taken for that portion or property which is gained by the lot cast. Lastly, they are taken in a diffusive sense for that proportion of anything which falls to any man by the allotment or appointment of any one, or by any other accident, "and it is said not only of hereditary goods, whether they be obtained by gift, or labour, but also of offices or functions, as here," says Brenius. Ver. 26; Prov. xvi. 33; Deut. iii. 6. Moreover, the word *kleros* is by long use made proper to those who are in the ecclesiastical ministry. However, in scripture the pastors of the church are never, the flocks but once charactered under this title, 1 Pet. v. 3, where Peter the apostle, joining himself to the presbyters as a fellow presbyter, admonishes them not to domineer over the lots. "By lots," saith the forementioned

Daniel Brenius, upon this place of St. Peter, "he understands the assemblies of the faithful congregated out of the Jews and Gentiles, to whom, through Christ, their lot is fallen among the people of God, who being his peculiar, and not the property of the bishops, they are therefore to act not according to their will and pleasure, but according as they are prescribed. Allusion being made to the allotments of the tribes, who had their divisions in the land of Canaan by lots; but chiefly for this reason, that Israel is said to be the portion and inheritance of God."

*Of this ministry.* In the Greek, "of this deaconry." Deaconry signifies the exercise of any office or function; but below, ver. 25, where the word "apostleship" is added, there it is restrained only to the apostolic function.

18. *And this man possessed a field.* Not as his own possession, but as an eternal monument of infamy. For still the people cried, as they passed by, This is the field bought with the thirty pieces of silver, which Judas took as the price and hire of his detestable treason. And it may probably be conjectured, that Judas himself was buried in that field appointed for the interment of strangers; for so the sense of the words, *And this man possessed a field with the hire of iniquity*, will be the same as if we should say: And this man out of his covetousness of shameful gain delivered the Author of salvation into the hands of the Jews, and, suddenly snatched away by a severe death, got nothing by such a detestable and inhuman crime, but a small pittance of earth for the burial of his body in that field, which the priests jointly bought with the restored hire which they had given to Judas. For Luke, as Heinsius notes, did not say, "he possessed the little field," in reference to the whole field, but "a little field," that is, he possessed a little part of the field. For when he comes to speak of the whole field, or the field itself, he does not only say, "the little field," but "that little field." "What then," says Heinsius, "means that word, a little field? A part of the earth, or place sufficient to contain the body of the dead."

*And being hanged.* In the Greek, "and being headlong:" "For the Greek word," saith Leigh, in his Sacred Critics, "does not properly signify hanged, but prone, headlong, and with head downward, and signifies the posture of a person suffocated with a halter, with the face hanging toward the earth, as Erasmus observes." Others render the Greek, "and being cast down headlong," or as

the common English translation hath, "and falling headlong." But that this version may be reconciled with that of Matthew, saying, *And departing, he went and hanged himself*, ch. xxxvii. 5, as the ancient Latin interpreter renders the Greek words, some turn it thus, "And departing, he was consumed with anguish of mind." For the Greek word used there, if we may credit Heinsius, Grotius, and Brenius, "is to be tormented with grief and sadness, and stoppage of the breath, whether the person die of those torments or no." So that Matthew does not speak of the death of Judas, which happened after the same manner here by St. Luke related, but of the unsupportable torment of an exulcerated conscience; which Chrysostom calls,[1] "to be strangled with conscience," that is, to be oppressed with the guilt of his crimes. Lightfoot renders the Greek word in St. Matthew, "he was strangled." And so he believes the death of Judas happened. "For now," says he, "after he had thrown back the price of his treason, when Judas was departed with an intention to return to his own family, the devil, who dwelt in him, snatching him up into the air, strangled him, and threw him down headlong, so that dashing against the earth, he burst in two in the middle, his guts tumbling forth, after which horrible exit the devil left him." But whereas the most ancient author of the Epistle to the Philippians under the name of Ignatius the martyr, ascertains hanging to be the death of Judas; and Juvencus affirms that he hanged himself upon a fig-tree;[2] and Bede testifies that the same was to be seen in his time near Jerusalem: the Vulgar Latin version of St. Matthew seems to be preferred before the rest, which, though it seems to vary something from the relation of Peter concerning his casting down headlong, yet does it carry no contradiction to it. Matthew gives an account of the beginning of the action, Peter of the end, supplying by divine inspiration what was wanting in the relation of Matthew. Judas fits the halter to his neck, and springs downward with the greater violence, to the end he might the sooner choke himself. But that the vengeance of God might more eminently appear in the horrid and immature death of the infamous traitor, by an unexpected accident the rope broke, so that Judas fell headlong upon some craggy stone, or sharp pointed stump of a tree, so that his bursten belly let forth all his bowels. Thus Casaubon. Concerning the ten thousand Idumeans thrown headlong by the Jews from a rock,

[1] Hom. 22, ad Antiochen. [2] De locis Sanctis.

who all of them burst their bowels, the story still is extant, 2 Chron. xxv. 12. Papias, who, as Eusebius declares, was a writer of little worth, and one that feigned trifles from false interpretation, confounding the Greek word signifying "headlong," with another Greek word signifying "swollen up," and thence erecting his own dreams, relates that the body of Judas was swelled to that immensity, that so much ground as was sufficient to drive a cart through could not contain it; and that thereupon the cart went over him and squeezed out his bowels. In like manner the authors of another fable, when they read that Judas possessed or purchased a field with the hire of iniquity, affirmed that the same field, in regard that Judas died in it, by reason of the horrid stench which he left behind, remained barren and untilled.

19. *And it was known to all the dwellers at Jerusalem.* That is to say, that horrid sort of death, which ended the ignominious life of the sacrilegious betrayer of Christ.

*Insomuch that field is called.* That is to say, that field which was purchased with the hire of treachery, and infamous for the burial and perhaps the death of the traitor. For many are persuaded that Judas deservedly perished in that field; and that by this event the priests were the rather instigated to desire the purchase of that field.

*In their proper tongue.* The Greek has it, "in their proper dialect," that is to say, which was used by the inhabitants of Jerusalem. This Peter speaks as a Galilean, and speaking to the disciples of Christ, who were for the most part Galileans. Now the Galileans had a distinct dialect from those of Jerusalem: as appears from the history of Christ's passion, where Peter's tongue betrayed him.

*Hakeldama, The field of blood.* Saith the most learned Lightfoot, as well because it was purchased with the price of blood, as watered with the blood of the traitor.

20. *For it is written.* Now Peter alleges the Scripture, which before, ver. 16, he had said was to be fulfilled; that is to say, according to the mystical sense intended by the Holy Ghost: as the disciples had learned it from the lips of Christ, explaining the scripture, Luke xxiv. 44.

*In the book of Psalms.* That work which the Hebrews are wont to call the book of Hymns, because the chief part of it celebrates the praises of God, the Greeks and Latins call the Psalter, from the

name of the instrument to which those hymns were sung. They are in all a hundred and fifty in the Hebrew copies. For the hundred and fifty-first, which is added in the Greek, is fictitious, rejected not only by the Hebrews, but by the council of Laodicea. Theodoret and many others, as well ancient as modern, affirm David to be the only author of all the Psalms. Philastrius[1] also accounts them to be heretics who think otherwise. But St. Austin[2] wavers, sometimes ascribing the whole work to David alone, sometimes allowing him to have composed no more than only nine; affirming the rest to have been made by the four singers, of whom he made choice for that purpose. But it is apparent from the arguments of the Psalms, wherein their authors are discovered, or from the express words and subjects of the Psalms, by which the time of their composure may be conjectured, that all the Psalms were not the work of David only, but of several authors. Deservedly therefore Hilarius,[3] in his preface to the Psalms, concludes the whole composure to be called, not the Psalms of David, but the Book of Psalms; as here it is called by Peter, and by Christ himself, Luke xx. 42. The author of the Synopsis attributed to Athanasius and Hilarius says, that the Psalms were reduced into one volume by Esdras, and digested into that order as now they are extant.[4] "As for that division of the Psalms into five parts, which Hilarius and Jerome affirm to have been used by the Hebrews, and is at this day observed in their book, I believe to be no ancienter than the times of the Maccabees," saith a person among the eloquent, most highly learned, and among the learned surpassingly eloquent, Peter Daniel Huetius.[5]

*Let his habitation.* What David, out of his zeal to justice and the honour of God, imprecating upon his enemies, had prophesied, that the Holy Ghost also, speaking by the mouth of David, would have foretold concerning the persecutors of Christ, typified by David. And thus Peter being taught the sense of the holy scriptures by Christ, deservedly applies to Judas, the leader of the persecutors of Christ, the miserable destruction foretold of his persecutors in general. Psal. lxix. 25.

*And, his bishopric let another take.* To the end that another testimony of scripture may be the better understood to be cited,

[1] Hær. 126.
[2] Lib. xvii. de Civ. Dei. cap. 14.
[3] In Dissertatione ad Tit. Primi Psalmi.
[4] Prol. in Psal. Epist. ad Sophron. et Cyp.
[5] Demonst. Evang. Prop. 4.

in imitation of Beza, I put a comma after the copulative, *and*, so that the sense is the same as if Peter had said, The same Spirit which, Psal. lxix. 25, had foretold the death of Judas, and thereby the vacancy of his function, foretold also that another was to be substituted in his place, upon whom the honour of the bishopric, of which Judas was deprived, should be conferred. "Where," saith Beza, "he calls the bishopric a ministry or function, as much as to say inspection. The Hebrews, for the same reason, called it an oversight, Num. iii. 32, which word we have retained willingly, for that St. Peter here discourses concerning an ecclesiastical, and that particularly an apostolical function; whereas, David wrote this properly against Doeg, the overseer of the king's herds. However, the appellations of pastors of sheep and of the flock, are frequently attributed to ecclesiastical administration." In the charter of Ina, king of the West Saxons, set forth by Spelman, among the Councils, an. 725, one Daniel subscribing, calls himself, "Overseer of the flock of God."

21. *Therefore must one*, &c. As if he had said, Seeing God is pleased to make use of our diligence to choose another into the place of Judas deceased, and that we are assured of the pleasure of God, it is not lawful for us to delay, but strenuously to execute whatever the duty of our ministry requires.

*Went in and out among us.* That is, performed the office of preaching enjoined him by the Father. To go in and go out, denotes in scripture the laborious discharge of a duty, when it is spoken of those who are entrusted with any eminent charge, Num. xxvii. 17, 21; Deut. xxxi. 2; 1 Sam. xviii. 13, 16; xxix. 6; 2 Sam. iii. 25; 2 Kings i. 3, 7—9; 1 Chron. xxvii 1; 2 Chron. i. 10.

22. *Beginning from the baptism of John.* That is, according to the interpretation of Grotius, "from the time that Christ was baptized by John; for that was the beginning of his taking his function upon him."

*He was taken up from us.* That is, when ascending into heaven he was withdrawn in a cloud from our sight.

*To be ordained with us a witness of his resurrection.* That is to say, in an apostolic degree and order. Here is required by Peter an eye-witness, such as John the Baptist bespeaks himself to have been, where he says, *And I also have seen and have given testimony*, John i. 34. For this did not meanly avail toward the strengthening of belief. In the meanwhile, Peter strictly binds

himself and his companions to the necessity of preaching the gospel, while he ordains new proclaimers of the resurrection of Christ, which is preferred before all other doctrines of the gospel, as being the chief Head and Foundation of it, as St. Paul teaches, 1 Cor. xv. 17.

23. *And they appointed two.* That is to say, the disciples not daring to do more than what they knew to be their office and duty, and commanded them by the Lord, publicly, and by the suffrages of the whole college, put up two of the most eminent persons among them, that God might choose to himself which he thought fittest for the exercise of the apostolic function, and to the end the party so chosen might boast with Paul, that he was not made an apostle neither by men, nor of men, Gal. i. 1.

*Joseph, who was called Barsabas.* This person some will have to be the same with him who is called Joses, and by the apostles surnamed Barnabas, ch. iv. 36. "And certainly," saith Glassius, "there is but little difference in the declension and pronunciation of these names, which is a small alteration of a letter in each name."

*Who was surnamed the Just.* That is, if we may believe Drusius, by the Jews following the Greek idiom, who write, Ἰοῦστος. Otherwise, in the Hebrew language, *tsaddik* signifies "just," which was the surname of Simon the high priest, who attended upon Alexander, whom others called Jadduas. The author also of the Talmudic Lexicon, Rabbi Nathan, is surnamed Tsaddik, or the Just.

*And Matthias.* Clemens Alexandrinus[1] believes this person to have been Zaccheus, of whom Luke, ch. xix. of his gospel. The name of Matthias is the same, however, with that other name which is written more at large, Mattathias, as Drusius observes.

24. *And they prayed.* Induced thereto by the promise of Christ, *What things soever ye desire when ye pray, believe that ye shall receive them, and ye shall have them*, Matt. xi. 24.

*And said.* That is, they prayed about this manner. Neither does Luke set down their words, contenting himself only to recite the sum of their prayer.

*Thou, Lord.* As much as to say: Whereas it belongs only to thee, O Lord, rightly to judge of the hearts and minds of men, and for what ministry or function every one is most fit: be pleased

[1] Strom. 4.

to declare which of these two, conspicuous for their uncorrupted conversation and integrity of life, thou art pleased to substitute into the place of Judas, since, which is most worthy to be preferred cannot be discerned by human judgment.

25. *To take a place.* The now extant printed Greek copies have, "to take a lot," that is, to be made partaker.

*Of this ministry and apostleship.* That is, of this apostolic function.

*From which Judas by transgression fell.* The Greek has it, "from which Judas declined, or turned aside." "But," saith Beza, "the genuine interpretation of these words is to be collected from the following coherences. For the vocation of every man is as it were the way and road where every one is to journey, if he intend to attain to the end of his stage. From this way, therefore, that is, from the apostleship, Judas is said to have deviated, or turned aside, or rather, leaving it altogether, to have taken a quite contrary path. Epiphanius reads the article *from which* in the masculine gender, referring it to the masculine Greek word signifying 'lot,' though without any alteration of the sense."

*That he might go to his own place.* That is, that he might go whither his deserts called him, to shame and perdition, in search of death and an ignominious halter, as the remedy of his despair through the guilt of his conscience. The most learned Knatchbull would have the Greek words translated, "That he may enter upon his place." As if the sense were, that the person whom thou shalt choose may succeed into the place of him that has deserted it, that is, into the apostleship of Judas, and that "his own" may be taken for "his," the same worthy author proves out of Ecumenius; as Budæus affirms the pronoun *suum* to be frequently used instead of *ejus* by Cicero, in imitation of the Greeks, So that, "to go to his place" is the same thing as in the English law phrase, to enter upon, or to take upon one the inheritance. "And this interpretation," adds the same author, "seems to me more agreeable to reason than that of those who understand the words as spoken of Judas; as if Luke would say, that Judas went into his place, that is, into hell. Nor can I believe that ever any such thing entered into the thoughts of the evangelist. But I admire with Chrysostom the prudence of the evangelist, who does not reproach nor insult over any person. Which argues that Chrysostom did not believe that St. Luke had adjudged Judas to hell. For what

more reproachful could Luke have said, than that he was gone to his place, if he meant hell? Neither was it for an historian or an evangelist to give his own judgment so severe, but to have left Judas to the condemnation of God. It was enough for him to relate matter of fact, as he promised in the beginning of his gospel; *as they delivered them to us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses.* But who was an eye-witness of Judas's being in hell?" Thus far, the most accomplished with all manner of learning, Sir Norton Knatchbull, knight and baronet.

26. *And they gave forth their lots.* That is, according to the interpretation of Grotius, "they put their names together into an urn, and into another urn a small roll of paper having the word apostle wrote within it, together with another blank; then out of both urns they equally drew two rolls, as in the division of the land. Of this way of casting lots in the choice of a king, whose election God would have to depend upon himself, there is a notable example to be found, 1 Sam. x. 20. Likewise for the discovery of Achan, Josh. vii. 13, &c. See our annotations upon the 11th verse of the prophet Obadiah.

*And the lot fell upon Matthias.* That is, divine providence so disposing the lots, the name of Matthias with the word apostle, came forth. See our literal explanation upon Jonah i. 7.

*He was numbered.* The Greek word implies, that this event of the lot was approved by the common consent of all the rest; as they who from thence were certainly assured, that it was the will of God that Matthias should succeed in Judas's room, and from thenceforth was to be called not by the common name of disciple, but to be dignified with the noble title of apostle.

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## CHAPTER II.

1. *And when the day of Pentecost was fully come.* According to the Greek, in "the fulfilling the day," that is, the time of the Quinquagesima. The space of fifty days from the paschal day to the festival day itself, which the Christians vulgarly called Pentecost, is by the Greek and Latin writers generally called Pentecost, or the time of Pentecost. By Ferrand the deacon, as also by

Cassian it is called Quinquagesima;[1] by Rabanus, and [2] Honorius of Augustodunum, Quinquagesima Paschalis, to distinguish it from the other Quinquagesima, which is before the Quadragesima, Lent. The sense, therefore, of Luke is the same as if he had said, When the day came, or presently after it was past, wherein the paschal Quinquagesima was completed. For the words of Luke admit either of the two interpretations, as we have observed in our annotations upon Matt. xxi. 1.

*They were all.* That is, those hundred and twenty, of which that most noble and most holy college of disciples of Christ at that time consisted; as is said before, ch. i. 15.

*With one accord.* The Greek word is rendered by Beza "with one accord," as in the English; but by the Latin Vulgate interpreter here, "together:" above, ch. i. 14, "unanimously." Nevertheless, we must confess, that the self-same word is often made use of by the Greek interpreters of the scripture to express the simple meaning of the word *together*, even where there cannot be any agreement of mind.

*In the same place.* That is, in the same dining-room or upper chamber, into which the disciples ascended upon their return from Mount Olivet to Jerusalem. See what we have said upon the same place, ch. i. 13.

2. *And there came.* That is, upon the first day of the week, the fiftieth from the resurrection of Christ, and the tenth from his ascent into heaven, which that year, according to Usher's Chronology, fell upon the 24th of May. This day by the Christians is called, from the Greek word, *Pentecost;* but by the first Council of Orleans, and by the second of Tours, *Quinquagesima.*[3]

*Suddenly.* The ears are the more surprised with a sudden and unexpected noise.

*A sound from heaven.* In Greek, "a sound reverberated, or resounding." As if he had said, The sky by the divine power resounded with a sudden noise, as if a violent wind had suddenly begun to blow with unusual violence. But as the four evangelists neither of them say that a dove descended upon Christ at his baptism; so it is not here said, that there was heard the sound of a vehement wind, but "as it were of a vehement wind." In the

[1] Cap. 214, lib. iii. de Cœnob. Instit. cap. 18.

[2] Lib. i. de Institut. Cler. cap. 41, 43, lib. iii. gem. Anim. cap. 148.

[3] Can. 29. Can. 17.

same manner, in the following verse, the tongues that were seen were said to be seen as it were like fire; to the end that we may understand that all these things were only visional, which St. Chrysostom observes,[1] and as we from him have noted upon Matt. iii. 16.

*And filled*, &c. See what we have already said upon ch. i. 5, 13.

*Where they were sitting.* That is, where they remained together; or where, in a quiet and sedate posture, by the command of Christ they expected from him the gift of the Holy Ghost, promised by the Father to all believers, Luke xxiv. 49, and Acts i. 24.

3. *And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire.* The tongue is likened to fire and flame, by reason of its resemblance to the shape: for the aspiring flame of fire is like the tongue put out of the mouth; and next, because of its resemblance in action: for that as the creatures take hold of and lick in their food with the tongue, so the fire casting forth its flame is said to devour the combustible matter, Isa. v. 24.

*And it sat*, &c. That is, and this fire resembling cloven tongues, visibly rested upon every one of the hundred and twenty, who with conjoined hearts and unanimous wishes expected the Holy Ghost, which was to be sent by Christ.

4. *And they were all filled.* The women also who were then present in the same place, as appears v. 17 and 18.

*With the Holy Ghost.* That is, with the most excellent gifts of the Holy Ghost, who being promised by Christ made it undoubted to the hearing by the noise of the wind, and visible to the sight by means of the fire resembling the cloven tongues, that he was now come. "Those visible gifts," saith Beza,[2] "which in the beginning of the growing church so vigorously flourished, as Joel had foretold, are metonymically understood under the denomination of the Holy Ghost, as being his peculiar effects, according to the doctrine of St. Paul," 1 Cor. xii., &c.; Acts xix. 2, &c.

*And they began to speak in various tongues.* The Greek has it, "in other tongues," according to the English version. That is, in other tongues than they knew before, according to the promise of Christ, Mark xvi. 17: *They shall speak with new tongues.*

*As the Spirit gave them utterance.* That is, the Holy Ghost governing and directing their tongues, to the end they might speak persuasively and awfully the great things performed in

[1] Ser. i. de Pentecoste. [2] Upon John vii. 30.

Christ and through Christ, either in this or that, in more or fewer languages. But it appears out of 1 Cor. xii. 10, 28, 30, xiv. 2, 4, 5, &c., that they are under a mistake who assert that there was any miracle wrought in the ears of the auditory, as if that though the disciples of Christ spake only one sort of language, yet that their speech was understood by all, as if they had spoken distinctly in their several idioms.

*Utterance.* The Greek word is interpreted by Tarnovius,[1] "so to utter a speech that there should be a great efficacy in every word, and much wisdom contained in every period." Paul opposes the same word to those who after the manner of fanatics talk much, but vainly, and to little purpose, Acts xxvi. 25. Beza says also, "That they are properly said to utter a speech according to the signification of the Greek word, who speak things sententious and enlivening, such as were those which St. Luke soon after calls the wonderful works of God. As also such as spake not their own thoughts, but by the impulse of Divine inspiration; as it is written of the prophets, 2 Pet. i. 21; which was that which Luke altogether purposed to express here by this Greek word, and the Latins use to declare by *fari* a more significant word than *loqui*, though this distinction is not always observed."

5. *But there were dwelling in Jerusalem.* According to the Greek, "inhabiting." That is to say, as the learned Mede expounds it, "sojourning together;" including those who resorted together from other countries to celebrate the feasts of the Paschal Lamb and Pentecost; for which purpose they took up their lodgings in the city, as is apparent by what follows. It is true that the Greek words denote a fixed and durable habitation. But among the Hellenists, whose dialect the writers of the New Testament imitate, they are indifferently made use of for a longer or shorter abiding in one place; that is, as well for sojourning as for inhabiting: as the two following examples plainly prove from the translation of the Septuagint. The first is Gen. xxvii. 44, where the Greek word *oikein*, and the Latin word *habitare* in the Vulgate version, signify to "tarry a few days." The latter example is in 1 Kings xvii. 20, where Elias speaking of the widow where he was wont to lodge, uses the word *katoikein*, for sojourning, "with whom I sojourn;" both the forementioned Greek words

[1] In Medul. Evang.

answering to the Hebrew *jashab*, which signifies any sort of abiding or tarrying in any place.

*Jews.* That is to say, by religion and birth descended from the seed of Abraham, as appears from ver. 22, 23, 39. For certain it is that Cornelius the centurion was the first of the Gentiles that was converted to the Christian faith.

*Devout men.* So were they called, who not at all deterred by distance of place, or difficulty of travelling, came to Jerusalem to worship God in the temple, according to the command of the law.

*Out of every nation under heaven.* That is, out of all nations where the Jews lived up and down dispersed. "For there is no nation in the universal orb where some of our people do not inhabit," says Agrippa the younger, king of the Jews in Josephus.[1] The scattering and captivity of the Jews, was threefold before the destruction of Jerusalem and the burning of the temple by Titus. The first was of the ten tribes under Shalmaneser, which, saith Jerome upon Joel, ch. iii. 6, even at this day inhabit in the cities and mountains of the Medes. Of these were the Jews, in the following verse 9 called Parthians, Medes, and Elamites. The second scattering was of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin under Nebuchadnezzar, a great part of which did not return to Jerusalem, when it was restored together with the temple by Zerubbabel. From these descended those Jews who are said to have inhabited Mesopotamia, ver. 9. The third dissipation of the Jews was under Ptolemy Lagus, who having destroyed Jerusalem carried away a vast number of Jews into Egypt, who were called Hellenists. The Jews by this threefold captivity dispersed and scattered among the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Egyptians, fled of their own accords to other places and kingdoms; so that wheresoever the apostles travelled to preach the gospel, they found in every city of the Gentiles a synagogue of the Jews. And St. James directs his general Epistle to those of the twelve tribes, who were dissipated and dispersed through almost all the regions of the world.

6. *But now report being made of this.* That is, the fame of this miracle being spread abroad. The Greek word *phone*, "voice," is not only here but also elsewhere used for fame. Num. xvi. 34; 1 Kings i. 40, &c.

[1] De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 16.

*The multitude gathered together.* That the diversity of languages might appear, by comparing them one with another.

*And were confounded,* &c. As if he had said, The foreigners stood astonished when they heard the ignorant and illiterate Galileans, that had never travelled out of their country to learn foreign languages, dispute with so much gravity and profoundness concerning such divine mysteries in their own several native dialects and tongues.

7. *And they were all amazed.* Here the principal effect of the miracle is expressed, for that, being astonished at the novelty and the wonder together, they began to inquire the more into it. "And indeed," saith Calvin, "so it behoves us ever with astonishment to admire the works of God, that from thence may proceed both consideration and a desire of understanding."

8. *Our language.* That is, speaking in the language and dialect proper to ourselves.

9. *Parthians.* That is, the Jews who dwelt under the dominion of the Parthians. That many of the Jews lived under the empire of the Parthians is apparent out of Josephus, and the above-cited oration of Agrippa the younger, set down by the same Josephus.[1] The Parthians, or Parthyæans, whose country is called Parthyæa, and Parthyene, were a people, who, in a search of new seats, fled out of Scythia into Media. "For," saith Trogus,[2] "exiles in the Scythian language are called Parthi." Nevertheless, it is more proper to think that the Scythians themselves, and not their fugitives, laid the foundations of the Parthian people, as Quintus Curtius reports.[3] This Parthia is bounded to the west by Media, to the north by Hyrcania, to the east by Aria, and to the south by Caramania the desert, as the cosmographer writes.[4] The metropolis of Parthia was called Hecatompylos, and is thought to have stood in the same place where now stands Ispahan, the seat of the Persian kings. Their kings were surnamed Arsace from Arsaces, either a Scythian or a Bactrian, who was the first that took upon him the dominion of the Parthians, as the geographer asserts. They wintered at Ctesiphon, but spent the summer in Hyrcania, and at Ecbatana, according to Strabo, whom the learned call, by way of excellency, the geographer. The same author testifies that the Parthians in his time possessed so large and spacious a territory,

[1] Prologue to his Book of the Wars of the Jews, lib. ii., De Bello Jud. cap. 16, Gr. 28.
[2] Lib. xli cap. 1. [3] Lib. vi. cap. 2. [4] Lib. vi. cap. 15.

and ruled over so many nations, that by reason of the vastness of their empire, they were almost equal in power to the Romans.[1] The first among the Romans that triumphed over them, was Ventidius Bassus, according to Gellius.[2] Extraordinary was their manner of fight, therefore famous among the poets, for they fought flying. See Virg. Geor. iii. v. 30; Ovid, de Ar. Am. v. 211. Parthos, or Parthus, is also the name of an Illyrian city, whose inhabitants are called Partheni. But Parthus was a province of Macedonia, whose inhabitants, according to Ptolemy, called by the critics the cosmographer, are famed by the name of Parthyæi; and according to Pliny, by the name of Parthini, whose single city Eribœa is celebrated by Ptolemy.[3]

*Medes.* That is, the Jews who inhabited in Media. See what has been already said, ver. 5. Media and the Medes were so called from Madai the third son of Japhet, Gen. x. 2.[4] However, Herodotus asserts,[5] that they were first called Arians before they were called Medes. Media is bounded to the east by Hyrcania and Parthia, and separated from it by the Caspian mountain. To the west lies the greater Armenia and Assyria; to the south lies Persia; and to the north the Caspian sea. This Media is, for the most part, mountainous and cold and altogether barren, unless that part of the country which adjoins to the Caspian Straits, which is fruitful of all things necessary for human support, except oil, and therefore called happy and most fertile by the geographer, and by Virgil the most opulent.[6] Formerly the Medes were subject to the Assyrians, till Arbaces, viceroy of Media, revolted from Sardanapalus; and having destroyed Nineveh, erected the monarchy of the Medes, which afterwards lasted under nine kings two hundred and fifty-nine years, and was then translated from Astyages, the last king of the Medes, to the Persians, by Cyrus his grandchild by the daughter's side. Thomas de Pinedo observes, that the Parthians, Medes, and Persians, are oftentimes indifferently taken one for another by ancient writers.

*Elamites.* The Syrian interpreter calls them Elanæans, or Elanites, not the inhabitants of Elane near Eziongaber upon the Red sea, which belongs to Arabia the stony, but of another province of the same name, which Benjamin Tudelensis, in his

[1] Lib. xv.; lib. xvi. cap. 1; lib. ii.
[2] Noct. Attic. lib. xv. cap. 4.
[3] Lib. iii. cap. 13; lib. iii. cap. 23.
[4] Joseph. Ant. i. 5.
[5] Lib. vii. cap. 62.
[6] Lib. xi.—Georg. ii. 136.

Itinerary printed at Leyden, [1] places between Persia, Chorasan, Mesopotamia, and Armenia. From Elam the son of Shem, Gen. x. 22, Elimæ takes its name, a province of the Assyrians joining to Persia, near Susiana, the chief city of which was Elymais, wherein stood the temple of Diana, opulent in silver and gold, and rich presents, many of which were given by Alexander the the Macedonian king, 1 Mac. vi. This city Antiochus Epiphanes would have sacked for the riches of the temple; for which reason he was struck from heaven with sudden death, says Polybius the Megalopolite, mentioned by Josephus.[2] Though Josephus relates, that it was more probable that that accident befell him because he would have plundered the temple of Jerusalem. In like manner Menander, an ancient historian, cited by Josephus,[3] attributes the cause of those rains, which sacred history relates to have fallen upon the prayers of Elijah the prophet, 1 Kings xviii. 45, to the supplications of Ithobalus king of the Tyrians. The same Antiochus endeavoured to take Persepolis, and to rob its temples; for gold and silver are nowhere safe, 2 Mac. ix. Whether Persepolis and Elymais be the same, I know not. The inhabitants of the province of Elymæ, called by Luke Elamites, by the Syrian interpreter Elanæans, or Elanites, by Strabo and other Elymæans, and described to be fierce and warlike bow-men by Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, lived upon the spoil, and were the only neighbouring people that durst make head against the Parthians, and are said by Strabo, lib. xi., to have exacted tribute from the kings of Persia. These Elymæans were always subject to their own proper kings, of whom Jeremiah and Strabo make mention. Two of these are upon record, Chedorlaomer is one, the other is Arioch, Gen. xiv. 1; Judith i. 6. However, though Strabo rightly distinguisheth the Elymæans from the Susians, whom Eustathius and Eusebius derive from Shelach, or Sela, the son of Arphaxad, and from the Persians, whom Bochart and Heidegger deduce from Sabtha, the son of Cush; yet Elam is often taken not only strictly for Elymais, but also for all the neighbouring nations lying upon the river Eulæus, as the Gabians, Carbians, Massabitics, whose provinces the geographer attributes to the Elymæans and the Susians; for Benjamin Tudelensis in his Itinerary takes Chuzistan, or the province of Susia, to be the same with Elam. The Arabian interpreter, newly printed at Paris,

[1] P. 73. [2] Antiq. lib. xii. cap. 13. [3] Antiq. viii. 7.

renders Elam, Gen. x. 22, by Churestan, which is the same with Chuzistan. Hence Daniel, ch. viii. 2, places Shushan the metropolis of Susia, in the province of Elam; and Ptolemy, Pliny, and Marcian, seat the Elymæans not far from the mouth of the river Eulæus. And from hence lastly it is that Josephus makes[1] the Elymæans to have been the first ancestors of the Persians; that is to say, that till the reign of Cyrus the Persians were called by the name of the neighbouring people, Elymæans. But after Cyrus's time, though they often occur under that name, especially in sacred history, yet commonly Persia is not called by the name of Elam, but of Paras, which signifies a horse, because the Persians were of footmen made to fight on horseback by the appointment of Cyrus, as Xenophon relates.

*And who dwell in Mesopotamia.* Luke proceeds in a direct order from east to west, in the recital of these people. But in regard the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Judea, Cappadocia, Pontus, and Asia, are comprehended in the former words, ver. 5, *that dwell in Jerusalem*, plain it is, that by inhabitants or dwellers is not meant they who had settled abodes, but they who sojourned for some time in Jerusalem. See the former Annot. upon ver. 5. By Stephen of Byzantium the inhabitants of Mesopotamia are called Mesopotamites; by Vopiscus, in the Life of Aurelius, Mesopotamians. See our notes upon Hosea xii. 12.

*Judea.* Strictly so taken, from whose dialect that of the Galileans was much different, as appears by Peter's being betrayed by his tongue. See our literal explication upon Matt. iii. 5.

*Cappadocia.* This to the west is bounded by Galatia, to the south by Cilicia, to the east by Armenia, to the north by part of the Euxine sea, according to Ptolemy.[2] The Cappadocians, inhabitants of this country, were formerly called Leucosyrians, as Pliny testifies, lib. vi. cap. 3, and Syrians, as Herodotus witnesses.[3] Before the enlargement of the Roman empire, they were first under the Persians, and afterwards governed by themselves in the reign of Ariaratha, after whom reigned Archelaus, whose daughter Glaphyra married to Alexander the son of Herod the Great, by the relation of Constantine Porphyrogenitus.[4] The geographer relates this story somewhat otherwise.[5] That when the royal line failed,

[1] 1 Antiq. 6. [2] Lib. v. cap. 6. [3] Lib. i. cap. 72.
[4] Lib. i. Them. 2. [5] Lib. xii. p. 540.

the Romans, in regard of the common league of friendship between both nations, permitted them to live under their own laws, but that the Cappadocians, sending their ambassadors, refused their liberty, and desired to have a king imposed upon them. The Romans, therefore, admiring the humour of the people, that [they] were out of love with liberty, sent them a free permission to choose a king among themselves, who thereupon chose Ariobarzanes, whom Porphyrogenitus calls Ariaratha; whose line failing also after the third descent, Archelaus was imposed upon them by Antonius, no way related to Ariobarzanes. Formerly the nation of the Cappadocians was infamous for wickedness and fraudulency, as also the Cilicians and Cretes, which gave rise to the proverb, "Three Kappas or K's the worst," which was afterwards applied to the three Corneliuses, Sylla, Cinna, and Lentulus, whose proper names were Cornelius. Nevertheless, there is no country so bad, which does not produce some excellent persons. Thus Cappadocia gave to the world three most renowned bishops, Gregory, surnamed the wonder-worker, of Neocæsarea; Basil the Great of Cæsarea; and Gregory Nazianzen. Formerly it produced Pausanias, who from the place of his nativity is called Cæsariensis, from his country Cappadocian and Syrian, in regard that some comprehend Cappadocia under Syria. The often-praised geographer Strabo was also born in a town of Cappadocia, called Amasia.

*Pontus.* The country of Asia the less, famous for the renowned Mithridates, and Aquila, that exquisite interpreter of the Old Testament. This region is bounded to the west by the river Halys, to the east by the country of Colchis, to the south by the lesser Armenia, and to the north by the Euxine sea, according to Strabo. Ptolemy, varying in his limits: "Pontus," saith he,[1] "is bounded to the west by the mouth of the Propontis and the Thracian Bosphorus, to the south by that country which is properly called Asia, and to the north by part of the Euxine Sea."

*Asia.* Meaning the Proconsular Asia, which was under the proconsul, and chief of the seven provinces which constituted the Asian diocese.[2] "The Romans," saith Frederick Spanheim the son, "called that particularly Asia which comprehended the country belonging to the Pergamen kings, which lies between the Hellespont, Lydia, and Caria, and comprehends a part of Mysia,

[1] Lib. v. [2] Strab. lib. xiii.

with the country named Æolis, extending itself on the one side to the Adramitic Gulf, on the other side to the fountains of the river Meander." Of this province, which was more strictly called Asia, the metropolis was Ephesus, the seat of the proconsuls of Asia. The next to Ephesus, in the time of the apostles, was Smyrna; the same city being also a metropolis: after that, Pergamus, the seat of the famous king Attalus, as the most learned Spanheim relates in his Introduction to Geography.

10. *Phrygia.* In the Asian diocese which was subject to the Asiatic vicar. There was a two-fold Phrygia, of which the one was called the greater and Pacatian, the other the lesser and the healthful. The first was bounded to the north by Bithynia and Galatia; to the east, by the healthful Phrygia and Pisidia; to the south, by Lydia, Caria, and Lycia; to the west, by the proconsular Asia. The metropolis of this country was Laodicea, upon the river Lycus. Phrygia the wholesome was conterminous northward to the greater, toward Galatia and Bithynia. The metropolis of which was Synnada, in the ancient Ionia, a colony of the Dorians, originally descended from the Macedonians, as appears by the ancient coins, according to the relation of the fore-cited Spanhemius.

*Pamphylia.* This province was the utmost limit of the Asian diocese to the south, toward the sea-shore, from thence called the Pamphilian Sea. It is bounded to the east by Cilicia and part of Cappadocia; to the west, by Lycia; to the north, by Galatia. "Formerly," saith Spanheim, "comprehending Pisidia and Isauria, it was under one and the same governor with Lycia, in the reign of Constantine the Great; but at length made consular under Theodosius the younger, and divided into two parts; the first part whose metropolis was Sida, and the second whose chief city was Perga." Moreover, although that in Pamphilia and the rest of the provinces already mentioned the Greek language was frequently used, yet there was another dialect proper to every country, and differing from that of the adjoining provinces. Therefore Strabo affirms that the Cibyrates made use of four dialects, the Pisidic, Grecian, Lydean, and Solyman. The Syrians also spake two languages at that time, as also the Jews, for they used both the Greek and Syriac. Nay, they might be said to make use of three languages, in regard the Latin was also spoken among them, as the learned Salmasius observes.

*Egypt.* Of Egypt, thus the learned Michael Baudrand: "Egypt

is a most famous country of Africa, not of Asia, under the dominion of the Turks ever since the year 1517. It extends in length from the Mediterranean Sea to Syene. The river Nile runs through the middle of it, whose inundations make it fertile. To its east lie the deserts of Arabia; to the west, Lybia; to the south, Ethiopia; and to the north, the Mediterranean Sea."

*And the parts of Lybia round about Cyrene.* The upper Lybia was called Pentapolitan, from the number of her cities, of which the names were Berenice, Arsinoe, Ptolemais, Apollonia, and the most famous of all, Cyrene, from which all the upper Lybia is sometimes called Cyrenaic. "The bounds of this Cyrenaic Lybia," saith Spanheim, "were the greater Syrtis to the west; the country of the Psylli and the desert Lybia to the south; and Marmaric Lybia to the east." See our annotations upon Amos ix. 7; Matt. xxvii. 33.

*And strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes.* That is such of the Romans as sojourned in Judea, as well Jews by birth as proselytes. "At Rome," saith Grotius, "there were many Jews, as Cicero and Horace tell us. Also many women and freed men joined themselves to them, as Tibullus, Ovid, and Philo witness."

11. *Cretes.* Saith the above-mentioned Spanheim, "Crete, seated between the Lybic and Egæan sea, to the south of the Peloponnesus, and to the east of the island Carpathus, was one of the first that were illuminated with the light of the gospel by the preaching of St. Peter, Acts ii., and the great pains of Paul and Titus." But the most learned Lightfoot believes,[1] that by Cretes are understood here the inhabitants of that region of Palestine which we have already observed to be called Creth by the Syrians, in our notes upon Wisdom ii. 5, because the Cretes are here joined with the Arabians, who are contiguous to the land of Palestine.

*Arabians.* Arabia is a country of Asia, neighbouring upon Africa, bounded to the north by Syria and the river Euphrates, to the east by the Persian Gulf; to the west, by the Arabian Gulf; and to the south, by the Arabian Sea, or part of the Indian Ocean. It is threefold; the desert Arabia, where the Israelites abode forty years; the Happy, or spice-bearing; and the Stony, famous for the city of Krac, or Harach, which in scripture is called Petra of the Wilderness; and for Mount Sinai, where God promulgated the law by Moses, which mountain by Ethnic writers is called

[1] In Disquis. Chorograph. set before his Notes upon St. John's gospel.

Casius. Wherefore Solinus calls the Arabians,[1] a people famous for the Mountain Casius, where was the temple of Jupiter, who from thence was entitled Casius. There also lay interred the body of Pompey the Great, whose monument was sumptuously built by Adrian, as Elius Spartianus records in the life of Adrian; moved thereto, perhaps, by that famous distich, for Adrian was a learned person:

> "Licinius' tomb is large, but Cato's small;
> Pompey has none; believe we gods at all?"

There was also another Mount Casius in Syria, which is the reason of some confusion among writers. They who desire more of Arabia, may read Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny.

*We have heard.* In the Greek, "we do hear," as in the English version; that is to say, with our own ears.

*Speaking in our tongues.* Not that when one voice was uttered many other echoes as it were dispersed themselves; but that the disciples of Christ spake in the proper languages of them that heard.

*The wonderful works of God.* Which God had prepared before the foundations of the world, to be given to the faithful by Christ. Those wonderful works are called *glorious things*, Psalm lxxxvii. 3.

12. *What meaneth this?* That is, to what intent is all this?

13. *Others mocking.* In the Greek, "cavilling." Learn from these cavillers, that there is no miracle so great, but scurrilous and impious loquacity will find a quarrel to reproach it.

*They are full of must.* These things being done upon the day of Pentecost, at what time there is no new wine or must, properly so called. *Must* seems here to be taken for any sweet wine, or wine boiled out of the must.

14. *But Peter standing up with the eleven.* Armed with boldness, and trusting in the assistance of the newly received Holy Ghost.

*Lift up his voice.* That he might be heard by all, in such a numerous assembly of auditors.

*Ye men of Judea.* Peter being about to preach forth Christ to the mutinous multitude, does not presently begin from the prophecy of Joel, but first removes the false report spread by some, that they who spake in various languages, were in the extravagancies of their wine. And presently, by the pleasing address of, *Ye men of Judea*, courts the goodwill of the auditory. For it was an appella-

[1] Cap. 46.

tion plausible to those who professed the Jewish religion. *Ye men of Judea,* in regard that they excelled all other nations for many reasons; to wit, in regard of the law given from heaven, the honour of the prophets, and the worship of the true God.

*And all you that live in Jerusalem.* He addresses himself to these dwellers in Jerusalem particularly, because they were both in greater number, and of greater quality than the rest.

*Be this known unto you.* As if he had said, Attend with heed to what I am about to say.

15. *Seeing it is but the third hour of the day.* Though such be the shame of drunkenness, that it abhors the light, and that *they who are drunk are drunk in the night,* 1 Thess. v. 7; yet there are not a few who, like swine, as soon as they rise do make haste from their beds to their cups. Against whom the prophet darts his *Woe be to you; woe be to you that rise betimes in the morning to follow strong drink,* Isa. v. 11. And though Josephus relates[1] that the Jews upon festival days were never wont to dine till the sixth hour, that is noon, yet that custom was not observed by all; there being many breakers of the commandments of God, and violaters of human customs, such as lived in Isaiah's time, chiefly upon festival days, upon which the Jews were commanded to rejoice before the Lord, Lev. xxiii. 40. The words of Peter are therefore to be understood as if he had said, that they were more pious and devout than to be drunk by nine o'clock in the morning, at what time there is no man but moderately temperate who is not fasting. The Chaldee paraphrase upon Eccles. x. 16: "After they have offered the usual sacrifice, let them eat bread at the fourth hour, which with us is at ten in the morning. Rabbi Salomon Jarchi: 'at the fourth hour,' saith he, 'which is the hour of eating, at what time all people retire to take their meals.'"[2]

16. *But this,* &c. As if he had said, But it happens to these persons what Joel had foretold by the spirit of prophecy. In the same manner the Jews refer it to the times of the Messiah, as R. Saadia testifies:[3] "Then shall remain a gift of prophecy among our people, so that our sons and our servants shall prophecy, according to that of Joel, *and afterwards I will pour forth my Spirit,* &c."

17. *In the last days.* That is, in the times of the Messiah,

[1] In Vit. sua.

[2] In gloss. ad fol. 83, tract. Talmud Baba Metsia.

[3] Lib. Emounoth, cap. 8.

which were the last days of Jerusalem and the Jewish government. Luke follows in the citation of this place, and some others, the Hellenist interpreters, though not exactly, the words being sometimes changed and transposed; which [transposing] Moses does also, reciting the decalogue in Deuteronomy. Moreover, by this prophecy of Joel, and by others of the same nature, God promised that he would endue those that believed in him with a larger proportion of divine knowledge, under the New Testament, than he had done under the Old. But he did not signify that he would do it alone, and without any other means; and that there would be no further use of the holy scripture. But that on the contrary, that extraordinary help, the infusion of the Holy Spirit [should be given] (dreams and visions should chiefly all tend to that), that the mind of God, speaking in the scripture, might be the sooner understood; to the end, that no person who should with attentive devotion search them, and implore the assistance of the Holy Spirit, should stand in much need of the instruction of another, to understand those things which are necessary to be known for salvation.

*Upon all flesh.* That is, upon all conditions and sexes believing in Christ, and ready to lead their lives according to his precepts. Wherefore, saith Peter, *The Lord has given his Holy Spirit to those that obey him,* ch. v. 32.

*Shall prophesy.* As, ch. xxi. 9, 10, 11, the four daughters of Philip the evangelist and Agabus.

*Shall see visions.* That is to say, caused from above, as did Ananias and Peter, ch. ix. 10; x. 11. Says Macrobius upon Scipio's Dream; "There are five principal diversities and names of things which people seem to see in their sleep. For either it is a dream, or a vision, or an oracle, or an inspiration, or a phantasm, which Cicero calls *visum,* as oft as he needed make use of this word." See our literal explanation upon Joel ii. 28.

18. *And I,* &c. See our annotations, Joel ii. 29.

19. *And will show wonders.* Such were the signs forerunning the extirpation of the Jews, which they suffered under the Romans for rejecting Jesus the doctor of perfect justice [teacher of perfect righteousness], and contemning the doctrine of the apostles, inspired with his Spirit, and inviting them to repentance. Such were comets hovering over Jerusalem like flaming swords, chariots and armies rushing together in the air; with like events upon the earth, as slaughters, burning of towns and cities, and other calamities

that befell the Jews in Galilee and Judea, which use first to portend, and then to bring a people's utter destruction. See what we have already said upon Joel ii. 30.

20. *The sun shall be turned,* &c. See our literal explication upon Joel ii. 31.

*The great day of the Lord.* That is, the great and terrible judgment of God upon the refractory Jews. "In the first sense," saith Brenius, "Joel spake this of the destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, but mystically of the destruction by the Romans; which is called by way of super-eminency the day of the Lord." Thus also saith Beza, "These things I refer to the nation of the Jews, whose utter destruction being shortly to fall upon the obstinate contemners of the gospel is foretold, as Christ also positively declares, Matt. xxiv.; however, joining them with that last day, when the same calamity which formerly befell Jerusalem, shall be the ruin of the whole world, guilty of the same great and outrageous obstinacy." Moreover the destruction of the Jews by the Romans is called *the great and terrible day of the Lord,* as Lightfoot observes in his annotations upon Mark ix. 1: "It is described as the end of the world. By Periphrasis it is called the last days, or latter times; that is, the last times of the continuance of this city and government. From that time begins the new world. It is also described as the coming of Christ. His coming in the clouds in glory with the angels; and then again as the enthroning of Christ and his twelve apostles judging the twelve tribes of Israel." Thus far Lightfoot. Acts ii. 20; 2 Thess. ii. 2, 3; Jer. iv. 24, &c.; Matt. xxiv. 29, &c.; Isa. ii. 2; Acts ii. 17; 1 Tim. iv. 1; 2 Pet. iii. 13; Isa. lxv. 17; 2 Pet. iii. 13; Heb. x. 37; Rev. i. 7; Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii. 30.

*And not able.* In the Greek is *epiphanes,* by which word the Septuagint used to render the Hebrew word *hanora,* that signifies "terrible." "Nor is it to be questioned," saith Ludovicus de Dieu, "but that from thence that cruel tyrant Antiochus was called *Epiphanes,* "terrible, rather than illustrious." This Antiochus is called by Polybius, *Epimanes,* that is to say, "furious," or "raging mad."

21. *And it shall come to pass, that all,* &c. As if he had said, that whosoever shall in word and deed religiously worship Christ sent by God, shall be delivered from the grievous calamity prepared for the Jews. Thus Paul adapts this prophecy to Christ

our Saviour, Rom. x. 12, 13. But as the invocation of God is not only taken for prayer directed to him, but frequently for any act of divine worship; so is also the invocation of Christ, or of his name, taken in the same sense, Gen. xii. 8; xiii. 4; xxvi. 25; 1 Chron. xiii. 6; Psa. lxxix. 6; Isa. xli. 25; Jer. x. 25; Acts ix. 14, 21; 1 Cor. i. 2; 2 Tim. ii. 22. Now that the Christians were freed from the common calamities of the Jews in the destruction of Jerusalem, we find in Eusebius:[1] "But whereas the whole commonalty and body of believers at the church of Jerusalem, by oracular foresight inspired into some devout and holy persons, were admonished to depart the city before the war, and seat themselves in a town beyond Jordan, called by the name of Pella: and now all those that believed in Christ, having translated themselves from the forsaken Jerusalem to Pella, then it was that the royal city and capital seat of the nation, being deserted by the holy people, was overwhelmed by divine vengeance, for so many crimes committed both against Christ and his apostles, so that the whole race of those wicked people perished." See my annotations upon Joel ii. 32.

22. *Jesus of Nazareth.* In the Greek, "Jesus the Nazarene," who being conceived, educated, and leading the most part of his life in Nazareth of Galilee, according to the predictions of the prophets, might well be called Nazarene. See our literal explanation, Matt. ii. 23.

*Approved of God.* As if he had said, The person whom God by most powerful and not to be contradicted proofs, had demonstrated to be by him to you sent, seeing that he wrought so many and such great miracles in your sight, which no man could have effected but by a divine power. The same also Nicodemus acknowledged, John iii. 2. *Master*, said that great senator of the Sanhedrim, *we know that thou comest from God, for no man can work those miracles which thou dost, unless God were with him.*

*Among you.* A Hebraism, for "to you," that is to say, to be by him sent to you.

*By miracles, wonders, and signs.* A synonym, which figure we make use of when we think one word not sufficient to explain the dignity and value of the thing. But why miracles are called both *miracles, wonders, and signs*, we have already declared upon Matt xxiv. 24.

[1] 3 Hist. 5.

*In the midst of you.* That is, before your eyes. *But when he had wrought so many signs before them, they believed not in him,* John xii. 37.

23. *This,* &c. This Jesus, by the decree of the Father whom he in all things voluntarily obeyed, being surrendered into your power, with an incredible importunity you forced the Romans to nail him to the cross.

*By the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God delivered.* In the Greek, "yielded up." "They are said to be yielded up," saith Grotius, "who are delivered up to their enemies." Therefore Christ by the determinate decree of God was given up into the power and disposal of his enemies, whose hostile and inhuman rage God did not predestinate, as the divines do speak, but only foreknew. "Predestination," saith St. Austin,[1] "cannot be without foreknowledge, but foreknowledge may be without predestination. For by predestination God foreknew those things which he was to act; but he may foreknow those things which he himself does not do; as all manner of sins. For though there are some which are in such a manner sins, as to be the punishment of sins—hence it is said, *God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient,* Rom. i. 28—yet there is no sin in what is attributed to God, but judgment." Thus far St. Austin.

*And by the hands of the wicked.* In the Greek, "of the lawless." The Jews called those lawless and sinners which are vulgarly called pagans. But here Peter means the Roman soldiers, who are called sinners, Matt. xxvi. 45; Mark xiv. 41; Luke xxiv. 7. See 1 Cor. ix. 15.

*Ye slew.* He that is the author and abettor of murder is said to commit the murder.

24. *Whom God hath raised up.* Most excellently, St. Austin:[2] "No dead person is the raiser of himself. He could raise himself, who was not dead though his flesh were dead. For he raised that which was dead; he who lived in himself raised himself, but was dead in the flesh that was to be raised. For the Father alone did not raise the Son, of whom it is said by the apostles, *for which God raised him;* but also the Lord raised himself, that is, his own body; therefore said he, *Destroy this body, and in three days I will raise it,*" John ii. 19. "But who is so mad," saith the same St.

[1] De Predest. SS. cap x. [2] Serm. viii. de Verb. Dom.

Austin,[1] "as to say, that the Holy Spirit did not operate in the resurrection of Christ, seeing that he operated the man Christ himself?"

*Having loosed the pains of hell.* The Greek has, "of death," as in the English version, that is, having loosed the bands of the sepulchre; or, which is the same thing, having broken the strong cords of death with which Christ had surrendered himself to be bound, laying down his soul that he might re-assume it, John x. 17; alluding to the swathings of the dead, or to the cords with which malefactors are bound when led to execution, to prevent their crafty means to escape. From these bands God set Christ at liberty, recalling him to a life never to be ended. "The Hebrew word *chebel*," saith Sir Edward Leigh,[2] "signifies two things, a cord or a fetter, or the torments or pangs, more especially of a child-bearing woman. Hence this word occurring to the seventy interpreters, where it certainly signifies cords or bonds, Ps. xviii. 5, see margin, they turn the word, sharp pains; and so in other places, 1 Kings xx. 31, &c. And here St. Luke following their example uses the words, *the pains of death*, or as some of the ancients, with the Syriac interpreter, have read, 'of hell.' Where both additions of the words 'loosing' and 'holding,' show bonds or cords to be here denoted by pains."

*It was impossible*, &c. As if he had said, He might be bound with the cords of death, but he could not be detained bound by those bonds, though never so strong, who had power to lay down his life, and power to resume it, and only laid it down that he might resume it, John x. 17, 18.

*Of it.* That is, either of death or of hell; in whose bonds being held and bound, he was free to break the cords. For hell in this verse is taken either for the grave, or for the common receptacle of all souls separated by death from the body; which most of the ancient interpreters, both Jews and Christians, believe to be signified in scripture by the word hell. Hence that of Hilarius,[3] "This is the law of human necessity: that the bodies being buried, the souls descend to hell, which descent, to the full finishing of all that belonged to a true man, the Lord himself did not refuse." Moreover, this word hell, taken for the common place of separated souls, the Hebrews call Sheol, the Greeks Hades, and both divide

[1] Contra Ser. Ar. cap. xv. [2] In Supplement. Critic Sac.
[3] In Psalm cxxxviii.

the place into two parts, of which the Hebrews call the one Paradise, the Greeks Elysium; the other is by the Greeks called Tartarus, by the Hebrews Gehenna. "Therefore Christ," saith Ja. Windet, "was in Paradise, and by the same way in hell. Therefore St. Austin laboured in vain, and might have spared himself the trouble which he spends upon that question propounded in his Epistle to Dardanus, and elsewhere. And when we believe, according to the Creed, in Christ descending into hell, those are deceived who believe the meaning to be, that he descended into the place of torment, commonly called hell."

25. *For David speaketh concerning him.* As if he had said, For the Holy Ghost, who spake by the mouth of David, representing the person of Christ, looking upon Christ as being dead, spake these words, Ps. xvi. 8, &c.

*I foresaw the Lord always before my face.* That is, the majesty of God represented itself before my eyes day and night, that I might submit myself wholly to his power and disposal.

*For he is on my right hand that I should not be moved.* As if he had said, By his help and assistance, I overcome [in] most difficult labours. "To be at the right hand," saith Genebrard, "is to be prepared and ready to assist."

26. *Therefore.* That is, because I have God to assist me in overcoming any hardships or dangers whatsoever.

*Did my heart rejoice.* That is, I rejoice with all my heart. "Preterperfect tenses," saith Vatablus, "among the Hebrews, are used for futures and presents."

*And my tongue was glad.* The Hebrew has it, "my glory," or "honour." That is, and my gladness excites me to sing a hymn. "Honour or glory," saith Moller, "is taken for the tongue. As, *My honour, be not thou united,* Gen. xlix. 6; that is, I did not approve their crimes with my tongue: nor did I by my command excite them to perpetrate evil. Therefore then is the tongue so called, as being that member particularly framed to celebrate the honour of God and the praises of men. See Ps. xxx. 12; lvii. 8. And for that reason they who revile God or men, their tongues are deservedly called dishonour and infamy."

*Moreover also my flesh shall rest in hope.* The Hebrew has it, "in safety." As if he had said, Although it may happen that my body may lie prostrate in the cold arms of death, enclosed within the sepulchre, yet my confident hope of returning from death to

life affords me tranquillity and security of mind. Saith Kimchi, in Ps. xvi. 9, "While I live my flesh shall remain in safety, because he shall deliver me from all harm." But in a mysterious sense, he believes it to be as if he had said, "After death my flesh shall lie in the grave secure from worms, because they shall have no power over it."

27. *For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell.* The sense in reference to David is, 1 Sam. xxii. 1, thou wilt not suffer me to be slain by Saul; but in relation to the Messiah, of whom David's concerns were types, thou wilt not leave me long in the state of the dead, or, which is the same thing, thou wilt not suffer my soul, laid down for my sheep, to be a long time shut up within the receptacle of souls separated from the body, into which I descended to satisfy the law of death, as Ireneus speaks.[1] Worthily, therefore, Grotius:[2] "True it is," saith he, "that hell is a place subtracted from our sight, and when it is understood in reference to the body it signifies the grave, where the body lies without a soul, but in reference to the soul it denotes that region or state wherein the soul remains without the body. Therefore as Dives was in hell, so was also Lazarus, the regions only being distinguished. For both Paradise and Gehenna, or, as the Greeks called those places, Tartarus and Elysium, were in hell. And that this was the opinion of the Greeks, is most certain, whom Virgil follows in the sixth of his Æneids. Nor let any one question the Jews, for whom I bring Josephus to vouch, who says that the prophet Samuel was raised by the witch out of hell. The same author, speaking of the Sadducees, 'They take away,' saith he, 'all punishments and rewards out of hell.' Again, where he sets down the opinion of the Pharisees, he appoints the seat both of punishment and reward in hell, under ground, because the infernal regions by the Greeks are called subterranean, either because hell was thought to be under ground, or rather because it is no more in sight than the most hidden recesses which the earth conceals. Josephus,[3] reciting the opinions of the Essenes, places the souls of the godly beyond the ocean, to which in another place, according to the judgment of the same persons, he allots the most holy region of heaven. But indeed those phrases of speech, under the earth, in the air, beyond the ocean, and what we find in Tertullian, beyond the fiery zone, signify no more than that which

[1] Lib. v. cap. 26. [2] Upon Luke xvi. 13. [3] De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 12.

is invisible, and inaccessible to us." Thus far Grotius, to which he adds that place of St. Ambrose:[1] "It had been enough to have said to those philosophers, that souls, set at liberty from the body, went directly to Hades, that is, to a place which is not seen, which we call in Latin *infernus*." And, lastly, the scripture calls those receptacles of separated souls, magazines.

*Thy Holy One.* In the Hebrew, "thy bountiful." That is, him who never, nor in no place, found thy bounteousness and loving-kindness withdrawn from him.

*To see corruption.* That is, to be corrupted. Thus *to see death* is to die, Luke ii. 26. The Hebrew word שַׁחַת, which properly signifies corruption, or putrefaction, as the two great apostles, Peter here, and Paul, ch. xiii. 34, urge the emphasis of it, is nevertheless very often taken for a ditch or pit, where dead bodies lie putrefying. So the Greek word whereby Luke expresses the Hebrew word, is by the interpreters of the Old Testement, not only used to denote bare corruption, but also the place of putrefaction, Ps. lvii. 6, and xciv. 13. "To see the pit," saith Vatablus, "is to be laid in a pit to suffer putrefaction," Ps. vii. 15; ix. 15; Prov. xxvi. 27. The sense, therefore, of this half verse in reference to David is, Thou wilt not suffer me, being through thy benignity appointed to reign, to die a sad death by the hand of my enemies; in relation to the Messiah typified by David, Thou wilt not suffer me, toward whom thou bearest a love most singular and ineffable, to lie so long in the grave, till my body be rotten.

28. *Thou hast made known to me the way of life.* In the Hebrew, "Thou wilt make me know the path of life." In respect of David, it signifies, Thou wilt open me a most certain way to deliver me from the death designed me by my enemies. In respect of the Messiah, Thou wilt bring me back from death to perpetual and immortal life.

*Thou shalt make me full of joy.* That is, thou shalt heap joy and comfort upon me.

*With thy face.* As if he had said, being by thee beheld with a benign and gracious aspect.

29. *Men and brethren.* A kind compellation to gain the affections of the hearers. Neither does Peter in the least deny the cited words of Ps. xvi. to be anywise understood of David; but urges them to be so uttered by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, that

[1] De Bono Mortis, cap. 10.

literally and properly they are not to be understood of David, but of Christ, of whom David [was] made a representation.

*Of the patriarch David.* *Patriarch,* is a compound Greek word of *patria,* signifying "family," and *arche,* "beginning." However, every father of a family is not called a patriarch by the Hellenists, but only they who in Hebrew are called the heads, or chief of the fathers; that is, the fathers of the fathers of a family, and the founders of the whole family and kindred. They are called *the heads of the fathers,* Exod. vi. 25; and 1 Chron. ix. 9, *patriarchs.* And thus David is properly called a patriarch, because he was the founder of the royal family; which is called in Greek *patria,* "lineage," Luke ii. 4. And so below, ch. vii. 8, 9, the twelve sons of Jacob are called patriarchs, because the several tribes derived their names from them, as being the founders of their race, and deduced their original from them. So Abraham is called a *patriarch,* Heb. vii. 4, because the whole race of the elect people of God descended from his loins. There were also other patriarchs improperly so called, not in respect of pedigree, but in regard of their superiority and precedency. Thus they, whom the author of the Chronicles calls *princes of the tribes of Israel,* 1 Chron. xxvii. 22, the Greeks call patriarchs of the tribes, and in this sense also King David, advanced to the most supreme degree of dignity, might be styled a patriarch. Such were the patriarchs improperly so called, whom the Hellenist Jews, after the destruction of Jerusalem, chose for their chieftains. "Therefore," says the learned Heidegger,[1] "Hadrian to Severianus the consul makes mention of the patriarch of the Jews dwelling in Alexandria.[2] Epiphanius also relates in his disputation against the Ebionites, 'That some part of the Jews in his time inhabited the city of Tiberias, who acknowledged a head or supreme, to whom they gave the title of patriarch; to whom also were joined several assistants, who were called apostles.' From which custom to think that Christ gave to his disciples the name of apostles, is a gross mistake of Baronius,[3] as Casaubon learnedly makes out. But in the Christian church, as being a spiritual family, after the passion of Christ several bishops were called fathers, and archbishops patriarchs; that is to say, chief among the fathers. Whom it was lawful to suffer, if not as fathers, at least as pedagogues in Christ,

[1] Exercitat i. Hist. Patriarch. n. 6. [2] Vopisc. in the Life of Saturnin.
[3] Ad Annum 32, n. 5.

1 Cor. iv. 15. But the ambition of these persons increasing, the chief archbishops, whom they called bishops of the highest seat, usurped this title to themselves; till at length four of them obtained this title to be conferred upon them principally above all the rest; the patriarchs of Rome, of Alexandria, of Antioch, and Jerusalem; to whom was added at length the patriarch of Constantinople, made the second, by reason of the new Rome's dignity."

*Is dead.* He died on the feast of Pentecost, if we may believe the Jerusalem Talmud.

*His sepulchre.* With which the bones and ashes of David are covered.

30. *Of the fruit of his loins.* The words are taken out of the 132nd Psalm, ver. 11, where the Greek has it, "of the fruit of thy belly;" that is, by the birth of thy wife. The same sense answers to both. There is added here in the Greek text, "to raise Christ according to the flesh." But there is no reason appearing why this addition, which the Greek copies have, and Chrysostom has expressed, should be brought into the least suspicion of being untrue. "For," saith the learned Ludovicus de Dieu, "when Luke does not relate what was singly sworn to David, but what David as a prophet knew to be sworn to him, it did not behove him barely to recite the words of the promise, but to explain how David as a prophet understood them. God had promised to David, that he would settle in his throne one of the fruit of his loins; that David, as a prophet, knew to be nothing else but that God would raise Christ according to the flesh, from the fruit of his loins, to sit upon his throne."

*To sit upon his throne.* Christ is said to sit upon David's throne, because he was designed by God to be his successor, who after a celestial and divine manner should reign over the house of Jacob, that is, the people of God, over whom David had received from God the earthly dominion. For which reason Christ himself affirms that he has the key, that is, the power and empire of David, though his throne be not established upon earth, but translated to heaven, and that all powers both in heaven and earth are subjected to his empire, together with angels, good and evil, all people, tongues, nations, and even death and hell itself.

31. *He seeing this before.* As if he had said, David understanding by the spirit of prophecy, that it was promised him that Christ should be raised from his seed, by the same prophetic knowledge

foretold that the soul of Christ should not be long left in a condition separated from the body, nor his body remain so long in the sepulchre as to be reduced to dust, before it should be raised, Ps. cxxxii. and 2 Sam. vii.; Ps. xvi.

32. *Whereof we are witnesses.* As if he had said, We all attest that this Jesus was called from the dead, not by report, but by those certain signs, of which we were all sensible by seeing, hearing, and feeling.

33. *Therefore being by the right hand of God exalted.* As much as to say, this Jesus being taken up into heaven by the divine power.

*And by the promise,* &c. That is, and having received the gift of the Holy Ghost, which he as Mediator between God and man had often promised us, this has he largely and plentifully bestowed upon us, as by our sudden speaking of languages we never learnt is apparently demonstrable to you.

34. *For David did not ascend into heaven.* That is, to the heavenly throne, which is typified by his earthly throne.

*But he saith himself.* So Christ, Matt. xxii. 43; Mark xii. 36; and Luke xx. 42. Hence it is clear, that it was a thing confessed and apparent to the ancient Jews, that the 110th Psalm contained prophecy concerning the Messiah, and that David was the writer thereof. "And indeed," saith Grotius, upon the foresaid place of Matthew, "the inscription in the Hebrew copies is, A hymn of David, which alone sufficiently argues that it is not to be attributed to Eliezer, or any other writer in the times of Hezekiah. For though we should grant that the Psalms' titles were not added by their own authors, yet they appear to be of very great antiquity; and to enervate the credit of them, not by argument, but at our own conceited pleasures, [were] to be mad for love of contention. The Septuagint render the word *Ledavid,* "to David;" but the paraphrasts and other Jews render it better "of David" in the second case. For if we should otherwise interpret it, there would be none of the Psalms which might certainly be thought David's. Whereas the Jews themselves do all confess, that several of the Psalms having the same inscription, *Ledavid,* were nevertheless written by David."

*The Lord said to my Lord.* That is, the Eternal Father bespake the Messiah to be born of me according to the flesh, who nevertheless is my Lord, because he is the only begotten Son of

the Eternal Father. Rabbi Saadias[1] testifies also that the Messiah is here called Lord by David.

*Sit thou at my right hand.* That is, sit thou and reign in the heavenly throne, as the apostle explains it. He does not say, stand before me, but *sit;* which signifies regal and judicial power. Neither does he say, sit at my feet, but *at my right hand;* that is, be thou next in power to me, 1 Cor. xv. 25; Heb. x. 12, 13.

35. *Until I make,* &c. "The word *until,*" saith Genebrard, "uses to be taken emphatically for *even until,* and signifies continuance, not [to the] exclusion of future time, to which it is by no means opposed; as if he had said, reign with me also until I have put thy enemies under thy feet; also, all the time that seems to be contrary and opposite to thy reign; also, before I have subdued thy enemies at thy feet, even before the devil, death, the wicked, and all sin be utterly extirpated. For it is not to be questioned but that at all other times Christ shall reign. Observe, therefore, that by this and the like particles, the scripture and the Hebrew language affirm what might otherwise be called in question, Ps. cxxiii. 2, *Our eyes are fixed upon the Lord, until he shall have compassion upon us.* That is, even until or before he shows us his mercy; that is, in our time of distress. Matt. xxviii. 20, *I am with you until the end of the world;* that is, even until the end of the world, before which time, it seems, many things may happen to fall out contrary to it."

36. *Assuredly,* &c. That is, let this truth be to you most certain and undoubted, that this Jesus whom you demanded to the most ignoble and ignominious death of the cross, is appointed by God the Messiah, promised both in the law and the prophets, and invested with all power both in heaven and earth.

37. *What shall we do?* That is, by what means shall we obtain pardon of so heinous a crime committed by us, when we demanded this Jesus, constituted Lord of heaven and earth, the Messiah promised in the law and the prophets, to be put to the scandalous and ignominious death of the cross.

38. *Repent.* The Greek, "Be wise again," or "return to perfect understanding." As if he had said, So do you repent of the fact, that you may not only change your thoughts, but also your lives for the better, and compose yourselves to live according to the rule of his divine precepts. "Nothing makes true repentance,"

[1] Upon Dan. vii. 13.

saith St. Austin,[1] "but the hatred of sin and love of God." See my annot. upon Matt. iii. 2, 8, in that edition[2] which I dedicated to the Right Honourable Henry Compton, Lord Bishop of London, whose most ardent zeal for true religion and virtue, and most liberal and munificent charity both to me and the rest of the French Protestants, no oblivion can ever be able to obscure.

*And be baptized*, &c. That is, according to the command of Christ, let every one of you, struck with a real sorrow for his sins, be plunged in water; because that sacred immersion has been instituted by Christ, like a certain signet, diploma, or patent, by which he confirms the remission and utter defacing of their sins to all those who seek to him with an unfeigned faith, as the only Physician of their souls; so that their sins shall never more be remembered or imputed to them.

The sacred ceremony of baptism is not to be performed by the sprinkling only, or pouring on of a little water, but by the plunging of the whole body of them that are to be baptized; as, first, the proper signification of the Greek word *baptizo* declares. "This," saith Casaubon,[3] "was the rite of baptizing, that persons were plunged into the water, which the very word *baptizo* sufficiently demonstrates. Which as it does not extend so far as to sink down to the bottom, to the hurt of the person, so is it not to swim upon the superficies. Therefore we are apprehensive that it is not without cause what some have disputed, that baptism ought to be administered by plunging the whole body into the water, for they urge the word *baptize*." See our annot. chap. i. ver. 5, and our literal explication, Matt. iii. 6 and Mark i. 5.

Secondly. The example of Christ, Matt. iii. 16, and Mark i. 9. Whence the Synod of Calcuith, A.D. 816,[4] where Wulfrid, archbishop of Canterbury presided. "Let," saith he, "the presbyters beware, that when they administer the sacrament of baptism, they do not pour water upon the heads of the infants, but let them be always plunged in the font, according to the example of the Son of God himself, who was thrice plunged in the waters of Jordan. Thus must this ceremony be performed according to order." See our lit. expl. Matt. iii. 15.

Thirdly. The constant practice of the universal church till the time of Clement V., who was crowned pope anno. 1305, under

[1] Serm. 7, De Temp. [2] [Londini, 1678.] [3] Upon Matt. iii. 6.
[4] Can. 11. [Wilkins, i. 179.]

whom first of all the second Synod of Ravenna approved the abuse introduced into some churches about a hundred years before, that baptism without any necessity should be administered by aspersion. Hence it came to pass, that contrary to the analogy, or intended mystical signification of this sacrament, all the west for the most part has in this age the use of *rhantism*, that is, sprinkling, instead of baptism, as Zepper speaks, to the great scandal of the Greeks and Russians, who to this day plunge into the water those they baptize, and deny any one to be rightly baptized who is not plunged into the water, according to the precept of Christ, as we may find in Sylvester Sguropulus, and Cassander.[1] "The custom of the ancient church was not sprinkling, but immersion, in pursuance of the sense of the word baptizing in the commandment, and of the example of our blessed Saviour;" saith Dr. Jeremy Taylor.[2] "The Greek word *baptein*," saith Salmasius in the notes of divers upon Sulpitius Severus,[3] "from which the word *baptizein* is derived, signifies immersion, not sprinkling. Nor did the ancients otherwise baptize than by single or treble immersion. In the Greek church at this day, the person to be baptized is plunged over head and ears." The same thing does Peter Avitabile testify of the Asian Christians inhabiting Iberia and Colchi. "Only they who are bed-ridden," saith Salmasius, "because they lie down, were baptized as convenience would permit, not as they who plunge their heads under water, but by pouring the water upon their whole bodies. Thus Novatus was baptized in his sickness by effusion all over, not by immersion."[4] Gregory Nazianzen relates many and various names of this sacrament,[5] among which are these two, baptism and washing. And adding the reason for these appellations, "it was called," says he, "washing, because thereby sin is washed away; and baptism, in regard that sin is thereby signified to be buried." For, as saith St. Ambrose,[6] "Water is that wherein the body is plunged, to wash all sin away. There all vice is buried." Which, in the book inscribed, "Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws," printed at London, 1641, is expressed in these words, "While we are plunged in the water, the death and burial of Christ is recommended to us, that we openly testify that sin lies dead and buried

[1] Concil. Florent. sect. ix. cap. 9, and Lib. of Infants' Baptism, p. 693.
[2] Ductor Dubit, lib. iii, cap. 4. reg. 15. numb. 9.
[3] St. Martin's Life, n. 16.
[4] Euseb. 6, Hist. cap. 43.
[5] Orat. 40.
[6] Lib. De Initiandis.

in us. For, as saith St. Bernard, immersion is a representation of death and burial." But to substitute in the room of immersion, either sprinkling, or any other way of applying water to the body, to signify the same thing, is not in the power of the dispensers of God's mysteries, or of the church. For that, as Tho. Aquinas excellently well observes, "It belongs to the signifier to determine what sign is to be used for the signification; but God it is, who by things sensible signifies spiritual things in the sacraments." The church has no more power than was derived to it from the apostles. Now the apostles were endued by Christ after his resurrection with authority to preach throughout all nations the observance of all his precepts, Matt. xxviii. 20. But never was there any power granted to them to change the least tittle in any of the commands of Christ, much less of adding any new by their own authority.

Lastly. There is another thing that evinces the necessity of plunging the parties to be baptized, for that St. Peter asserts, 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21, the genuine end of baptism was not to represent the inward washing away from sin, which may be represented by any exterior washing of the body, but to express the death and resurrection of Christ, as also our own, and our belief of both resurrections, as the most famous Sir Norton Knatchbull, in his learned Notes, printed at Oxford, A.D. 1677, with the licence of the vice-chancellor, observes upon that place of Peter, whose words, though long, I cannot but transcribe, they are so full of truth and weight. "The sense and meaning of Peter is," saith he, "that baptism, which now saves us by water, that is, by the assistance of water, and is anti-typical to the ark of Noah, does not signify the laying down of the filth of the flesh in the water, but the covenant of a good conscience toward God, while we are plunged in the water, which is the true use of water in baptism, thereby to testify our belief in the resurrection of Jesus Christ; so that there is a manifest antithesis between these words *by water*, and *by the resurrection*, nor is the elegancy of it displeasing. As if he should say, the ark of Noah, not the flood, was the type of baptism, and baptism was an anti-type of the ark; not as baptism is a washing away of the filth of the flesh by water, wherein it answers not at all to the ark; but as it is the covenant of a good conscience toward God by the resurrection of Christ, in the belief of which resurrection we are saved, as they were saved in the ark

of Noah. For the ark and baptism were both a type and figure of the resurrection, so that the proper end of baptism ought not to be understood as if it were a sign of the washing away of sin, although it be thus oftentimes taken metonymically in the New Testament, and by the fathers, but a particular signal of the resurrection, by faith in the resurrection of Christ. Of which, baptism is a lively and emphatical figure, as also was the ark out of which Noah returned forth as from the sepulchre to a new life, and therefore, not unaptly called by Philo, 'the captain of the new creation.' And then, the whale's belly, out of which Jonas after a burial of three days was set at liberty; and the cloud, and the Red Sea, in which the people of Israel are said to have been baptized; that is, not washed, but buried; for they were all types of the same thing as baptism, not of the washing away of sin, but of the death and resurrection of Christ, and of our own. To which truth the apostles, the fathers, the scholastics, and all interpreters agree. The thing is so apparent as not to need any testimonies; but because there are not a few, who do not vulgarly teach this doctrine, it will not be superfluous to produce some of those innumerable testimonies, that I may not seem to speak without book. And first, let us begin with St. Paul: *Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death? Therefore, we are buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the Father of glory, so we also should walk in newness of life,* Rom vi. 3, 4. See also, Col. ii. 12. *Else what shall they do who are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all?* 1 Cor. xv. 29. As if he had said, If there be no resurrection, why are we baptized? In vain does the church use the symbol of baptism, if there be no resurrection. The like testimonies frequently occur among the fathers: 'That believing in his death, we may be made partakers of his resurrection by baptism.' 'Baptism given in memory of the death of our Lord.'[1] 'We perform the symbols of his death and resurrection in baptism.'[2] 'We know but one saving baptism, in regard there is but one death for the world, and one resurrection from the dead, of which baptism is an image."[3] Hear Paul exclaiming, *They passed through the sea, and were all baptized in the cloud and in the sea.* He calls baptism the passage of the sea, for it

[1] Ignat. Epist. ad Tral. Id. Epist. ad Philadelph. [2] Justin Martyr.
[3] Basil the Great.

was the flight of death caused by the water.'[1] 'To be baptized and plunged, and so to return up, and rise out of the water, is a symbol of the descent into hell, and return from thence.'[2] 'Baptim is a pledge and representation of the resurrection.'[3] 'Baptism is an earnest of the resurrection.'[4] 'Immersion is a representation of death and burial.'[5] Innumerable are the testimonies which might be added; but these I think sufficient to prove that baptism is an image of the death and resurrection of Christ, (from whence we acknowledge the mystery of our religion, his deity and humanity, Rom. i. 4,) and of all the faithful, who are baptized in his faith, from death in sin to newness of life, which, if they lead in this world, they have a most assured hope that being dead they shall hereafter rise to glory with Christ. Which things, if they be so, I beseech you, what affinity is to be seen between a burial and a washing, that Christian baptism should be thought to draw its original from Jewish lotions and divings? For if it were true that the end of our baptism were to signify a washing or ablution, or if it were true that the Jews of old did admit their children or proselytes into their church by the administration of any diving, as it is asserted by many learned persons of late days, I confess it might be a probable argument that our baptism was fetched from the divings of the Jews. But to prove that our baptism is indeed an image of death and resurrection, not of washing, enough has been said. But as to their argument who would have our baptism to be derived from the Jewish lotions, as there is nothing of certainty in it, so is it so far from being grounded upon any authority of scripture, that there are hardly any footsteps to be found thereof in the Old Testament. They deduce the original of baptism from the Hebrew word כָּבַס, which signifies "to wash," or "cleanse," Exod. xix. 10. But the rabbins, if I am not deceived, make use of the Hebrew word טִיבּוּל, which signifies immersion, thereby making it appear that they owe the notion of that word to the Greeks, or rather to the Christians. For what affinity is there between lotion and immersion? Besides that, we find some to have been baptized in sand. But the thing is so uncertain, that it cannot be said of the rabbins that there were not several among them who differed very much about this matter; for, in the very text cited by the forementioned learned

[1] Basil of Seleucia. [2] Chrysostom. [3] Ambrose.
[4] Lactantius. [5] Bernard.

men, Rabbi Eliezer expressly contradicts Rabbi Joshua, who was the first that I know of who asserted this sort of baptism among the Jews. For Rabbi Eliezer, who was contemporary with Rabbi Joshua, if he did not live before him, asserts that a proselyte circumcised and not baptized, was a true proselyte, for so we read of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that they were circumcised, but not baptized. But Rabbi Joshua affirms, that he who was baptized, not he who was circumcised, was a true proselyte. To whom shall I give credit? To Eliezer, who asserts what the scripture confirms, or to Joshua, who affirms what is nowhere to be found in scripture? But the rabbins upheld Joshua's side, and what wonder was it? for it made for their business, that is, for the honour of the Jewish religion, that the Christians should borrow their ceremonies from them. But when I see men of great learning in these times fetching the foundations of truth from the rabbins, I cannot but hesitate a little. For whence was the Talmud sent us? (They are the words of Buxtorf, in his Synagoga Judaica,) 'that we should give so much credit thereto, that from thence we should believe that the law of Moses either can or ought to be understood?' Much less the gospel, to which they were professed enemies. For the Talmud is called a 'labyrinth of errors, and the foundation of Jewish fables.' It was brought to perfection, and held for authentic five hundred years after Christ; therefore it is unreasonable to rest upon the testimony of it. And that which moves me most, Josephus, (to omit all the fathers that lived before the Talmud was finished) who was also a Jew, and contemporary with Rabbi Eliezer, who also wrote in particular of the rites, customs, and acts of the Jews, is altogether silent in this matter; so that it is an argument to me next to a demonstration, that two such eminent persons, both Jews, and living at the same time, the one should positively deny, the other make no mention of baptism among the Jews. Besides, if baptism in the modern sense, were in use among the Jews in ancient times, why did the Pharisees ask John Baptist, *Why dost thou baptize, if thou art not Christ, nor Elias, nor that prophet?* John i. 25. Do they not plainly intimate that baptism was not in use before, and that it was a received opinion among them, that there should be no baptism, till either Christ, or Elias, or that prophet came. How then there should be so much affinity between baptism and the divings of the Jews, that the one should be suc-

cessive to the other by any right or pretence, is altogether, I confess, beyond my faith. They say that Arrian calls a Jew 'dipped;' but I, as his commentator does, believe that he spake confusedly, and that he rather meant a Christian than a Jew, as in another place he calls the Christians, Galileans: likewise, Lubin upon Juvenal, Sat. iii. v. 14, observes, that there, by Jews, are meant Christians, who being expelled the city by Domitian, were forced to betake themselves to the woods that were sacred to heathenish superstitions. Therefore, that I may conclude, I say with Alexander de Hales, *tinctio*, that is 'dipping,' is the formal cause of baptism." Thus far the most learned, and highly deserving of sacred writings, Sir Norton Knatchbull, knight and baronet. "Now," saith Grotius, "that the ancients made use of the word *tingere* instead of *baptizare*, is not to be wondered at, seeing the Latin word *tingere* is properly the same in signification, and frequently used for *mersare*, 'to dip or to plunge'"

Hence it is that Magnus, in St. Cyprian, doubts whether they are to be accounted rightly initiated Christians, who are only initiated by sprinkling or pouring, in cases of sickness or weakness. To which Cyprian answers, "That whatever benefit accrues by the saving sacrament, that sprinkling, or pouring upon, necessity so enforcing, and God indulging, affords to the believer." "And this is the sense and law of the Church of England; not that it be indifferent, but that all infants be dipped, except in the case of sickness, and then sprinkling is permitted. And, therefore, although in cases of need and charity, the church of England does not want some good examples in the best times to countenance that permission, yet we are to follow her command, because that command is not only according to the meaning and intent of the word 'baptize,' but agrees with the mystery of the sacrament itself. *For we are buried with him in baptism*, saith the apostle. The old man is buried, and drowned in the immersion under water, and when the baptized person is lifted up from the water, it represents the resurrection of the new man to newness of life. In this case, therefore, the contrary custom, being not only against an ecclesiastical law, but against the analogy and mysterious signification of the sacrament, is not to be complied with, unless in such cases that can be of themselves sufficient to justify a liberty in a ritual and ceremony; that is, a case of necessity." Thus the learned Jeremy Taylor, bishop of Down.

But the holy martyr Cyprian binds nobody to his opinion concerning those that are sprinkled, or poured upon, in case of sickness or weakness. "Wherein," saith he, "our moderation doth hinder nobody from thinking what he believes, and doing what he thinks." Yea, verily, Cornelius, the Roman bishop and martyr, contemporary with Cyprian, in a synod of fifty bishops, questioned whether sprinkling or pouring upon the sick or weak might be called a baptism or no: as we may see in his epistle to Fabius, bishop of Antiochia.[1] Indeed, that the sick as well as the healthy were wont to be plunged, "which is properly to be baptized," says Pamelius in his Notes upon Cyprian's Epistle to Magnus, besides other proofs I omit [in order] to be brief, the acts of several saints do testify; as in the acts of St. Sebastian, the martyr, we find that Tranquillinus, a nobleman, afflicted with the gout, was so baptized by Polycarp the presbyter, and restored to health by his baptism. Also a paralytic Jew, who having long tried the physician's art in vain, bethought himself of the application of Christian baptism, and being brought in his bed to the font or dipping place, at the appointment of Atticus, who succeeded Chrysostom in the Constantinopolitan see, was plunged over head and ears, which being done, he was immediately freed from his distemper, and restored to perfect health.[2] Therefore, if, rejecting the errors of human contention, we return with a religious and sincere faith to evangelic authority and apostolic tradition, we shall find it most safe for them who by necessity, and altogether necessary for them who lying under no necessity were only sprinkled or poured upon, to be obedient to Christ, who commanded neither sprinkling nor effusion, but immersion, and to be plunged into the water according to his institution, who is made to all that obey him the cause of eternal salvation, Heb. v. 9. Nor is there any reason why they should be afraid of repeating baptism, or of the scandal of any church: "because," as St. Gregory says most excellently well,[3] "that is not said to be iterated, which is not certainly demonstrated to have been rightly and duly done." And as he says in another place, "if there be an offence taken at the truth, it is much better that offence be taken, than that the truth should be deserted."[4] The customs of churches ought to submit to the words of Christ, not the words of Christ to be wrested to the

[1] Apud Nicephorum, lib. vi. cap. 3.
[2] Socrates, lib. vii. cap. 4.
[3] Lib. i. Ep. 7.
[4] Hom. 7, in Ezechiel.

customs of the church, in regard the words of Christ are the foundation upon which all church customs are to be built, that they may be safe and laudable. Whatsoever savours against the words of Christ, savours against the truth; and as Tertullian says, "Whatever savours contrary to truth is heresy, though it be an ancient custom." It is in the power of God to pardon those that err out of simplicity. "But because we erred once, we are not always to go on in our errors," as St. Cyprian admonishes well;[1] "it being more proper for the wise, and those that fear God, to obey the manifest and open truth freely, and without delay, than obstinately and pertinaciously to resist it." Scotus having alleged the judgment of Alexander the Third, touching the baptizing of those of whom it was doubted whether they were baptized or no, takes an occasion to recommend three maxims.[2] The first is, "Where there is a possibility, the safest way is to be chosen." Secondly, "Where there is no possibility, the next to the safest way is to be made choice of." Thirdly, "When impossibility ceases, everything is to be supplied which impossibility would not admit." These maxims, so agreeable to reason, whoever intends to follow will never question but that they ought to be baptized, if they have not received that baptism ordained by Christ, but only the rhantism, that is, the sprinkling substituted in its room by a vulgar use, or rather abuse, as Luther calls it. See chap. viii. 38. "Nor is it to be doubted," saith that famous divine, John Forbes,[3] "but that they are again to be baptized who before have only received a vain washing, and not the true sacrament of baptism. And though it be not so great as the papists imagine, yet is the necessity of this sacrament very great, and the profit and advantage very considerable."

*In the name of Jesus Christ.* That is, professing a faith in Christ not feigned, as we may collect from chap. viii. 37. See our annotations upon the place. Or, *in the name of Jesus Christ* is the same with *in Jesus Christ;* as St. Paul speaks, Rom. vi. 3: *Are ye ignorant that whosoever of us are baptized in Christ Jesus,* according to the Greek, "into Christ Jesus," *we are baptized in his death,* the Greek has it, "into his death." Upon which words, Eulogius of Alexandria:[4] "To be baptized into Jesus Christ, signifies to be baptized according to the precept and tradition of Christ; that is,

[1] Epist. ad Jubaian. n. 10, cap. 14, n. 13.

[2] 4 Sent. dist. iii. q. 4, num. 10.

[3] Instruct. Hist.

[4] Lib. ii. Contr. Novatian. apud Photium in Bibliotheca.

into the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost. And that other, into his death, is typically representing his death in baptism." The same patriarch, in the same place, a little before, "What is said in the Acts of those that had received the baptism of John, that they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, denotes that they were baptized according to the institution and doctrine of the Lord Jesus: as also when it is said in another place, that they were baptized into Christ and the death of Christ, we ought to understand that the same sense is thereby signified; that is to say, they were baptized into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. For so the Lord Jesus Christ both taught and commanded his disciples to baptize." John Jewel, bishop of Salisbury:[1] "To baptize," saith he, "in the name of Christ, is so to baptize, as Christ instituted, commanded, and ordained. But those words, *in the name of Christ*, signify no more that baptism was administered in the only name of Christ, not of the Father and Holy Ghost, than these words, *Paul, a servant of Jesus Christ*, argue that he was a servant of Christ only, and not of the Father and Holy Ghost also: or as if those words which Paul spoke to the keeper of the prison, *believe in Jesus Christ*, should be thought to free him from a necessity of believing in the other two persons of the Trinity." Moreover, if there be any credit to be given to Pseudo-Abdias the Babylonian, the apostles in the infancy of the church, when they baptized, used this form, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of his Son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost." Perhaps, to the intent, that the name of Jesus Christ, which was odious to the Jews and Gentiles, might be advanced into honour, in regard that the Holy Ghost was given in baptism upon the invocation of his name. "Peter," saith Cyprian,[2] "makes mention of Jesus Christ, not as if the Father were to be omitted, but that the Son might be joined to the Father." Hence, St. Austin uses this example to weaken his adversaries' objection, where that Arian gainsays the Holy Ghost to be the Creator, because it is said all things were made by the Son:[3] "If," saith he, "because the Spirit is not named, therefore thou thinkest the Spirit of God not to be a creator, by the same reason you may as well say, they were not baptized in his name, to whom St. Peter speaks, *Repent, and let every one of you be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ*, because he does

[1] Sect. 9. Confut. Harding. [2] Epist. 73, ad Jubaian.
[3] Lib. iii. Against Maximin, bishop of the Arians, cap. 17.

not add, and of the Holy Ghost nor in the name of the Father, because he is not there named. But if they were commanded to be baptized in the name of Christ, though the Father and the Holy Ghost were not mentioned, yet we understand that they were not otherwise baptized than in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; why, dost thou not apprehend, when it is said of the Son, *all things were made by him*, that the Holy Ghost also, though not mentioned, is there likewise understood?" Thus St. Austin. "Certainly," saith Facundus, bishop of Hermia,[1] "the apostles baptized in the name of Jesus, though not only of the Lord Jesus, that is, in the name of the Son only, but also of the Father and Holy Ghost. And from hence, I gather, that when baptism was celebrated, the very words consecrated to the celebration of that ordinance were used. But in a relation it sufficed to mention only the name of the Lord Jesus to distinguish it from other divings. But, therefore, I believe that of all the three Persons, the name of Jesus Christ is only assumed to denote the new baptism, because we are by baptism buried with him into death. Yet would it not be said, unless the Lord Jesus Christ were one of the Trinity."

*In remission of your sins.* That is, to seal the remission of your sins, either received, or to be received by the full assurance of the conscience. Therefore, the most learned Ames:[2] "The remission of sins consists in the sentence of the offended God, nor can be attributed to any outward ceremony, unless it be as to a sign or a seal whereby that sentence of God is manifested to us." Says Bonaventure,[3] "As the royal letters, sealed with the king's seal, are of high dignity, power, and value, and are said to do great things, yet there is not in them any absolute force, but only an ordainment through the efficacy of the royal power; the same thing is to be understood of the sacraments. And thus speak the texts of the holy fathers according to common acceptation."

*And ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit.* That is, ye shall be indued with the prophetic spirit, a specimen of which ye saw in the diversity of languages. "For," saith Calvin, "this place ought not to be understood of the grace of sanctification, which is generally conferred upon all the godly." According to the usual Hebrew phrase, the Prophetic Spirit is called the Holy Spirit, which by their own confession failed among the Jews after the second year

[1] Lib. i. To Justin the Emp. cap. 3. [2] Bellarmin. Enervat. tom. iii. cap. 3.
[3] 4 D. 1. Art. i. Q. 4.

of Darius the son of Hystaspes, but was in a more ample measure restored by Jesus Christ, according to the prophecy of Joel.

39. *To you*, &c. As if he had said, For you who believe the gospel preached by me, together with your posterity that shall believe, and all that shall obey the call of God, are comprehended in the number, to whom belongs the abovementioned promise by the mouth of Joel.

*Who are far off.* That is, aliens from the commonwealth of Israel. Peter, most skilful in the scriptures and now enlightened by the Holy Ghost, knew very well that the call of the Gentiles was to be; yea, he had learned it also from Christ, Matt. xxviii. 19; Acts i. 8. But at what time, and under what conditions, he was ignorant. Therefore, below, ch. xi., when the Gentiles were not yet called, he shunned their converse as polluted; but having known the will of God, that they were to be called without the observation of the Mosaical law, he presently made it his business to go amongst them.

*Even as many as the Lord our God shall call.* That is, whoever shall obey the voice of God calling to them. "For," saith Grotius, "in words that signify a benefit, the acceptation of the benefit is frequently understood. Thus the appellation of *called* is taken, 1 Cor. i. 24; Jude 1. Thus the word, *to be revealed*, is taken, Isa. xxxiii. 1. Thus God is said *to give repentance*, 2 Tim. ii. 25. *To give bread from heaven*, John vi. 32. *To give a heart*, Deut. xxix. 4; and elsewhere, many others of the same kind." See our annotations on Joel ii. 32, upon the words, *Whom the Lord shall call.*

40. *And with many other words*, &c. As much as to say, And he was urgent, and pressed them with exhortations, followed them close, persuaded, and earnestly entreated them to separate themselves from the rest of the Jews that were unwilling to believe in Christ, and contumaciously refused the divine grace that was offered them, to prevent their being involved with them in the same destruction.

41. *They then who gladly received his words were baptized.* Walafridus Strabo, who in the ninth century was abbot of Augia the Rich, in the diocese of Constance, in his work Of the beginning and increase of ecclesiastical things, ch. xxvi.: "You might observe," saith he, "that in the primitive times, the ordinance of baptism was only administered to those, who through perfection of body and mind had attained to this: that they knew and under-

stood what profit they received by baptism, what was to be professed, what to be believed, and lastly, what was reserved for those that were born again in Christ." Amba Macaire, bishop of Memphis, who was secretary to Cosmus, the third of that name, patriarch of the Cophti, or Christians of Egypt, and lived in the eighth century, says, as Father Vansleb reports in his History of the Church of Alexandria, ch. 23, that in the primitive times, baptism was not administered in the church of Alexandria but once a year, and that was upon Good Friday, and only to those of thirty years of age. Curcellæus, our countryman,[1] "Baptism of infants," saith he, "in the two first centuries after Christ was altogether unknown, but in the third and fourth was allowed by some few; in the fifth and following ages it was generally received into custom." See our annotations upon ch. viii. 37. But from thence, that the Jews who were circumcised in their infancy, before circumcision was abrogated, were here baptized by the order of Peter, it appears, that by baptism and circumcision two covenants altogether differing, were to be sealed; of which the one was with those who by the law of nature were born of the seed of Abraham; the other with those who by the gift of faith, like Abraham, were spiritually re-born, as that great divine, eminent for all manner of learning, Nehemiah Cox, by most weighty and solid arguments has demonstrated in his excellent discourse of the covenants that God made with men before the law.

*Were added.* That is, to the body of the church, which then consisted of a hundred and twenty disciples.

*Souls.* That is, Persons, which in other places we are wont to call "heads," by synecdoche of the member.

*About three thousand.* There is no wonder to be made, that three thousand persons should be plunged in one day by Peter, a fisherman, and used to the water, in regard that in the beginning of the fourth century, Gregory, the first bishop of the Armenians, baptized in one day, by immersion, no less than twelve thousand, as we read in his authentic life, and which also Isaac, patriarch of the same nation, confirms in his first invective. St. Eucherius:[2] "The Lord," saith he, "calls fishers to the apostleship, because such were of necessary use, who being accustomed to the water, were skilled both in fishing and diving; therefore he did not

[1] Institut. Relig. Christian. Lib. i. cap. 12.

[2] Serm. in Die Sancti. Andreæ. apud Novarin.

ordain them to change their art, but only made them fishers of a far nobler degree." That person, famous for his most exquisite learning, both divine and human, James Benignus Bossuet, formerly bishop of Condon, tutor to the most serene dauphin, and now prime almoner to his most serene consort, and bishop of Meaux, speaking of the three thousand baptized by Peter:[1] "The great number of converts," saith he, "is no argument that he baptized them by aspersion, as some conjecture; for besides that there is no obligation upon us to believe that he baptized them all in one day, certain it is that St. John the Baptist, who baptized no less, baptized by immersion: and his example gives us to understand, that for the administration of baptism to a great multitude, they chose those places which were well stored with water; besides that the baths and purifications of the ancients, principally of the Jews, rendered that ceremony easy and familiar at that time. In short, we do not find in scripture that any were otherwise baptized than by immersion, and we are able to make out by the acts of the councils, and by the ancient rituals, that for 1300 years together they baptized in that manner throughout all the churches, as much as was possible for them so to do."

42. *And they persevered*, &c. That is, and they continued assiduously and diligently.

*In the doctrine of the apostles*, That is, in hearing the apostles' teaching.

*And in communication of breaking bread, and in prayers.* In the Greek, "And in communication, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers;" which the learned divine, Joseph Mede, renders: "And in communication, that is, in breaking bread and in prayers." So that the conjunction *and* after communication, is not conjunctive, but explanatory, as frequently in other places. Hence the Syriac translates the words, "And they did communicate in prayer, and in breaking the eucharist." The service of the ancient Christians, baptized according to the precept of Christ, consisted of these three parts; hearing the word, public prayers, under which was, by a kind of synecdoche, comprehended thanksgiving, ch. iii. 1; xvi. 13; Luke xviii. 10, 11; Phil. i. 3, 4; and celebration of the Lord's supper. "Breaking of bread," saith the famous Lightfoot, "among the Jews signifies that particular action, with which dinner or supper began; but I do not remember that ever I observed it applied

[1] In tractat. de Commun. sub binis speciebus.

by the Talmudists to the whole meal. And I suspect that what Beza affirms, is rather upon trust than upon proof: 'It came in custom,' says he, 'that their mutual ordinary food, even their feasts, which they often made together, were understood under the name of breaking of bread;' which if true, I must ingenuously acknowlege my own ignorance; but if not true, then *breaking of bread*, both in this and the following 46th verse, cannot be understood of ordinary food, but of the eucharist, which the Syriac interpreter expresses in terms; and the parallel is that of ch. xx. 7; 1 Cor. x. 16." But there is a synecdoche of the member in this phrase, for a part of the Lord's supper is set down for the whole, as the drinking of the cup, 1 Cor. xii. 13. But the breaking of bread represents the bitter pains which Christ suffered upon the cross, wherewith his body was as it were broken and bruised, for such torments in scripture are called *breakings* or *fractures*, Prov. vi. 15; Isa. xxx. 26; xxxviii. 13; Dan. xi. 26, &c. Whence we collect, that the ceremony of breaking the bread in the Lord's supper is not a thing indifferent; but whereas it tends to set forth the end of the Lord's supper, it is altogether to be used according to the example of Christ and his apostles. See Matt. xxvi. 26; 1 Cor. x. 19; xi. 24. The English translation is less approved by the learned Mede, who refers the Greek word *κοινωνία*, to the preceding word *ἀποστολῶν*, and translates it, "The fellowship of the apostles."

43. *And fear*, &c. As if he had said, They that were not yet converted by the preaching of the apostles stood amazed and astonished at the novelty of the growing church, and the many signs and wonders wherewith the apostles corroborated the force and energy of their sermons.

44. *And all*, &c. As much as to say, But all the believers joined together in brotherly love, and converted their estates which they had in propriety to the common good of all.

45. *Possessions*, &c. That is, The rich sold what they had, to supply the necessities of the poor. "They were Jews that did so, and none but Jews that did so. Show me the like among the Gentiles when the gospelcame among them. Which of all St. Paul's Epistles gave any such precept, or intimates any such thing? But as for the Jews, they who once believed in Christ, believed also the woeful destruction of their own nation to be within a few years after, and therefore they thought good, while there was yet

time, to improve their lands and possessions to the best use, which they should not many years enjoy. And the occasion was now fit, at the first preaching of the gospel and gathering up a church to Christ, to furnish the apostles and others for this service and employment. And therefore, when the gospel was also spread among the Gentiles, the apostles were so careful to make collections in the churches for the relief of the poor saints in Jerusalem, even those who at the first had disfurnished themselves of all, and at whose charge, as may be supposed, the gospel was at the beginning preached among the Gentiles." Thus, the most learned Joseph Mede.[1] See Rom. xv. 26, 27; 1 Cor. xvi. 1; 2 Cor. viii. 9.

46. *Continuing daily with one accord in the temple.* That is, they met daily in the temple, with a brotherly unanimity, to worship God in public.

*And breaking bread from house to house.* The Greek hath *katoikon*, which the Syriac and Arabic interpreters take to be opposed to the temple, as if it were singly said, "at home, or in private," whereas by others it is expounded "at several houses," that is, sometimes at one house, and sometimes at another. Salmasius says, "That the ordinance of the Lord's supper was celebrated in the private houses, where they feasted together. *Katoikon* is from one house to another, as *katapolin* is from town to town. For the Jews eat their legal passover every one in his own house, in imitation of which Christ instituted his ordinance, and ordered it to be eaten at the same hour of supper. Those suppers, as is well known, were called *agapes*, 'love-feasts,' whether celebrated in the church, or in the houses of private persons. In both places they were partakers of the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, after they had supped. Hence *agape*, 'love-feast,' is taken for the eucharist itself by an ancient author, who calls himself falsely Ignatius, in an Epistle to the Smyrneans. 'It is not lawful without the bishop to baptize, or celebrate the love-feast,' says he; that is, the Lord's supper. To celebrate private love-feasts, the richer sort invited the brethren to their houses, and then according to custom celebrated the Lord's supper after the end of the love-feast. From which love-feasts, the custom continued a long time of blessing and receiving the eucharist from house to house. In the fourth century it appears to have been

[1] Serm. 28, upon Prov. xxx. 8, 9.

still administered by several bishops and presbyters in private houses. Which by their last canon, save one, was prohibited by the fathers of the Council of Laodicea, ordaining that no oblations should be celebrated in private houses. This was in the year 364. But the fathers of the Synod of Gangra, which was some twenty years before that of Laodicea, condemned Eustathius, because he would not allow the private love-feasts of that sort, at which, without doubt, they received also the sacrament. 'If any one,' say they, canon ix., 'despises these cordial entertainers of the poor at their love-feasts, who out of respect invited the brethren to their houses, and refuses out of contempt to be partakers of such biddings to supper, let him be an anathema.' For it is to those private love-feasts that the canon of the Laodicean council without question has reference, forbidding oblations in private houses. For in those love-feasts, which were only entertainments of private persons, inviting the faithful brethren to their houses, was also celebrated the oblation, that is, the eucharist. For with the brethren, they invited also the bishops or elders, by whom, according to the custom of that time, the bread and wine was blessed into the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Nevertheless the Laodicean canon did not take away the private love-feasts, but only the custom of communicating the Lord's supper therein. For in the 28th canon of the same synod, the clergy and laity invited to the love-feasts are forbid to take any parts of the victuals; that is to say, according to the Greek way of speaking, to carry any part home to their own houses. So they were not forbid to go to the love-feasts, but to carry any part away. By the same council the people were restrained from celebrating their love-feasts in the temples, in which public love-feasts most certain it is that the eucharist was wont to be taken." These love-feasts seem to have their original from the sacred feasts of the Jews, Neh. viii. 10—12.

*Did eat their meat with gladness, and singleness of heart.* That is, cheerfully and temperately; to refresh, and not oppress nature. See Tertullian, Apologet. cap. 39. Some there are who, with Chrysostom, believe that the love-feasts were wont to follow the celebration of the Lord's supper; whereas, on the contrary, it is apparent that the sacrament of the Lord's death concluded the supper, by the custom, which remained in Africa, upon the anniversary night of the Lord's supper: as appears by the Councils

of Carthage, 3 Can. 29, 6 Can. 9, and by the Epistle of St. Austin to Januarius, cap. 9.

47. *Having favour with all the people.* That is, they were grateful and acceptable to the very strangers, who convinced by the splendour of the virtues which they beheld in them, applauded those things which they could not yet imitate.

*And the Lord added such as should be saved.* That is, such as had separated themselves from the common impiety of men.

*Daily.* As much as to say, the multitude of those daily increased who had freed themselves from the snares of impiety, and joined themselves to the church of Christ.

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## CHAPTER III.

1. *But Peter.* In the Greek, "at the same time Peter," or as others render it, "but as soon as Peter."

*At the ninth hour of prayer.* That is with us, about three of the clock in the afternoon; which as it was the ordinary hour of sacrificing, so was it also of prayer. As to the times of sacrificing, thus Josephus:[1] "Twice every day, to wit, in the morning and about the ninth hour, the priests sacrificed upon the altar." As to the hours of prayer, thus Drusius: "The ancient custom was to pray thrice a day. *Evening, morning, and at noon will I pray and cry aloud*, Ps. lv. 17. Which hours they reckon to be the third, sixth, ninth. The third answers our nine in the morning, the sixth our twelve at noon, and the ninth our three in the afternoon." And that there were no more than three hours of prayer-time among the Jews, Kimchi clearly demonstrates upon Ps. xxxiii. 8, which also Daniel seems to confirm, who was wont to pray thrice a day, Dan. vi. 10. R. Menachem adds also, that the third hour was set apart by Abraham, the sixth by Isaac, and the ninth by Jacob. Nor shall you find any other distinctions of hours, wherein the scripture makes mention of set prayers. In the third hour the Holy Ghost descended upon the disciples of Christ, ch. ii. ver. 15. In the sixth hour Peter ascended into the upper room to prayer, ch. x. ver. 9, and at the ninth hour Peter

[1] 14 Antiq. 8.

and John went to the temple. Whence Tertullian notably infers,[1] "That saving always that there is no time limited, but that Christians are at liberty to pray everywhere, and at all times, yet that those hours, as they were the most remarkable in human affairs, dividing the day, distinguishing business, and made known by public sound, so were they the more solemn for the celebration of divine worship."

2. *At the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful.* This was in the first circuit of the temple, called the court of the Gentiles, which Herod added to the rest. It was overlaid with Corinthian brass, which was much more shining and beautiful than gold.[2]

4. *Look on us.* By which words Peter gives to understand that he was to expect the benefit as well from John, as from him. Hence the lame person is said in the next verse to have given special heed to them, as expecting to receive something from them both. And so the miracle of the cure was by both equally accomplished, though Peter only spake.

6. *Silver and gold have I none.* That is, I have no money at all.

*But what I have.* That is to say, sound and perfect health.

*In the name of Jesus Christ.* That is, by the virtue and power of Jesus Christ. This form was used in miraculous cures, and casting out of devils, Mark ix. 28.

7. *The bases* [αἱ βάσεις] *received strength.* That is, the soles of his feet, which the Latins call *vestigia*, as well as the footsteps, or prints of the feet.

8. *And leaping up, he stood.* It refers to the prophecy of Isaiah, ch. xxxv. ver. 6, *Then shall the lame leap, as an hart;* that is, with an extraordinary nimbleness.

*Walking and leaping.* He could not compose himself to an ordinary pace through the excess of his joy. Thus speaks a classical author,[3] "Rejoicing, and full of gladness, he expressed his joy by jumping."

10. *Were filled with wonder and amazement.* This would Virgil express thus: "With minds astonished, fixed they stood."

11. *But when they saw.* In the Greek and English version, *But when the lame person that was healed held Peter and John.* "Thus," saith Beza, "it runs in all the Greek copies that we have seen, as also in Œcumenius. But the exemplars of the old edition are here erroneous in two manner of readings. For some write, 'but

[1] Lib. de Jejun. [2] Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. vi. cap. 6. [3] Apuleius, lib. x.

when they saw.' Others, 'but when they held;' and these words, 'the lame man being healed,' are all left out, both by them and by the Syriac and Arabic interpreters. But the Greek word *kratein*, here does not signify to take hold of, but so to hold a thing fast as not to let it escape out of the hand. Which argues that the lame person was loth to depart from them, either out of affection to those that had cured him, or out of fear of becoming lame again, if he should forsake their company." Thus Servius observes that Virgil makes use of the Latin *tenere*, for "to stay" and "embrace."

*To the porch which is called Solomon's.* So the first court of the temple was called, which was also the court of the Gentiles, in regard the Gentiles had liberty of entrance into it. It was called Solomon's Porch, because there was in that court the repaired porch toward the east part of the temple, which, though never finished and made perfect, bare Solomon's name. Of which Josephus,[1] "That porch belonged to the outward temple, hanging over a steep valley, supported with four hundred cubits of wall, built of very white four-square stones. The length of every stone was twenty cubits, and the depth six: the work of King Solomon, who first built the whole temple." Upon which place of Josephus, the learned Lightfoot makes this observation in his chorographic disquisition before St. John. "There is no need of a commentary upon these words. The eastern porch was of the first foundation by Solomon. He speaks plainly enough which, and where the porch of Solomon was; that is, upon the out-wall of the temple toward the east. But the royal porch stood upon the south wall:" which received its royal name from King Herod, as Lightfoot upon the same place a little before observes. The same famous author, in his Hebraic Hours upon the Acts of the Apostles,[2] "If you distinguish between porch and porch, Solomon's was the eastern, and the royal the southern porch. But if you would have the whole court to be comprehended under the name of Solomon's porch, though it seems somewhat more obscure why it should be called a porch, and why Solomon's, yet may it not be incongruously here admitted. But whether it take its name from Solomon's porch, strictly so called, as being the most noble because anciently built by Solomon, or whether because Solomon consecrated that court in his temple by sacrifices, 1 Kings viii. 63, or whether because Solomon filled up immense valleys to make a

[1] Antiq. 20, 8. [2] Chap. iii. ver. 11.

space even for this court?—whatever be the reason, we do not deny but this whole court may be called by that name, though as we have elsewhere showed, the porch itself, in a strict sense, was only a part, and the eastern porch of that court."

12. *As though by our virtue.* That is, as though by any wonder-working efficacy, or virtue inherent, or inbred in us.

*Or power.* In the Greek and English version, *holiness.* That is, or by any faculty divinely ingrafted in us, for our piety toward God.

*We had made this man to walk.* That is, we had been the cause that this lame person, by a supernatural effect, should walk upon his feet.

13. *The God of our fathers.* From whom proceeded the true and heaven-born religion.

*Has glorified his Son.* That is, in the miracle by us wrought, has been pleased to illustrate the glory of Jesus, who is the Messiah promised in the law and the prophets. "This surname," saith Grotius, upon Matt. xiv. 33, "the Son of God, appears commonly given to the Messiah. For, says Nathaniel, *Master, thou art that Son of God, thou art that King of Israel,* John i. 50. That is to say, from the second Psalm, which the ancient Hebrews interpret according to the mystical meaning of the Messiah. Therefore where Christ is by Peter said to be the Son of the living God, Mark and Luke content themselves with the word Christ alone. Add to these Matt. xxvi. 63; Heb. v. 4, 5. But how God the Father called Christ his beloved Son, see our literal explanation upon Matt. iii. 17.

*Whom.* That is, the Messiah promised to you by God, and so openly professing himself to be, Mark xiv. 62.

*You delivered up.* To be put to death by Pilate. This properly belongs to the Jewish senate. See Mark xv. 1; John xviii. 30.

*And denied in the presence of Pilate.* This relates to the people of the Jews. As much as to say, You would not acknowledge him before Pilate to be the King Messiah.

*He determining to let him go.* That is, though Pilate himself, a Gentile, and an unjust magistrate, adjudged him innocent, and so fit to be acquitted, and dismissed.

14. *But you.* Born and bred in the true worship of God, to whom this Jesus, who is the promised King Messiah, was sent.

*Denied the Holy One.* That is, you abjured him who is the

Holy of Holies, and our just Lord, or our Justice, Dan. ix. 24; Jer. xxiii. 6.

*And you required a murderer to be granted unto you.* That is, when it was in your power and choice whether you would have released this Jesus, a person of absolute innocence and integrity, or Barabbas convicted of manifest murder, you required that homicide to be dismissed in your favour.

15. *But you killed the Author of life.* That is, by your urgent instigation, you compelled Pilate to condemn the Prince of Life to death. The Greek word, as Erasmus observes, consists of words contrary to themselves, being compounded of one word signifying beginning, and another word derived from the end, as much as to say, beginner and ender: therefore Christ is said to be the Beginner and Ender of eternal life. For as the learned John Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, observes upon Col. iii. 4, "He promised us this life, he merited it, he prepared it, he will grant it. He promised in the name of the Father, *Fear not, little flock, for it has pleased the Father to give you the kingdom*, Luke xii. 32; and in his own name, *I give eternal life to them*, John x. 28. He merited it. *God hath sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him*, 1 John iv. 9, and v. 11. He hath prepared us for this, and this life for us. He hath prepared and fitted us for this life by his Spirit. *He hath made us meet to be partakers of the lot of the saints in light*, Col. i. 12. *He hath enlivened us by Christ, through whose grace ye are saved*, Eph. ii. 5. He hath also prepared this kingdom for us by his ascension. *I go to prepare a place for you, and when I have prepared it, I will come again and take you with me*, &c., John xiv. 20. Lastly, He will grant to his own this crown of eternal life. *Thou hast given him power over all flesh, that to as many as thou hast given him, he should give to them eternal life*, John xvii. 2. *There is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the Lord will give me*, 2 Tim. iv. 8. Christ is therefore truly called our Life, that is the Author or Cause of our life eternal. *And being consecrated, he is made the Author of eternal life to all that obey him*, Heb. v. 9."

*You killed.* Every one is reputed to have done that what another does in his favour.

*Whom God raised from the dead.* See annot. on ch. ii. 24.

*Whereof we are witnesses.* When Peter called himself and his fellow disciples the witnesses of Christ's being raised from the

dead, it signifies that with their own eyes they saw Christ when he was risen.

16. *And through faith,* &c. As much as to say, and through a firm persuasion of the divine power of Jesus, this man whom we see, and knew to have been lame from his mother's womb, now upward of forty years of age, has obtained from Christ the soundness of his soles and ankles.

*Has made this man strong.* By the consolidatian of his feet and anklebones. Look back to ver. 7.

*His name.* That is, the effective power of Christ. "Name," saith Grotius, "is here taken for virtue and power."

*And faith,* &c. As if he had said, by his firm persuasion of the divine power of Christ, which through Christ arises to that God of whom you profess yourselves the adorers, this perfect soundness is conferred upon him from above, before you all. "When he says, *faith which is by him,* by that word he means, that our faith no otherwise ascends to God, but as it is founded in Christ. Therefore then our faith looks to Christ, and relies upon him," saith Calvin. See 1 Pet. i. 21.

17. *Through ignorance ye did it.* That is, more through a dull and supine ignorance of the person, than any designed malice, you and the senators of your great Sanhedrim wrested from Pilate that unjust sentence, whereby he judged Christ, the Son of the living God, to the torment of the cross. However, this ignorance does not excuse your sin, but abates something of the heinousness of it, and renders it the more easy to be pardoned by God. Hence Christ doing that upon the cross which intercessors use to do, omitting what was to be blamed in the fact of the Jews, applies himself to that which in some measure tended to lessen the offence. *Father,* says he, *forgive them, for they know not what they do,* Luke xxiii. 34.

18. *God,* &c. As if he had said, but God, who wisely disposes all things by counsel and reason, by means of your dull and sottish ignorance brought that to pass which he knowingly and willingly had decreed and foretold by his prophets, that Christ should suffer to expiate the sins of mankind. Saith Tertullian,[1] "The scriptures declaring that Christ could suffer death, at the same time affirm that he could be unknown. For unless he had been unknown, he could not have suffered."

[1] Lib. iii. against Marcion.

19. *Repent therefore.* As much as to say, therefore let your repentance be great, in regard ye have offended God. "Repent of your errors, having found the truth. Repent of your affection to those things which God loves not," as Tertullian speaks.[1]

*And be converted.* He that repenteth hath no better refuge than the utter change of his purpose. "True repentance is to commit nothing to be repented of, and to be sorry for it when any such thing hath been committed. This is the satisfaction of repentance, to root out the causes of sins, and to give no entrance to their suggestions," saith Gennadius of Marseilles, in his book of Ecclesiastical Dogmas, cap. iv. See my annotations upon Joel ii. 12; Matt. iii. 8.

*That your sins may be blotted out.* Not that our repentance or works merit anything at the hands of God, or are so perfect that they can abide the test of his rigorous justice, but because that God under this condition has decreed to make us partakers of salvation purchased by the blood of Christ. "Therefore let the wicked man relinquish his ways, let him relinquish his evil thoughts, which cause him to despair of remission of sins, and according to the saying of the prophet, *Let him be converted to the Lord, for he will abundantly pardon,* Isa. lv. 7. For there is nothing wanting in Him, whose mercy is omnipotent, and whose omnipotency is altogether merciful. And so great is the benignity of his omnipotency and the omnipotency of his benignity, that there is nothing which he will not, or cannot remit to a true penitent," saith Fulgentius.[2] The same author in the same place, a little further: "For such is the justice of God, that he condemns the perverse, and saves the converted. Whence, saith he, be converted to me, and I will save you, Isa. xlv. 22." But yet for no other cause is God moved to pardon the converted, but out of his mere free love which he bears to mankind. And this love, which was as it were extinguished by their sins, is again rekindled by the intercession and obedience of the Son of God, "who remaining still just, was made mortal. By taking upon him the punishment and not the guilt, he cancelled both the guilt and the punishment," saith St. Austin.[3]

20. *That when the times of refreshing shall come.* In the Greek, "That the times of refrigeration may come. It is usual to the Greeks to make use of ὅπως ἂν with their aorists, for the simple

[1] De Pœnitent. cap. 4. [2] Epist. 7, to Venantia. [3] Serm. 37, De Verb. Dom.

particle *ut*, "that," as you may see below, ch. xv. 17; Matt. vi. 5; Luke iii. 35. Hence the Syriac and Arabic interpreters understanding that the Greek ὅπως ἂν joined only in this text the second proposition with the first, they have translated it by the copulative, "and," thus, "And the times may come that ye may have rest from the sight of God, and he may send to you Jesus Christ, who was prepared for you." The sense is, That your sins registered in the memory of God being utterly defaced, the day of refrigeration, that is, of consolation, may shine upon you. As he is said to burn with grief, who is afflicted with a sharp sense of pain, so is he said to be refrigerated when consolation alleviates his torment. The Ethiopic version explains, the "times of refrigeration" by the "times of mercy." The most learned and modest Lightfoot;[1] "I might perhaps," saith he, "betray my ignorance in the Greek language, if I should acknowledge that I do not understand by what authority of that tongue, the most learned interpreters have rendered the words, either, 'that when they shall come,' as the vulgar Latin, Erasmus, and the interlineary; or, 'when they shall come,' as the English, French, and Italian; or, 'after that they shall come,' as Beza. But I am not ashamed to confess I understand not, since it agrees with the idiom, why they do not render, 'that they may come.' Thus ὅπως ἂν, is taken simply for *ut*, 'that,' Ps. ix. 15, xcii. 8, cxix. 101. And thus it runs here, 'Repent ye, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out, and that the times of refreshment may come, and God may send you Jesus Christ.'" Thus far Lightfoot.

*From the presence of the Lord.* That is, with the propitious favour of God. The famous Knatchbull renders it, "From the anger of the Lord." And so refrigeration from the presence of God seems to be the same as a flight from his wrath to come, Matt. iii. 7. See our annotations upon the place.

*And he shall send.* The construction requires that, with the most learned Ludovicus de Dieu, Heinsius, and Lightfoot, after the Syriac and Arabic interpreters, we render the Greek aorist in this place by the present tense, "may send." That is, may reveal by the comfortable preaching of the gospel, than which nothing can be more pleasing and grateful to afflicted and trembling consciences. "What," saith Lightfoot, in the place forementioned,

[1] In his Hebraic Hours upon this verse.

"can be more fully and plainly said, if our interpretation be admitted, to answer the conceptions of the auditors, had they objected against those things which Peter said; is it so? Is Jesus, whom we crucified, the true Messiah? Then all hopes of refrigeration by the Messiah are vanished, since the Messiah himself is vanished and gone; there is an end of the expectation of Israel's comfort, if there be an end of him that should be the Comforter. Not so, says Peter, for the Messiah and comfort shall be restored to you upon your repentance, yet so that the Messiah is still to remain in heaven. He shall be sent to you in his comforting and refreshing word, and in his graces and benefits, if ye repent. The parallel is that of Acts xiii. 47, *We turn to the Gentiles. For so has the Lord commanded, saying, I have appointed thee to be a light to the Gentiles.* I have appointed thee; whom? Paul or Barnabas? No, but thee, Christ; sent and shining in the doctrine of Paul and Barnabas. So ch. xxvi. 23: Christ risen from the dead is said to show light unto the people and to the Gentiles." So Ephes. ii. 17. It is said of Christ, after he had suffered the death of the cross for mankind, that he came and preached peace to those that were afar off, that is, to the Gentiles; and to them that were nigh, that is, to the Jews.

*Who was preached unto you.* In the Greek and English, *Who was before preached unto you.* St. Chrysostom reads it, "Who was before ordained," as the ancient Greek copies, which Beza says he has read; which the Arabic and Syriac interpreters seem to have followed, while they turn the words, "who was prepared;" and Tertullian rendering it, "who was pre-designed." The Ethiopic seems to have read it otherwise in his Greek copy, seeing that he renders it, "Who was fore-anointed." But the first and vulgar lection is to be preferred, *He who was before preached.* "For," saith Lightfoot, in his Hebraic Hours upon this place, "the discourse and meaning of Peter relates to preaching; for he shall send you Christ by preaching, as he was preached before. Now, you are to understand that the apostle in this discourse speaks of a threefold time. 1. Before the coming of Christ he was promulgated by Moses, and by all the prophets from Samuel. 2. When he came, at what time God showed him to the world, raising him up a Saviour, then he sent him to you, ver. 26, first of all, by his doctrine to convert you from your iniquities. 3. When he ascended into heaven there to remain; yet then he shall send him

to you again upon repentance, by the preaching of his word, as before he was made known by preaching.

*Jesus Christ.* That is, Jesus, who is the Messiah or Christ promised in the law and the prophets, for the redemption and consolation of Israel.

21. *Whom the heaven must receive.* These words carry an ambiguous sense if you look upon the grammatical construction; and may signify as well that heaven is received by Jesus, as that Jesus is received into heaven. But when you consider the meaning of the speaker and the context of the words, it is not probable they should admit of the first exposition. For Peter, speaking of the Jews, by whose importunity Christ was put to death, dissuades them from expecting his corporal presence upon earth. *Who*, as the same Peter says, 1 Epist. iii. 22, *is gone into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God*, and whom the heaven must receive, not as a prison, but his own most glorious palace and mansion, more befitting his divine majesty than the earth, wherein he lived during the time of his mortality. Now, by heaven is meant, not that part of the sky which is visible to our sight, but the third heaven, Paradise, the seat and habitation of God, that inaccessible light which God inhabits. For Christ ascended above all the visible heavens, Ephes. iv. 10, and sits at the right hand of the majesty of God in the highest altitudes, to prepare a place for us in the house of his Father, John xiv. 2.

*Until the times of restitution.* According to the Greek as Hesychius interprets it, "until the times of a full finishing or achieving." Tertullian translates it, "until the times of exhibition;" and thus he cites this place, "Until the times of the exhibition or setting forth of all things, which God spake by the mouths of his holy prophets."[1] In like manner Œcumenius explains it, "till all things be finished or performed." Lightfoot also admirably expresses the sense of this verse in these words:[2] "Jesus, the heavens both contain and shall contain as to his person, till all these things be brought to pass or effect. Therefore do not continue in the error of the generality of our erring people, to expect his personal presence upon earth." Hence, it is apparent that Peter meant the time that Jesus should abide in heaven, according to what he with the rest of the apostles had heard from the angels before, ch. i. 11. As if he had said, Christ

[1] Lib. de Resur. Carnis. [2] Heb. Horis, upon Matt. xvii. 11.

being gone into heaven, shall there remain till all the predictions of the prophets shall be fulfilled; and those being fulfilled, he shall return from heaven to earth to judge the quick and the dead.

*Since the world began.* That is, of old, of ancient times, Isa. lxiv. 4; Jer. ii. 20.

22. *For Moses,* &c. Although this place in the first and more gross sense may be understood from Deut. xviii. 15 of any prophet endued with foreknowledge, whom God should raise up at any time, after Moses, among the people, to the end they might obey him, as speaking by a divine inspiration, so he did not seduce them from the worship of the true God, and from true piety; yet, in the more exquisite and mystical sense, it contains the prophecy of Christ, the Head and Chief of all the prophets, to whom all the rest were but forerunners; and than whom there was none more glorified, by those signs by which God was pleased to have his prophets distinguished. Which mystical sense of this place, in the time of Christ and his disciples, was also admitted by the Jews, as appears by this text, and below, ch. vii. 34, and by many places of the gospel, and particularly by the words of the Samaritan, and those other of the people who were about to crown Christ, John iv. 25, vi. 14, *This is really that prophet that should come into the world.* For the Messiah was properly understood by *him that should come,* Luke vii. 19.

*A Prophet.* That is, one who shall proclaim to men the will of God, as yet concealed in mystery.

*Shall the Lord your God raise.* That is, shall the Lord your God give, present, send.

*Of your brethren.* As much to say, Not a stranger, but one of your own nation, born of the posterity of Israel, and your relation by the tie of blood and kindred.

*Like unto me.* So the Jews, comparing the Messiah with Moses, speak in these words,[1] "As the first Redeemer, so shall be the last Redeemer." But Christ was not only like to Moses for the wisdom of his doctrine and the greatness of his miracles, but he exceeded him also in honour and glory.

*Him shall ye hear.* That is, ye shall believe in all his promises, and obey all his commandments. Therefore are none of the sayings of Christ to be called in question, nothing to be omitted which he commanded, nor anything to be altered at men's pleasure.

[1] Midrasch Koheleth, ad cap. i. v. 9. See Eusebius, Demonst. Evang. lib. iii.

Now, since there is no place in the law that more manifestly points at Christ, I believe that Christ refers to it, when he says, *Who believes in me, as the scripture has said,* John vii. 38. This, the Father, with a heavenly voice, declared openly of Christ, and commanded all to hear him, Matt. xvii. 5. Admirably, therefore, Grotius upon that place of Matthew: "Those things which follow in Moses are to be observed, as if it had been said, You have yourselves desired of God not to act among you by signs of terror; God consents to your petition; and therefore the Word is made flesh. *He made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant.* Behold him who, while he excels Elias in vehement zeal toward the house of God, at the same time exceeds Moses in meekness. Neither thunders, nor clouds, nor fires from heaven bear witness of him; but the cheering light and affable voice of the Father."

23. *Every soul.* That is, whoever shall refuse to hear Christ, who is confessed and manifestly appears to be recommended by Moses as the chieftain of all the prophets, Deut. xviii. 15, 19.

*Shall be destroyed from among the people.* He does not deserve to be numbered among the people of God who refuses Christ for his master, by whom alone God instructs us; so that he cuts himself off from the body of the church who refuses to submit to the head of it. And, indeed, eternal destruction is prepared for all those that will not obey Christ, as the apostle witnesses, 2 Thess. i. 8, 9.

24. *And all the prophets,* &c. As if he had said, And all the rest of the prophets after Moses, in a long succession of time from Samuel who led their sacred chorus; therefore the Jerusalem Talmud[1] calls Samuel, "The master of the prophets."

*Have spoken and proclaimed.* In Greek and English, "foretold," or "declared before."

*Of those days.* Wherein God has chosen to procure the salvation of his people by the Christ whom we preach. But how or in what manner Samuel nominally foretold of Christ, does not appear in scripture, unless we refer hither what we read about the anointment of David, who was to be a type of the future Messiah when he was elected king of the Israelites by the divine choice of God, 1 Sam. xvi. 8, 13. But frequently the prophets that lived after Samuel among the Israelites prophesy concerning Christ.

[1] Hagigah, fol. 77, 1.

Among the rest, most remarkable is that of the prophecy of Nathan, 2 Sam. vii. 12, &c., not to mention those that are frequent in the Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other writings of the prophets.

25. *Ye are the children*, &c. As if he had said, Ye are those to whom belong the oracles of the prophets, and the covenant made with the ancient progenitors of the Hebrews, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Gen. xxii. 18; xxvi. 4; xxviii. 14; according to the Hebrew phrase, whereby to be said the son of any thing, signifies the same thing as to belong unto, or to be partaker of. Hence Matt. ix. 15, *The sons of the bridegroom, or of the nuptial chamber*, are said to be those that lead the bridegroom into the chamber; or who looked after the garnishing of the chamber. *The sons of this world*, Luke xx. 34, that is, who lead a mortal life; to whom are opposed the *sons of the resurrection*, that is, those who shall rise to blessed immortality, and are the *sons of God*, that is, partakers of divine felicity. Thus there is mention made of the sons of the kingdom of light and darkness, Matt. viii. 12; 1 Thess. v. 5. But here by the word "of prophets," is meant, their prophecies, by a metonyme of the cause.

*Saying to Abraham.* Gen. xxii. 18; which he repeats to Isaac, and lastly to Jacob, Gen. xxvi. 4; xxviii. 14.

*And in thy seed.* As if he had said, From thy offspring shall be born the Saviour of all men, of what nation soever, who shall believe in him. See Gal. iii. 8, 14, 16.

26. *Unto you*, &c. As if he had said, He, who by this promise was foretold that he was to be born from the offspring of Abraham, is Jesus the Son of God, whom being already born the Son Man, God has sent to you, his kinsmen, that first, the benefits he is to bestow upon those that believe in him, might be offered to you before the rest of the nations, that thereby every one of you might be excited to reform his conversation. See ch. xiii. 46.

*Raising.* That is, presenting, bringing forth in open view, making him conspicuous by most excellent endowments and gifts. It refers to the prophecies of Moses before mentioned, ver. 22. Hence, to rise, or be raised, is attributed to the prophets, Deut. xiii. 1; xxxiv. 10, &c.; see ch. xiii. 12; Judges ii. 16, 18; iii. 2, 15; Ezek. xxxiv. 23; Amos. ii. 11.

*To bless you.* That is, to offer you the highest of blessings. Under the word blessing is comprehended all manner of felicity

with which God hath [blessed us], and shall bless us through Christ, as remission of sins, eternal life, and all other celestial advantages.

*In turning*, &c. That is, That he may excite every one of you to change your vicious and corrupt custom of living, into a pure and undefiled conversation.

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## CHAPTER IV.

*And the captain of the temple.* That is, Who was the chief of all that had the charge of guarding the temple. For every night the temple was guarded by twenty-four companies, that keep watch in twenty-four places: to wit, the priests in three places, and the Levites in all the rest. Now that the chiefs or overseers of these watches are signified by the name of captains, Luke xxii. 40, the famous Lightfoot does nowise question. He also believes, that to these watches or guards, that of Pilate referred, *Ye have a watch*, Matt. xxvii. 65. As if he had said, Ye have watches of your own, send some of those to guard the sepulchre. To this the same author adds, "I take the captain of the temple, distinctly and for pre-eminency so called, to be the same with the man of the mountain's house, that is the governor of the mountain's temple, who was the chief of all the chief officers of the watches. For, as Maimonides observes, there was one chief ruler who commanded all the watches, who was called the governor of the mountain's house. He went the rounds all night, having lighted torches carried before him. And when he met with any of the watch that stood not upright upon his feet, the captain said to him, 'Peace be with thee:' upon which, if he found him asleep, he waked him with his cudgel. He had also power to burn the garments of him that slept. Therefore it was a common saying at Jerusalem: What's the stir here? Sure the Levite is beaten, or his clothes are burned, because he slept in his watch."

*Sadducees.* That is, who placed all their hopes in this life, and therefore thought they could not be too severe against those that disturbed the peace of the people, wherein their own quiet was so much concerned. "Add," saith Grotius, "that if Jesus had risen from the dead, the victory had been apparently on the side of the

Pharisees, in the great controversy between those two sects." See ch. xxiii. 6, 7.

2. *Being grieved.* In the Greek, "being vexed or troubled."

*Through Jesus.* That is, Through the power and efficacy of Jesus, *who rose from the dead, the first-fruits of them that slept;* the dead shall rise, 1 Cor. xv. 20, 23.

3. *Put them in hold.* Not in a public prison, as ch. v. 18, but into private custody, as below, ch. xxiv. 23. That is, they did not commit them to prison, but into the hands of some private person, to be kept diligently.

4. *Five thousand.* Or, according to the Greek and Syriac, about five thousand. Thus behold Peter, of a catcher of fish become an expert fisher of men: at two or three casts of his net catching about five thousand disciples.

5. *Their rulers.* I find the senators of which the great Sanhedrim consisted, frequently called rulers or princes, ch. iii. 17; Luke xxiv. 20; John iii. 9, &c.

*And elders.* That is, according to the interpretation of Grotius, senators of the city of Jerusalem. For there were at Jerusalem, besides the great Sanhedrim, two other lesser ones, of which we have spoken upon Matt. v. 21. Though the senators of what Sanhedrim soever were named elders, yet, when the senators of the great Sanhedrim are thus named, there is most commonly added, "of the people," to distinguish them from the elders of towns, or senators of lesser Sanhedrims.

*And scribes.* That is, assistants to the elders for counsel and advice, as being men skilled in the law.

6 *And Annas.* This president of the Sanhedrim is by Josephus[1] called Ananus, the son of Seth, advanced to the high priesthood in the room of Joazar by Cyrenius, and deposed by Valerius Gratus. He had five sons, who all enjoyed the high priesthood, which never happened before to any man, as Josephus observes.[2] His son-in-law, Joseph, surnamed Caiaphas, was now high priest and father of the Sanhedrim. For though the chief priests were generally in the great Sanhedrim, yet they are commonly named in particular by reason of their great authority.

*The high priest.* Since it is plain that Caiaphas was advanced to the high priesthood by Valerius Gratus, about the fourth year of Tiberius, before Pilate came to the government of Jewry, and

[1] Antiq. xviii. 3. [2] Antiq. xx. 8.

removed by Vitellius towards the end of Tiberius's reign, when Pilate left Judea; it may deservedly be questioned, why Annas here, and Luke iii. 2, is called high priest: to which Casaubon answers, because that Annas had already borne that high dignity. Scaliger and Bullinger say, that Annas was so called, because he was next to Caiaphas, and his segan, vicar, or lieutenant-general in all the sacred ministry. But Baronius says, it was because he was prince of the great Sanhedrim.

"Certainly," says Blondel, a person of inexhausted learning, "there were among the Jews not only many priests, but many chief priests, when David had distinguished the posterity of Aaron into twenty-four families, who were to officiate in the sacred ministry by turns. Over every one of these families there was a chief, who is called the head of the paternal house in the Talmud. The same person was called chief priest in respect of his classis. Hence it is that they are called chief priests in the gospel, and in Jeremiah elders of the priests, Matt. ii. 3; xvi. 21; xx. 18; xxi. 19, 23, 25; Mark viii. 31; x. 33; Jer. xxix. 1.

"Over these twenty-four families were two chiefs, of which the first was called properly the high priest, and many times singly, priest. His vicar might indeed have been numbered among the chief priests at the beginning; but whether he alone by himself were at any time called high priest, I much question. Certainly Bullinger ought to have proved it, before he affirmed that Annas was called high priest because he was the high priest's vicar.

"In scripture this vicar is called the second priest, not the first. 2 Kings xxv. 18; Jer. lii. 24. The Chaldee paraphrast renders it, segan. Therefore we read in the Talmud,[1] that the segan and high priest officiated according to their lots. Not that they were chosen by lots, but that they distributed one with another by lots several of the sacerdotal functions. And a little after, 'as often as it happened that the high priest was suspended from his function, the segan was ordered to officiate for him.'

"Out of the 2 Kings xxiii. 4, it seems that it might be gathered that there were many second priests, seeing it is said there in the plural number, "the priests of the second order;" but the Chaldee paraphrast translates in that place, 'And the segan,' in the singular, because often the plural number is used for the singular.

[1] Joma. fol. 30.

"If Annas was vicar to Caiaphas, as Bullinger will have it, how comes it to pass that by the evangelists Annas is always set before Caiaphas? In the 2 Chron. xxxi. 12, the ruler over the treasury of the sanctuary is called *nagid*, ruler, Cononiah, and Shimei his brother the next. Were it proper there that Shimei should be called *nagid* and be set before Cononiah?

"If Annas were called high priest, because he had formerly officiated in that dignity, how comes it to pass, that among so many others, who had borne the same office, only Annas should be mentioned? How comes it to pass, that he that had been high priest should be always set before him that is yet high priest? These expontifices were indeed called pontiffs for honour's sake, but never any public acts were marked with their names.

"Therefore, here, I prefer far Baronius before Casaubon, Scaliger, or Bullinger either, who asserts Annas to be called high priest because he was president of the great Sanhedrim, which by the Hebrews was called *nasi*. And the person next to him was called, The father of the house of justice. These two chiefs of the Sanhedrim were both styled priests, because they were over many priests. Hence, if I mistake not, we read that the sons of David were priests, 2 Sam. viii. 18; that is, according to the Chaldee paraphrast, grandees; and, indeed, they were grandees, because both David's sons were presidents or princes of the great Sanhedrim." Thus far Blondel, which will be more plain out of the following words of Selden:—

"We are to understand," saith he, "that those titles of high or chief priests, which denote a certain function or dignity in the form of the Jewish government at that time much impaired, denoted either a sacred function, or civil dignity, which the high-priest enjoyed above the rest. Where mention is made together of the high-priest, and of the sacred function proper to the dignity, there that very person is signified who obtained the peculiar dignity, that is, the high priesthood derived together with the sacred function from Aaron. But where mention is made not at all of the sacred function, but altogether of the civil government of the high-priests, that is, as they governed with an authority limited by the Romans,—as in many places of the gospel, and of the Acts of the Apostles—there it seems very probable that the high priests are designed by that title, not as they were advanced to the sacred dignity, but as they presided in the civil administra-

tion. Such a difference concerning the title is to be observed in some ancient synods, where mention is made of counts. Now the dignity of count was altogether belonging to the emperor's court, and as it had no reference to the synods, being a dignity within the emperor's palace or court, so, as the counts had in the synods the delegated power of Cæsar, that title has no relation at all to the palace or to its first notion. But we meet in the first action of the council of Chalcedon with these two phrases:—'Give the counts,' and 'the counts entered in.' Where the notion of counts, however a word generally used, shows that singular and particular dignity in respect of which they who were counts presided in the council, instead of the emperor's; not at all its vulgar acceptation for that other dignity, by which they belonged to the emperor's palace. Insomuch, that I think that by the high priests they were no more understood as high priests in respect of their sacred function, where they are mentioned in the places speaking concerning the civil administration, than we understand by counts in that synod their particular dignity, either in the council-house, or elsewhere in the emperor's palace. Hence with licence to conjecture I should think, that Annas and Caiaphas, both together styled high priests by St. Luke, were not so styled to note their dignity of the sacred function, but their civil government, as well as of the others they are joined with for that year there mentioned. That is to say, that Annas was prince of the Sanhedrim, as Baronius will have it, and Caiaphas father thereof. Let us suppose that there were such two jurisdictions of counts in the synod before mentioned, or in any other, for we hear of counts also in the synod of Ephesus. If any one had noted the year of Cæsar's reign in the acts of the synod, and had added, for example's sake, under Irenæus and Dionysius counts, certainly no man would have believed them to have been there named counts from that jurisdiction they enjoyed according to the vulgar and original notion of the word, but from the jurisdiction they had obtained since, as according to the custom of that age, some others being dignified with the title of counts. Which being admitted, it is easy to judge why in the gospel Annas and Caiaphas help mutually so much one another in their proceedings against Christ, both under the title of high priests. That is to say, as they by reason of their dignity and kindred of the high priest, as then the times were, presided in the manner aforesaid in the Sanhedrim, where the prosecution com-

menced; which may not be unfitly said of Annas the high priest, and Caiaphas, with other senators of the Sanhedrim, mentioned in Acts iv. So that the reason is easily given, why Caiaphas, by Josephus said at that time to have been invested with the sacred dignity as the successor of Aaron, is set after Annas. For the father was alway second to the prince of the Sanhedrim. Neither was the office of prince or father of the Sanhedrim perpetual, but translated from one to another, as occasion required. Which is apparent out of the Talmudic title, Horjaoth, ch. iii, and other treatises of the rabbies. And perhaps at that time it was annual, lest the prolongation of that authority might be a prejudice to the rest of the kindred of the high priest. And hence, perhaps, that other question is to be resolved concerning the high priesthood of Caiaphas, noted by his year in the Gospel of St. John. For as the plural number of high priests, in the sacred relations of the administration of civil concerns, signified judges and presidents of courts, as it has been said already, so the title of high priest in the singular number, with the account of his year, may seem to denote the prince of the Sanhedrim. So that in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, Annas was prince, and Caiaphas was father of the Sanhedrim, Luke iii. 1, 2. But in the Passion year Annas was father, and Caiaphas prince. Afterwards Annas as being most eminent among his people again prince, and Caiaphas father, as in Acts iv. And certainly Ananias the high priest, Acts xxiii. 5, where he presides in the Sanhedrim, is acknowledged prince of the people, which perhaps was the same thing with prince of the Sanhedrim. There are many other places in the New Testament to be expounded perhaps, by such an observation. Nor let any one object, that thereby it might come to pass, that the high priest advanced to the dignity of the sacred function, should give place to the prince of the Sanhedrim in the time of his being only father, and, consequently, be inferior to him in that state of commonwealth. For that was so true, as to the civil administration of government, of which we discourse, that the high priest himself was not only obnoxious to the jurisdiction of the great Sanhedrim, but also of the inferior Sanhedrims, as is frequently to be seen in the Talmud and other writings of the Jews. So that it is no wonder that he, as a member of the great Sanhedrim, should be but next in authority to the prince of the Sanhedrim. It is to be noted also, that the most learned rabbies instruct us,[1]

[1] Juchasin, folio 159.

that the two names of those by whose hands in former times their oral law was delivered, are so to be understood in the solemn numbering of them, that the one denotes the prince, the other the father of the Sanhedrim. So that it is no new thing to believe that these two were more particularly joined than the rest, and were named together in matters of great moment. And frequently among the Talmudists mention is made of Ezra, and of such others with their Sanhedrim, in the management of business, as if then they were customarily to be taken for princes of the Sanhedrim." Thus far the learned Selden.

*And John.* Whom Lightfoot conjectures to have been the famous Jochanan Ben Zaccai the priest,[1] who is said to have lived a hundred and twenty years; and forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, when the gates of the temple opened of themselves, is reported to have said,[2] "O temple, why dost thou disturb thyself, I know thou shalt be destroyed, for so Zechariah has prophesied: *Open thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour thy cedars*, Zech. xi. 1." "After the destruction of Jerusalem," saith Lightfoot,[3] "he got leave of Titus, that Jabneh might receive and retain the Sanhedrim. There he presided himself two or five years, for the certain number is disputed."

*And as many as were of the kindred of the priests.* In the Greek, "of the high priest," as the common English translation hath, and the Syriac and Arabic version also. That is, "whose ancestors," saith Grotius, "not long before enjoyed the high priesthood, which great nobility caused them to be admitted into the great Sanhedrim."

7. *By what power.* As much as to say, By whose effectual virtue, or by whose command and authority have ye cured this person lame from his mother's womb?

8. *Filled with the Holy Ghost.* That is, moved and excited by a certain inspiration of the Holy Spirit, according to the promise of Christ, Matt. x. 19, 20; Luke xxi. 14, 15, who promised his apostles, that when they were brought before presidents, kings, and magistrates, that utterance and wisdom should be given to them, which all their adversaries should not be able to withstand; for that they should not speak themselves, but the Spirit of the Father should speak within them.

9. *If.* This particle is here put for "since," or "seeing that."

[1] Juchasin, folio 60. [2] Joma. folio 39. [3] In Centur. Chorographic. before Matt.

*We this day be examined.* That is, "be indicted," according to the Syriac; or "be brought before the judges," according to the interlineary gloss; or "be reproved," according to the Latin interpreter of Irenæus; or, as Lyranus expounds it, "be brought to judgment as malefactors." In the Greek, as Grotius interprets the word, *be examined.*

*Of the good deed done to the impotent man.* That is, because we have done the same person a kindness.

*By what means he is made whole.* As if he had said, To answer by whose power and authority, this man lame from his mother's womb has received the ability of walking and sound health.

10. *By the name.* That is, by the power and authority.

*Whom ye crucified.* By the hands of the Roman soldiers. Thus David is said to have killed Uriah, as is there added, *by the sword of the children of Ammon,* 2 Sam. xii. 9.

*Whom.* By your means put to so cruel and ignominious a death.

*God.* Who will show himself as opposite to your deeds and endeavours, as you were to his counsel and will.

*Raised from the dead.* That is, delivered from death, restored to life.

*This.* To wit, Christ Jesus typified by David.

*Is.* That is to say, like David.

*The stone which was set at nought.* That is, rejected, contemned, and refused, as no wise fit, even to be used in the most vile part of the building.

*Of you builders.* By you, the senators of the great Sanhedrim, and of the city of Jerusalem, to whose care and guardianship, the religion and commonwealth of the people of God is entrusted.

*Which.* To wit, being raised from the dead.

*Is become the head of the corner.* That is, is advanced by God to so high a dignity, that like the chief corner-stone he supports and sustains the whole weight of the spiritual building. Most ad- admirably and learnedly has that equally most religious and eminently lettered Divine, Doctor Simon Patrick, Dean of Peterborough, whose signal and sincere charity I have often experienced, expressed the literal and mystical sense of this verse, in his golden paraphrase upon Ps. cxviii. 22: "He whom the great men and rulers of the people rejected, 1 Sam. xxvi. 19, as the builders of a house do a stone that is not fit to be employed in it, is now

become our King, to whom we must all join ourselves if we hope for safety. In whom we see a figure of that glorious King, who shall hereafter be in like manner refused, Luke xix. 14, xx. 17, and then be by God exalted to be Lord of all the world, and the foundation of all men's happiness." See our literal explication, Matt. xxi. 42.

12. *Neither is there.* As if he had said, In this Christ alone, God hath put the salvation of all men, even their eternal salvation, "which is not to be attained but by the mediator of God and men, the man Jesus Christ," as saith Leo the Great.[1]

*For there is no other name.* That is, any other person. So ch. i. 15. Name is taken for person. And here there seems to be some reason why the word *name* is made use of, because in dangers and vows they are wont to be invoked, and their names to be expressed from whom we expect assistance and safety.

*Under heaven.* That is, in any place whatever. A synecdoche of the species for the genus, that is, "place under heaven" for "any place." For as often as we discourse concerning human things, men being under heaven, and their place here spacious and large, whatever we allege not to be under heaven we look upon to be nowhere.

*Given among men.* That is, given by God to mankind as their Saviour.

*Whereby we must be saved.* That is, through whom we ought to seek our salvation, or through whom we must of necessity obtain our salvation, if we intend to be saved.

13. *Boldness.* That is, freedom of speech and presence of mind.

*Unlettered.* That is, without the knowledge of good letters and honest learning; for the apostles knew their letters, and had read the scriptures, and retained them by heart; but they were not versed in harder studies, by which the minds of men are fraught with understanding.

*And idiots.* That is, plebeians, men of mean and inconsiderable fortunes, as 1 Sam. xviii. 23: *A poor man and lightly esteemed*, or "contemned and abject," is rendered by the Chaldee paraphrast, "a poor man and an idiot." And ch. xxiv. 14, where David in contempt calls himself *a dead dog* and *a flea*, the Chaldee paraphrast renders it "weak, and idiot."

[1] Ep. 83, ad Palestin.

15. *Aside out of the council.* That is, without the council-house, where the Sanhedrim was assembled.

17. *Let us straitly threaten them.* This translation expresses perfectly the meaning of the Greek text, which has, "let us threaten them with threats."

*In this name.* That is, by the command and authority of Jesus of Nazareth.

*At all.* That from that time forward they should neither speak nor preach anything, pretending the authority of Jesus of Nazareth, so as that anything should be said to be divulged by his command.

19. *Whether it be right.* That is, whether it be allowable by the law of honesty and reason.

*In the sight of God.* Who though men be never so blind, will never suffer any one to be preferred before him.

*To hearken unto you more than unto God.* Thus the young man answered Antiochus, commanding him to eat swine's flesh against the law of God, 2 Mac. vii. 33, *I will not obey the king's commandment, but I will obey the commandment of the law that was given unto our fathers by Moses.* It is recorded that Polycarpus upon his martyrdom said, "We have learnt to give honours which are due to emperors and powers established by God, and which are no impediment to our salvation." Of the mother of the family, thus Clement of Alexandria: "She shall obey her husband in all things, nor shall she do anything without his consent, unless what she believes to be a help to attain virtue and salvation." Of children, thus St. Paul, Eph. vi. 1, *Children, obey your parents in the Lord.* That is, according to the exposition of Chrysostom, "In what ye offend not God." Quintilian:[1] "It is not necessary for children to do all those things which their parents command. There be many things which cannot be done. If thou commandest thy son to give a contrary sentence to his opinion. If thou desirest him to witness a thing of which he knows nothing. If thou commandest me to burn the capitol, or seize the castle, it is lawful for me to answer, These are things which must not be done." The same author in another place: "All manner of obedience is not to be given to parents, otherwise there would be nothing more pernicious than received benefits, should they oblige us to all manner of servitude." Jerome also,[2] "If a master,"

[1] Declam. 271.

[2] In Tit. ii., cited by Gratian.

saith he, "command those things which are not contrary to the sacred scriptures, let the servant be subject to the master. But if he command those things that are repugnant to it, let him rather obey the Lord of the spirit, than the master of the body." Again,[1] "If it be good which the emperor or governor commands, let him obey the will of the commander; but if it be evil, answer from the Acts of the Apostles, *We ought to obey God rather than men*, Acts v. 28. The same is to be understood concerning servants toward their masters, wives toward their husbands, and children toward their parents, that they ought only to be obedient to their masters, their husbands, their parents, in those things which interfere not with the commands of God." The same Gratian in the same place, out of St. Austin's sixth Sermon upon the words of the Lord: *Whosoever resists the power, resists the ordinance of God.* "But what if he command that which it behoves thee not to do? Here, indeed, out of fear of powers contemn power. Observe the degrees themselves of human things. If the governor command anything to be done, is he not to be obeyed? Nevertheless, if the proconsul command the contrary, thou verily dost not contemn the power, but choosest to obey the more supreme authority. Again, if the proconsul command one thing, and the emperor command another, can any person doubt but that the latter is to be obeyed, the first to be disobeyed? So if the emperor command one thing and God another, what think ye? Pay your tribute, obey me, right; but not in the idol temple. He forbids obedience in idol temple. Who forbids? The higher power. Pardon me; thou threatenest me with imprisonment, He with hell-fire. Here faith is to be made use of as a shield, by which thou mayest resist all the fiery darts of the enemy." The same author in the same place:[2] "The emperor Julian was an infidel. Was he not an apostate, a wicked person and an idolater? Christian soldiers served a heathen emperor. But when it came to the cause of Christ, they only acknowledged him, who was in heaven. When he commanded them to worship idols, and offer incense to them, they preferred God before him. But when he bid them take the field, and march against such a nation, they obeyed him immediately. They distinguished their eternal Lord from their temporal lord. And yet in obedience to their eternal Lord they were subject to their temporal lord." The same Gratian in the same place,[3] out of Isidorus: "If he who

[1] In Tit. iii. [2] Cap. 98, Ex August. in Psa. cxxiv. 3. [3] C. 101.

is in authority has done, or commanded any one to do what is prohibited by the Lord, or has omitted, or commanded any precept to be omitted, the sentence of St. Paul is to be brought to such a one's mind, where he says, Gal. i.: *Though either we or an angel from heaven preach to you any other gospel, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.* If any one prohibit you from doing what is commanded by God; or, on the other side, command that to be done which God prohibits, let him be accursed of all that love God. He that is in authority, if he speak or command anything which is contrary to the will of God, or contrary to what is expressly commanded in scripture, let him be accounted as a false witness of God, and a sacrilegious person." The like to all these things contained in cap. 101, are to be read in the rules of St. Basil briefly disputed, cap. 114, 103. See also the Book of the Institutes of the Monks, written by the same St. Basil, c. 14, 16.

20. *For we cannot,* &c. That is, It is not by any means lawful for us, or we cannot in conscience; or our conscience does by no means permit us, against the revealed will of God, to conceal what we have seen and heard. Thus "not to can," is taken for "not to be lawful," frequently in scripture, as may be seen, Gen. xliii. 32; 1 Cor. x. 21. We are to take notice, saith Curcellæus, our countryman, "that this speech does not always denote a true (and properly so called) want of power, or inability, but sometimes a vehement aversion of the mind from any thing. As when Peter and John say, Acts iv. 20, *We cannot but we must speak those things which we have seen and heard:* and John, 1 John iii. 9, *Whoever is born of God cannot sin*; also where the Lord Jesus testifies of the angel of the church of Ephesus, Apoc. ii. 2, that he *could not bear them which are evil.* Not that it was impossible for all these to do those things which are spoken of in those places, but because they had an abhorrency from such actions. Which was the reason why the Jews could not believe in the doctrine of Christ, John xii. 39. For finding it to be repugnant to their carnal desires, they were so averse to it, that they would not admit it, though they could easily have done it, had they been so minded. With which he openly reproaches them, when he says, John v. 44, *How can ye believe who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour which cometh from God only?*" See our annotations upon Amos iii. 8.

21. *So when they had further threatened them.* That is, when

they had charged them upon pain to forbear speaking and teaching in the name of Christ.

*How they might.* That is, under what specious pretence.

*Glorified God for that which was done.* In the Greek, "gave glory to God." We find here the people more rightly judging of divine things than they who challenged to themselves the chief authority in sacred things; for the people acknowledge the miracle and praise God for it. The elders, pontiffs, priests, and doctors of the law, do not only refuse to acknowledge it, and go about to deprive it of its deserved praise, but also wickedly deem it worthy of punishment.

22. *Forty years old,* &c. Luke here declares, that all whom their passions had not blinded could not but judge this cure of the lame person a most wonderful miracle, in regard he had been lame from his mother's womb for forty years together and upward, for diseases of long continuance are not easily eradicated: insomuch, that though they are not natural, they at length become a second nature, getting a head, and hardening with age.

23. *They went to theirs.* In Greek as in English, "to their own." That is, to the rest of the Christians; for no men are so peculiarly the Christians' as the Christians themselves. A Christian is to a Christian his domestic, his kinsman, his brother.

24. *And when they had heard.* That is, the threats of the Sanhedrim, or of the council of the chief of the Jews. They did not betake themselves to tears, nor despond in their minds; nor, despairing of a good cause, did they go about to abandon it; but being destitute of human aid, they betook themselves to implore the assistance of Heaven, believing that then chiefly to begin, when the other forsakes them.

*With one accord.* The consent of pious people, and unanimity of mind, is of great efficacy in prayer to move God. See Matt. xviii. 19, 20.

*They lifted up their voice.* With a fervent zeal and a generous ardour of mind.

*To God.* There are no arms for Christians to use against the magistrate when he endeavours to oppress the truth, and the professors of it, by his authority and force, but prayers to God for the magistrate and his salvation. That is to say, that through the mind-changing and heart-converting power of God, he may be reclaimed from opposing the truth: or if he have threatened any

thing to the professors of it, to prevent him from putting it in execution.

*Lord.* To whose divine power all beings in nature are obedient.

*Thou.* To whose clemency, for succour, we thy suppliants have betaken ourselves.

*Art.* In the Greek and vulgar English is added, "God," or, "the God."

*Who,* &c. As if he had said, whom the creation of all things demonstrates to excel in immense power and infinite strength.

25. *Who.* As if he had said, Who to thy demonstration of power to help, hast added thy promise of assistance, that resting upon thy promise and power together, we may implore thy aid with certain hope of obtaining it.

*By the Holy Ghost.*[1] That is, foretelling future things by thy divine instinct and inspiration.

*Of thy child.* That is, thy servant, as it is rendered in the common English translation.

*Why,* &c. As if he had said, Why rages the wicked and violent design to destroy the kingdom set up of God? For it shall prove no more effectual than if a fly opposed an elephant, or if any one should go about to throw down the sun from heaven. In the literal sense this is to be understood of the kingdom of David, typifying the kingdom of Christ. David beheld himself encompassed on every side with most potent enemies, the Philistines, Moabites, Sabæans, Damascenes, Ammonites, and Idumæans, and beset with powerful hosts, 2 Sam. v. 17; viii. 1, &c.; x. 6, &c. However, David derides the vain endeavours of all their threatening numbers to deprive him of a kingdom so firmly assured to him from Heaven. But in a mystical sense, the Holy Ghost speaking by the mouth of David, reproaches the ridiculous malice of the world for daring to invade Christ and his church; whereas God has ordained by his inviolable decree, though the universality of men, both high and low, combined in an impious and nefarious conspiration, oppose Christ and his church, yet all their fury will come to nothing. And that this mystical sense of the second Psalm

[1] This is not in the vulgar English, but it is in the Greek original. [Some Greek copies read ὁ διὰ στόματος Δαβὶδ παιδός σου ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ— others, ὁ διὰ Πνεύματος ἁγίου διὰ στόμ, κ.τ.λ. Wicliffe's version of 1380 follows the last reading. Cranmer's Bible of 1539, the first. It is also found in the Douay version.]

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belongs to the Messiah, both Rabbi David Kimchi, Saadias Gaon, Jarchi, and others acknowledge.

26. *Stood up.* As if he had said, the princes mentioned in the places last cited, wickedly conspired against the irresistible decree of the omnipotent God, and against David, solemnly anointed by the command of God, 2 Sam. viii. 10; 1 Sam. xvi. 13; 2 Sam. ii. 4; v. 3. Those princes were the type of all those, who, refusing to be subject to the Lord Christ, are violently carried forth to their own destruction to make opposition against God, whose pleasure it is to reign in Christ's person. Now, David being by the command of God anointed king, was an adumbration of the Son of God, Jesus the Messiah, or Christ, that is, the anointed by the Eternal Father, to the priestly, prophetical, and kingly dignity, not with terrestrial oil, but with celestial gifts of the Holy Ghost, Isa. lxi. 1.

*The kings of the earth.* Thus by way of extenuation he calls those princes who were enemies to David, and to Jesus Christ, who was typified by David: and to them he opposes God, *whose dwelling is in the heavens,* whose vast power is not confined to those narrow bounds that limit human force.

27. *Were gathered together.* As if he had said, For these enemies of David were types of Herodes Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, and Pontius Pilate, governor of Judea, who, though in other things there was no good correspondence between them, they consented together with heathens and Jews, to the destruction of Christ, Luke xxiii.

*Child.* When it is spoken of Jesus, Hilary and Ambrose translate the Greek word, παῖδα, "son," as Erasmus notes upon this place.

*Whom thou hast anointed.* That is, whom thou hast inaugurated king, priest, and prophet, by the unction of the Holy Ghost.

*Herod and Pontius Pilate.* By virtue of a Hebraism peculiar to the Scripture, they who have a derived and deputed power are called kings.

*With the Gentiles.* That is, with the Ethnics, who were either counsellors with, or officers under Pilate, who was the Roman governor of Judea.

*And the peoples of Israel.* The Jews are called *the peoples of Israel,* in the plural number, not only because they consisted of the twelve tribes, each of which constituted as it were a distinct

people: as Isaac prayed for Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 3, and God himself promised, Gen. xlviii. 4; but also because they were a multitude equally as numerous, as if many nations had been conjoined together, Judg. v. 14.

28. *To do*, &c. As if he had said, That they being permitted to give way to their own passions, whatever thou hadst ordained in thy eternal wisdom might come to pass; that is to say, that thy Son should be brought to the shameful death of the cross by the hands of the wicked, for the salvation of mankind. "The wicked," saith Junius, "execute the will of God, when they least dream of it: they execute the will of God: nevertheless they are not exempted from fault." For God contributes nothing to the impiety of the wicked, though he let loose the reins of their malice, and out of his most profound wisdom direct their fury rather against one than another, and give them the power to execute.

*Thy hand.* That is, thy power. God, in regard of his omnipotency, wills nothing but what he can do; and when it is his pleasure to defend, in vain the enemies of truth lay their ambushes against the professors of it. "Therefore there is nothing done unless the Omnipotent will have it done, either by permitting it be done, or by doing it himself:" saith St. Austin, Enchirid. cap. 95.

*And thy counsel.* The counsels of men often come to nothing, because they cannot effect what they have a desire to do: but the counsels and determinations of God never fail. "For," as Austin says, Enchirid. cap. 96, "as easy as it is for the omnipotent to do what he pleases, so easy is it for him not to permit what he has no mind should be done."

*Determined to be done.* In the Greek, "prelimited to be done." "For," saith Simon Grynæus, a person excellently well read in the Greek and Latin, "the Greek word signifies to prelimit, or to circumscribe, as it were, within a space or circle." Moreover, it is to be observed, that this whole eight and twentieth verse may be aptly joined with the words of the verse last preceding, *whom thou hast anointed*, in this manner: "For Pontius Pilate and Herod have really gathered together, with the Gentiles and people of Israel in this city, against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed to do what thy hand and counsel decreed to be done." Which is an egregious sense of the words, and most exactly agrees with the series of the context. "For thus," saith the famous divine

of our age, Stephen Curcellæus, "the apostles were desirous to show their confidence in God, by openly professing that all the endeavours of the enemies of Christ to disturb the propagation of the gospel, should be of no effect; nor should they be able to hinder, but that what God had decreed should be done by Christ and his servants for the salvation of the world, should be duly performed and executed. Neither ought that transposition of the words offend any one, or seem unusual, seeing that there be many such in the scriptures. Of which it will be sufficient to bring two or three examples. Rev. xiii. 8, we read: *And all that dwell upon the earth shall worship the beast, whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.* Where the last words, *from the foundation of the world,* are not to be connected with the preceding words, *the Lamb slain,* but with the more remote words: thus, *whose names are not written from the foundation of the world, in the book of life of the Lamb slain.* See also a harder trajection, Luke ii. 34, 35, where the last words, *That the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed,* are to be connected with these, *and for a sign that shall be spoken against,* though there be an interposition of these words between: *Yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also.* See also chap. iv. 5, where you are to read, *And the devil, taking him up into an high mountain in a moment of time, shewed him all the kingdoms of the earth;* not as it is vulgarly pointed, "he showed him all the kingdoms of the earth in a moment of time." For that could not be done; besides that it was contrary to the design of the devil, which was to detain the Lord Jesus for some time at least in the contemplation of the glory and splendour of those kingdoms, to excite his desire and ambition, not to show him passant, as it were a flash of lightning. Lastly, where you find any parentheses inserted in scripture, there those transpositions are always to be found; which is so frequent in the Epistles of St. Paul, that you meet with three or four in the first seven commas of his Epistle to the Romans; concerning which thing interpreters may be consulted, and among the rest, Beza, and Piscator, under the word *trajectio.*

29. *And now.* The adverb of time, *and now,* is a collective, or rational conjunction, inferring a conclusion out of what precedes, and is here used for "therefore," or "for this reason." As Gen. iv. 11, 21, 23, and in other places.

*Lord, behold their threatenings,* &c. As if he had said, Assuage

the threats of the magistrates, lest they break forth to the oppression of the truth; and that thy servants, boldly and intrepidly, in defiance of those threats, may preach the doctrine of Christ, and show thy might and power to work miracles, as often as we shall humbly beseech thee to do it for the sake of thy holy son Jesus. This manner of inspiring fortitude into the ministers of Christ, ceases at this day; seeing that the force of the miracles formerly wrought by the apostles, still remains in its full vigour and efficacy.

30. *And when they had prayed.* In the Greek, "while they were yet praying." That is, they had scarce finished their supplications.

*The place was shaken.* To the end the disciples might know that God was at hand by this testimony of his divine presence; and certainly understand that their prayers were heard according to the promise of Christ, John xiv. 13. *Whatever ye shall ask the Father in my name,* that is, trusting in my promises and merits, *that will I do;* that is, I will take care that ye shall obtain it: and John xvi. 23; *Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you.* Something like this passage of the shaking of the place, you find in Virgil.[1]

> "See where the omen comes, by heaven distilled,
> Into your breasts with fear and horror filled.
> Scarce had I spoke, when on a sudden all
> The massy pile seemed ready just to fall;
> The temple thresholds, sacred laurel shook,
> The mountain too a quivering ague took."

*And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost.* That is, they felt the power and efficacy of the Holy Ghost more vigorously operating in their hearts at that time than before, and found themselves possessed of the promises of Christ: *Whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance; and every branch in me that beareth fruit, my Father purgeth it, that it may bear more fruit,* Matt. xiii. 12; John xv. 2.

*And they spake the word of God with boldness.* As if he had said, And now no longer terrified, or hindered by their fears, they spread the word of God more boldly and freely.

32. *And the multitude,* &c. As much as to say, And among so many thousands who had embraced the faith of Christ, such was the concord and unanimity of mind, that there was not the least

[1] Æn. iii. ver. 89, &c.

appearance of dissension in the whole number. This happy concord Christ himself declares should be a mark and badge of his disciples; and prays the Father to infuse it into them, that the world might know that he had sent him, John xiii. 15; xvii. 21, 23.

*Of one heart and of one soul.* A proverbial manner of speech, signifying the most perfect consent of minds, 1 Chron. xii. 38, *All the rest of Israel were of one heart to make David king;* 2 Chron. xxx. 12, *And in all Judah they hand of God was to give them one heart to do the commandment of the king and of the princes, by the word of the Lord;* Jer. xxxii. 39, *I will give them one heart and one way, that they may fear me.* That is, I will cause them unanimously to profess one religion. Aristotle, in Diogenes Laërtius, putting the question, What a friend was? answers, "One soul inhabiting in two bodies." And so Cicero:[1] "That law of just and true friendship is very ancient, that friends should always will the same thing. Neither is there any more certain tie of friendship than the consent and concord of counsels and wills."

*Neither any of them,* &c. As if he had said, Nay, this sacred and praiseworthy concord among believers brake forth into external liberality, so that none of them privately enjoyed his estate or goods, which used to be estimated at the price of money, without regarding the necessities of others; but as their occasions required, they also freely granted the use of them to those that wanted.[2] "This is by a spiritual birth to be truly born the sons of God. This is according to the heavenly law, to imitate the equality of God the Father. For whatever is God's is in common for our use. No man is prohibited from the participation of his benefits, but all mankind equally enjoy his bounty and goodness. Thus the day illuminates all alike; the sun shines, the showers water, the wind blows upon all alike. Sleep is the same to all, and the light of the stars and moon is common to all. By which example of equality, whoever is a possessor of land upon earth, and shares his income and revenues with the brotherhood, while he is common and just in his free and voluntary largesses, he is an imitator of God."

33. *And with great power.* As if he said, But the resurrection of Christ, the foundation of all Christian religion, and of our

[1] In Orat. pro Planc. [2] Cypr. sub finem lib. de Opere et Eleem.

hopes therein comprehended, the apostles did not only vigorously and constantly maintain in words, but also, as they had prayed before, confirmed by the signal and astonishing miracles they wrought by the power of Jesus Christ by them invoked.

*And great grace was upon them all.* That is, the apostles were pleasing and acceptable to all. See ch. v. 13.

34. *Neither was there.* The reason is given why the apostles were so acceptable to all; because they were so liberal and bountiful to all.

*That lacked.* That is, who was destitute of the necessary support of human life.

*For as many.* See our annot. ch. ii. 45.

*Sold them.* That is their lands or farms.

35. *And laid them down at the apostles' feet.* To wit, according to the custom of those who surrendered anything to the will and disposal of another. From which custom the manner of speaking is taken, Ps. viii. 6. Cicero, speaking of money paid in court, says,[1] "A hundred pound of gold was paid down in the court before the feet of the prætor." The same author in three of his Offices: "The fishes were cast down before the feet of Pythius."

*And distribution was made.* As much as to say, Whatever was necessary to every one for food, raiment, and physic, was distributed to every particular person, so that in the whole assembly of believers there was none neglected or despised for his poverty, or that appeared to be swelled and puffed up with his riches.

36. *And Joses.* Joses, Josetus, Josephus, and Joseph are one and the same name, with various terminations, as Drusius, Grotius, and others observe.

*Who was surnamed Barnabas.* This surname is a Syriac composition, from the name *Bar* and *Nabia*, or by abridgment *Naba*, the third person of the future of the verb *bia*, "to comfort." And thus *Barnaba* signifieth "the comforting son;" the Hebrews and Syrians using often the future for the present participle, as Lud. de Dieu observes. Nor was this surname given him by the common people, but by the apostles themselves, which redounded to his greater praise. The names which were given to the apostles by Christ did not want a happy portending; nor did they doubtless want the same which were given to others by the apostles, being filled with the Holy Ghost. Neither is it a small honour to be

[1] Orat. pro Flac.

approved, and well charactered by persons eminent in the church for their divine gifts and piety. Wherefore, all men ought to labour, not so much to be applauded by those most excellent persons (lest it might be looked upon as the effect of ambition) as to deserve those praises, and in the first place, to be a cause of consolation and rejoicing to all pious and holy men, by their piety and singular good deeds.

*A Levite.* We know the Levites had nothing of their own, and therefore the tenths were given them for an inheritance, Num. xviii. 21. We also know that the lands adjoining to the cities given them in possession could not be sold, Lev. xxv. 34. Therefore, the farm that Barnabas sold was some land which some virgin of another tribe brought either to him or his father in marriage. For, as Grotius observes upon Jer. xxxii. 7, "The women, if they had no brothers, were their parents' heiresses; and if the next of kin would not marry them, they did marry to others."

*And of the country of Cyprus.* *Cyprus*, in the Hebrew, *Copher*, an island famous for having so many names, as also for its extent, fertility, situation, wealth, colonies, cities, and admission of Christianity, was bounded to the west by the Pamphilian Sea, to the south by the Egyptian and Syrian, to the east by the Syrian, to the north by the narrow strait of Cilicia, according to Ptolemy;[1] by which it seems most probable that it was forced away by nature from Cilicia, rather than from Syria, as Pliny delivers.[2] Anciently it was the seat of five kingdoms, as the same Pliny testifies.[3] But from the time that the Ptolemies obtained the government of Egypt, Cyprus also was reduced under their subjection, by the frequent assistance of the Romans. But when the last Ptolemy, the uncle of Cleopatra, who reigned in Strabo's time, [proved] proud and ungrateful to his allies, the Romans expelled him, took the island into their own possession, and reduced it into a Pretorian province. The principal cause of its ruin was Publius Claudius Pulcher, who, falling into the hands of the Cilician pirates, then very powerful at sea, and being required to pay his ransom, sent the demands of the pirates to the king, to the end that he should send the money, and redeem him. He sent indeed, but so small a sum that the pirates were ashamed to receive it, and so sending the king his money back again, they set Claudius at liberty, without paying any ransom. Who, being thus

[1] Lib. v. cap. 14. [2] Lib. ii. cap. 88. [3] Lib. v. cap. 31.

freed, was not unmindful of returning the favours he had received from both. So that being made tribune of the people, he obtained that Porcius Cato might be sent to eject the king out of Cyprus. Who hearing of Cato's coming, prevented the ignominy by laying violent hands upon himself. However, Cato taking possession of the island, sold all the king's proper goods and furniture, and sent in the money to the public treasury of the Romans, which filled the treasury of Rome with a greater mass of money than ever any triumph of her commanders.[1] From that time the island was made a Pretorian province. Some time after that, Anthony delivered it to Cleopatra and her sister Arsinoë, but Anthony being overthrown, all his orders were made utterly void, as Strabo testifies, lib. 14.

37. *Having land.* That is, by marriage. For the Levites had no other lands of their own, except what they had by their wives, as we have observed upon the preceding verse. A memorable example to others is this alienation of his dowry land by Barnabas, not to supply his own, but the wants of others. For a small farm of this nature used to be very highly valued by the possessors, insomuch that they were unwilling to part with it, and they seem to sell their lives to the purchaser that bought it. Therefore, it was a high piece of liberality and charity, to alienate an estate only to gratify others.

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## CHAPTER V.

1. *But a certain man,* &c. The particle "but" denotes an opposition, and connects the beginning of this chapter, with the latter part of the foregoing. For Luke there, having declared the liberality of the believers of the church in Jerusalem by that eminent and special instance of Barnabas, who sold his small possession which he enjoyed by way of dowry, and brought the whole price of it to the common stock: he now illustrateth the same by a different, and in some respects, contrary example, and by the divine vengeance pursuing it. As if he should say, But

[1] Florus, lib. iii. cap. 9.

Ananias and Sapphira his wife were otherwise affected, who having sold their possession, kept back part of the price, &c.

*Sold a possession.* The Ethiopic renders the Greek word signifying possession, "vine," as also he doth the word signifying "land," in ver. 8; likewise the word signifying "field," ch. i. 18; the reason is, because most of their possessions in the land of Canaan were vineyards. Hence the seventy render the Hebrew word signifying vineyards, "possessions" and "lands," Prov. xxxi. 16; Hos. ii. 15; Joel i. 11; 1 Chron. xxvii. 27.

2. *And kept back.* That is to say, He, through a malicious deceit, saved somewhat by stealth.

*His wife also being privy to it.* Supply, "and willingly approving it."

*And brought.* Ananias alone, Sapphira his wife being absent.

*A certain part.* Of the price for which he had sold his land.

*And laid it at the apostles' feet.* Dissembling that he had brought the whole sum for which he sold his possession, hoping also that his fraudulent dissimulation should not be known.

3. *Why hath Satan filled thine heart?* As much as to say, How couldst thou persuade thyself to give room in thy heart to that most inconsiderate and foolish rashness suggested by Satan? To fill the heart, in scripture phrase, is to make bold; as Ludovicus de Dieu hath demonstrated, from Esther vii. 5; Eccles. viii. 11. "Boldness," saith he, "filleth the heart, and swells it up with burning spirits, which breaking out to the external members, especially the tongue, and the hands, drives them on to the most daring attempts; for a heart full of spirits fears nothing." And the same author a little after saith: "There is a twofold fulness; one of faith, whereby the heart of believers, being filled with holy spirits, from the most sure promises of God, doth confidently, and without fear despise all adversity; the other of boldness, whereby the heart of the profane being filled with rash spirits, proceeding from a vain hope of safety, dares without fear adventure upon any evil." This was Ananias's case here, whose heart the devil had so filled with this spirit of boldness, that very confidently, and without fear, he ventured *to lie to the Holy Ghost.*

*To lie to the Holy Ghost.* That is to say, That thou should labour to deceive the Holy Ghost; or, as learned John Piscator explains it, "Us the apostles, in whom the Spirit acteth, and to whom he reveals what is necessary for the edification of the church, by a

figuure called *metonymia adjuncti.*" So also Grotius: "He is said," saith he, "to lie to God, or the Holy Ghost, who hopes that he can deceive the apostles who are instructed by the Holy Ghost."

*And to keep back part of the price of the land.* That is to say, Laying but a part of the price of the possession sold by you at the apostles' feet, you would in the mean time dissemble you laid the whole, thinking your hypocrisy could be hid, and that the apostles, though filled with the Holy Ghost in the day of Pentecost, could in nowise discover the cheat.

4. *While it remained,* &c. As much as to say, Was it not in thy power either not to have sold thy possession, or, having sold it, to keep the whole price, or a part of it, to thyself? what then did drive you on thus to obey the devil's persuasions, that having secretly withdrawn part of it, and laying it aside, and laying another part at the apostles' feet, that you by hypocrisy and lying, should dissemble, that you brought the whole, and laid it at the apostles' feet? Do not think that we who are men, are only mocked with thy deceitful hypocrisy, seeing this mocking tends to the reproach of the Holy Ghost, even as much as if thou hadst intended by thy deceit to mock the Holy Ghost, who is God, seeing we by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost discover the secrets of the hearts. Likewise Paul, after he had said, what precepts he gave to the Thessalonians by the Lord Jesus, and upon what condition God had called them, he adds, 1 Thess. iv. 8: *He therefore that despiseth these things, despiseth not man but God, who hath also given unto us his Holy Spirit.* That is to say, seeing it is he who gave us the Holy Ghost, by whom we are governed, and by whose influence it is evident that we speak. "Men then are opposed to the Holy Ghost; they are also opposed to God; therefore the Holy Ghost is God, ver. 4. For he to whom Ananias chiefly lied, or whom he chiefly endeavoured to deceive, the same is God; but the Holy Ghost is he whom Ananias chiefly endeavoured to deceive, or to whom he lied; it follows then that the Holy Ghost is God," saith learned Christopher Wittichius, in his learned Book called Causa Spiritus Sancti.

*Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God.* That is to say, thou hast not endeavoured to deceive men only, but, above all, the Holy Ghost, who is God, and who reveals to us things secret. See such expressions in Exod. xvi. 8; 1 Sam. viii. 7; Luke x. 16; 1 Thess. iv. 8.

5. *And Ananias hearing these words.* And not being able to endure their sharpness, as Origen excellently noteth.[1]

*Fell down, and gave up the ghost.* Ananias and Sapphira fell dead at Peter's feet, because that mocking the apostles, inspired by the Holy Ghost, they mocked the Holy Ghost, or God himself. So Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, were swallowed up by the earth, because they rose up against Moses, Numb. xvi. And of those children, mentioned 2 Kings ii. 24, two she-bears out of the wood destroyed forty and two, not so much for mocking Elisha as bald, as for mocking him being the prophet of the true God. Also Elymas for resisting Paul is struck with blindness, Acts xiii. 11. Now, whether Ananias and Sapphira were by the righteous judgment of God condemned to eternal punishment, seeing scripture is altogether silent, we cannot determine. Tertullian and Ambrose affirm it, Origen and some other fathers deny it; but we judge it pious ignorance to be willing not to know what God was not willing to make known to us.

*And great fear came upon,* &c. As much as to say, As many as heard that God punished the lying and hypocrisy of Ananias with sudden death, were seized with great reverence to the majesty of God, that they might very earnestly shun the heinous offences so punished.

6. *And the young men arose.* Supply "who were of lusty bodies," as Apuleius speaks.

*And carried him out.* The Greek word for *carried him out,* signifies, "they trussed him together," because, as the famous Lightfoot saith, "They not having grave-clothes ready, they trussed the dead body together as well as they could, and having carried him thence, buried him."

7. *His wife not knowing what was done.* Hence Lightfoot observes the reason why the Greek word "to truss together," is used in the verse preceding. "For if," saith he, "they who carried him out of the room, where he fell down dead, had carried him to his own house or lodging, there to get him a winding sheet, his wife could not be ignorant of what had come to pass; but, *συνέστειλαν αὐτὸν,* they bound and trussed him up as he was in his clothes, and so carried him out, and buried him."

*Came in.* That is, where Peter and the rest of the believers were gathered together.

[1] Tract. viii. upon Matt.

8. *Whether ye sold your land for so much.* As much as to say, Whether or not did ye sell your possession for any more than that sum of money which your husband gave to us.

*Yea, for so much.* That is, for no more.

9. *How is it,* &c. As much as to say, To what end did ye invent this deceit, as if you would put it to trial, whether the Holy Ghost, dwelling in us, and who by us governs the church, did know all things? God is said to be tempted in scripture, as often as anything is done with an evil conscience; for then, though it be not so designed and intended, yet the deed itself seems to be as it were of set purpose, to try whether God be just, all-knowing, and omnipotent.

*Behold,* &c. In these words Peter does not imprecate Sapphira's death, as Porphyrius falsely alleges; but by his gift of prophesying, he foretells the judgment of God that was coming upon her.

10. *Then fell she down.* That (to wit) the present revenge, executed upon her and her husband, might be an example to others.

11. *And great fear came,* &c. As much as to say, The whole church, and all who heard the report of this present judgment upon Ananias and Sapphira, were seized with a high reverence of God. See above, ver 5.

12. *And by the hands of the apostles.* A Hebrew phrase common in scripture; that is to say, by the apostles, or the apostles' labour and ministry intervening.

*Among the people.* That is, publicly and openly, the people being present and looking on; and upon many of the people, that they might entice some to the faith, and confirm others in the faith.

*And they were.* All this must be enclosed in a parenthesis till we come to the sixteenth verse, where what now hath been spoken concerning the miracles wrought by the ministry of the apostles is continued.

*With one accord.* That is to say, with "brotherly concord," as Livy speaketh.

*All.* To wit, who were joined to the church.

*In Solomon's porch.* Of which, see above, ch. iii. 11.

13. *And of the rest.* To wit, who heard the apostles preach, but had not as yet embraced the faith of Christ.

*Durst no man join himself to them.* The Greek hath, "glue himself to them," meaning that none of these hearers durst any way familiarly converse with the apostles, for the fear which they conceived from the prodigious fate of Ananias and Sapphira, which as yet was fresh in their memory.

*But the people magnified them.* As much as to say, Yet that put no stop to the progress of the gospel, because the people had a greater esteem for the apostles.

14. *The more*, &c. As much as to say, Yea, many of both sexes were daily, more and more, added to the number of the believers, although none of those that were added durst at that time, for fear, be very familiar with the apostles.

15. *In beds and couches.* Couches, in Latin *grabbati*, are known to have been little beds, in which the ancients used to rest at noon, and because these couches were easier carried, in them the sick were put when they were to be brought into public, that by a miracle they might be healed.

*The shadow*, &c. "What," saith Baronius,[1] "is the shadow of Peter but the express image of his body? And certainly from no other but such images formed from shadows, did the art of painting take its original, that from these you may see that the religious worship of images was in that primitive church first of all consecrated in Peter's shadow by the special providence of God, working by that shadow so many and so great miracles." But this Baronius's shadow of reasoning will as soon vanish as we observe, that we nowhere read that even Peter's shadow itself was ever worshipped by those whom by its touch Peter restored to health. "It is perverse and absurd that the image of man should be worshipped by the image of God; for whatsoever he worshippeth is worse and weaker," saith Lactantius.[2] St. Agobard, bishop of Lyons, in the beginning of his book concerning Images: "If," saith he, "the work of God's hands must not be worshipped and adored even to honour God, how much more the works of men's hands are not to be worshipped and adored, even to honour them whose likenesses they are said to be?"

*Peter passing by.* Who, though he had no greater gift of miracles than the rest had, yet he was made better known than they because he was seen to act and speak when the rest were silent, and seemed to do nothing.

[1] A. D. 34, n. 275. [2] Lib. ii. Div. Inst. cap. 18.

*And be delivered from their infirmities.*[1] This is not in the vulgar Greek copies, neither doth the Syrian interpreter read it.

16. *A multitude out of the cities round about.* That is, much people out of the towns lying round about Jerusalem.

*Vexed with unclean spirits.* That is, wearied, and after a strange manner tormented, with these evil spirits.

17. *Then the high priest rose up.* As much as to say, Then went the chief, or prince of the Sanhedrim out, to see what the matter was.

*And all they that were with him.* That is, the rest of those that were of the same sect of religion as the prince of the Sanhedrim was.

*Which is the sect of the Sadducees.* That is, they who adhered to their opinions. The words *sect* and *heresy* are of a middle signification. At that same time the Sadducees had the chief authority in the government. As to their tenets in matters of religion, see what we have said, Matt. iii. 7.

*Were filled with indignation.* That is, enraged with rash and unruly fury, for that they saw the apostles by their preaching to the people the resurrection of Christ from the dead, did strike at the very root of their heresy; wherefore the Sadducees thought it for the interest of their cause if by force they could get the apostles and their doctrine suppressed, lest that the people embracing the doctrine of the apostles, their authority should be despised, and their heresy exploded.

18. *And laid their hands upon the apostles.* That is, they seized them.

20. *Go, stand and speak in the temple.* That is, preach constantly and freely to the whole multitude of the people, and to all in common, in the most famous and public place of the city.

*The words of this life.* Which Christ renewed after his death. "There is no need that these words should breed difficulty to any man," saith Lightfoot, "if he observe these words in ver. 17, *which is the sect of the Sadducees.* For, *the words of this life,* are words which assert this life (to wit, the resurrection), which the Sadducees deny. For the controversy was about the resurrection of Jesus. Heinsius thinks that in these words there is a Hebraism.

[1] [Latin Vulgate: Et liberarentur ab infirmitatibus suis. Cranmer's version of 1539 reads: *And that they myght all be delyuered from their infyrmytyes.* Wicliffe's version and that of Rheims also give this sentence.]

'The Hebrew word used for *life*, חיה, signifieth,' says he, 'among other things, an assembly or company.' It will appear from what precedes, that here it is spoken either of all the apostles, or most of them, or at least their assemblies. That place, Ps. lxxiv. 19, is known, *Forget not the congregation of thy poor for ever*: and before, *Deliver not the soul of thy turtle dove to the multitude*, where you have twice the Hebrew word חיה, which the Hellenists in divers places have diversely rendered. If you consider the word, it signifies *life*, Ps. lxviii. 10, *Thy congregation hath dwelt therein*, where, if you render the Hebrew verbatim, instead of *thy congregation*, or *the congregation of thine*, you must render *thy life*. Therefore *the words of this life*, is the same as the discourse of your company, or conversation."

21. *And when they heard.* The divine command given them by the ministry of the angel.

*Called the council together.* That is, the senate of the people, or the great Sanhedrim.

*And all the senate of the children of Israel.* That is, the whole senate of the city of Jerusalem. See what we have said above, ch. iv. 5. The word which is rendered *senate* in the Greek, is in the Hebrew *elders*. And Hesychius expressly makes the Greek word rendered *senate*, and the word rendered *presbytery*, to be one and the same.

24. *The high priest.* That is, the prince of the Sanhedrim.

*The captain of the temple.* See what we have said above, ch. iv. 1, 6.

*Chief priests.* That is, the heads of the sacerdotal families. See our literal explanation of Matt. ii. 4.

*Heard these things.* To wit, from the officers which they sent to bring the apostles out of prison.

*Whereunto this would grow.* That is, whither it did tend, or what it did mean.

26. *Brought them without violence.* That is to say, not as they used to drag felons (unwilling to come) to judgment, but after the manner that even honest men sometimes are called to appear in judgment.

*For they feared.* The captain and his servants.

*The people.* To wit, who for the so many and great miracles wrought by the apostles among them, and the favours they who were healed received by them, as also for the singular integrity of their conversations, were highly esteemed by them.

*Lest they should have been stoned.* By the people, who took it in ill part that violent hands should be laid upon such holy men, endued with such divine virtue.

28. *Did not we straitly command you?* That is, we did most strictly, and with most weighty threatenings forbid.

*That ye should not teach in this name.* That is, in the authority of Jesus of Nazareth, whom the rulers of the Sanhedrim hated and despised so exceedingly, that they would not so much as mention his name.

*And behold.* Notwithstanding of all our threatenings.

*And intend,* &c. As much as to say, Yea, also ye intend to stain our reputation with the reproach of an ungodly slaughter; as if we had unjustly condemned that Jesus of Nazareth to the death of the cross. "The Hebrews," saith Grotius, "express slaughter, the guilt of slaughter, and the punishment of slaughter, by blood."

29. *The other apostles.* To wit, who, as his associates, spake the same things with Peter.

*To obey,* &c. To this agreeth that decree of Plato in his Phædrus, "It is lawful for no man to desert that office to which God hath assigned him." From hence, *that we ought to obey God rather than men,* Lorinus well inferreth, "That we ought to obey men's commands when they do not contradict God, who gave them authority to command." Hence also Bernard says well,[1] "Whether God, or man who is God's vicegerent, command a thing, we are certainly to obey with the same care, and behave with a like reverence, whensoever man commands nothing contrary to God." See what we have noted above, ch. iv. 19.

30. *The God of our fathers.* That is, the God who entered into covenant with our fathers.

*Raised up Jesus.* This manner of speaking is frequent in scripture, that God raised up prophets, judges, or other ministers, which he was to make use of for some great work. "Which is as much as to say," saith Calvin, "as that the best nature's excellency is weak, except God endue them with peculiar gifts to whom he entrusts any great and noble office." Perhaps this manner of speaking alludes to that notable place of Moses, Deut. xviii. 15, which Peter cited above in his first sermon, ch. iii. 22.

*Whom ye slew, and hanged upon a tree.* That is, whom ye put

[1] Lib. De Præcep. & Disp. cap. 12.

to a shameful death upon the cross. In allusion to that place, Deut. xxi. 22, 23.

31. *Him hath God exalted a Prince, and a Saviour.* There is an ellipsis here of the preposition *in*, so that the sense may be, that Christ, whom you have condemned to be shamefully hanged, him hath God exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, or hath constituted in the supreme degree of honour, that he might be more fully and perfectly the Prince of life, to wit, eternal, and the Captain of salvation. See above, ch. iii. 15; Heb. ii. 10, v. 9.

*With his right hand.* That by the right hand of God here, being a metaphorical expression, is understood his power and great virtue, is clear unto all. "If ever since the creation God did manifest it, surely it was in this work of Christ's exaltation. Whence Paul doth deservedly celebrate it in these words: *And what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power which he wrought in Christ, when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand in heavenly places*, Eph. i. 19, 20. For what can be conceived more noble than to endow with immortality a man that was born like other men, subject also to the same infirmities with them, except only sin, and then set him above all the heavens, and to put all things under his feet, as well in heaven as in earth, that he might govern and manage them at his pleasure? For it appears by the circumstances, that all these things are comprehended under Christ's ascension and exaltation to heaven, and not a mere lifting up to heaven, such as was Enoch's before the law, and Elias's under the law, who neither died before they were lifted up, nor attained to any dominion after. For these, although they were preludes and types of Christ's ascension, as of ours also, yet were they infinitely short of it."[1]

*To give*, &c. As much as to say, that of his great mercy he might bring his people to repentance; and by forgiveness of sin, which follows repentance quickened by faith, reconcile them to himself. Calvin saith well, "Repentance is indeed a voluntary conversion. But whence cometh this willingness, except that God change our heart, that of stony it may become fleshy; of hard and stubborn, tractable; and, lastly, of crooked, straight? But this is done when Christ by his Spirit renews us; neither is this the gift of one moment, but must be daily increased all our life,

[1] Curcel. Instit. lib. v. cap. 15, n. 16.

till we fully adhere to God, which will be at last, when we shall have put off our flesh. It is indeed a beginning of repentance when a man who first was averse from God, renouncing the world and himself, begins a new life. But because (though once upon the way) we are far from the mark, we must daily be advancing. Both which we obtain by Christ. For even as he beginneth repentance in us, so he gives us perseverance. This is indeed an inestimable grace; but it would profit little unless joined with remission of sins. For Christ first found us enemies to God, and the corruptions which make the dissension between him and us do always stick to us, so that he might justly be displeased with us rather than favourable to us. But justification consists in this, if God impute not our sins to us. Therefore this latter grace ought never to be separated from the former. Yea, the gospel will be lame and corrupt, unless it consist of these two members: that is, unless men be taught that they are reconciled to God by Christ, by the free imputation of his righteousness, and by the new birth of his Spirit transformed to newness of life. Thus we have, in short, how salvation is to be obtained in Christ."

32. *And we are his witnesses of these things.* As much as to say, Now it becomes us not upon any account to suppress these things which I have spoken, seeing we are constituted witnesses of them, and so by virtue of our office are bound to publish and proclaim them openly to all. See above, ch. i. 8; Luke xxiv. 48; John xv. 27. The Greek hath *words* here for *things*, but the sense is the same; for by *words* Peter understands things themselves, after the Hebrew manner of speaking: to wit, those things of which he briefly spake before, that is, whatever respecteth the dignity and office of Christ, or man's salvation depending thereon.

*And so is also the Holy Ghost.* As much as to say, Nor indeed do we the apostles only witness these things, but also the Holy Ghost himself, who is a witness beyond exception, to whom by right ye are bound to assent, however ye refuse to give credit to us. The apostles alone for integrity and innocency of life were worth credit; but lest the stubbornness of men might leave any pretext to cloak their unbelief, God would add to this testimony another greater, to wit, the testimony of his Spirit. This very testimony of the Spirit is joined elsewhere with the testimony of the apostles, John xv. 26, 27; Heb. ii. 3, 4; but we must not think that the Holy Spirit did bear witness apart from the

apostles, but by the apostles; to wit, by their miracles and divine discourses proceeding from his inspiration. Such an inspiration also did at that time most evidently manifest itself in the apostles, while with such readiness of mind they spoke of so wonderful things, no ways fearing the power or threatenings of the great men. After the like manner it is said, Rev. xxii. 17, *And the Spirit and the bride say, Come.* That is, the Bride inspired by the Spirit saith, *Come.*

*Whom God hath given.* That is, the gifts of which Holy Spirit God hath given largely and plentifully.

*To all that obey him.* To wit, Christ; that is, to all that believe in Christ, and endeavour to frame their conversation hereafter according to the rule of his word.

33. *They were cut to the very heart.* That is, they were ragingly angry. The Greek word here, διεπρίοντο, and also ch. vii. 54, saith Hesychius, is, "They raged with anger, they were very angry."

*Took counsel to slay them.* That is, they consulted among themselves to kill the apostles, who were personally present, and took notice of it.

34. *A Pharisee.* The sect of the Pharisees was in greatest esteem among the Jews, and was gentler than the rest in punishing.

*Gamaliel, a doctor of the law.* Or a public professor. Concerning this judge of the great Sanhedrim, Lightfoot saith thus: "Rabban Gamaliel the first, called commonly and for distinction, Rabban Gamaliel the old, was Præses of the Sanhedrim, after his father, Rabban Simeon, the son of Hillel, [and] Paul's master, and the thirty-fifth receiver of the traditions, and therefore for this reason might well be called doctor of the law, as being keeper and conveyer of the traditions received at Mount Sinai, were it not that the rabbins of the inferior order enjoyed the same title. He died eighteen years before the destruction of the city, and Rabbi Simeon, his son, took his chair, who perished with the city."

*Commanded to put forth the apostles a little space.* That is, he commanded them to retire a little out of the council, lest by his words they might become bolder.

35. *Take heed,* &c. As much as to say, do not act with such a great heat, but rather have a special care, lest in your preposterous zeal you may do somewhat to these men in this business whereof afterward you may repent. It is not probable to me that Gamaliel

spake thus as if he approved the doctrine of the gospel, or would undertake its defence, but seeing all the rest stirred up with fury, being a gentle and moderate man, he by his discourse moderates their excess. "In the meantime," saith Capellus, "his disciple Paul most cruelly raged against the church of Christ, and wasted it, and Maimonides[1] attributes a fact to Gamaliel far different (as it seems) from this advice, for he saith, that when he saw heretics so abound in his days (meaning Christians, there being none other at that time among the Jews that might be supposed to have been so called), he composed a form of prayer, in which God was requested to extirpate the heretics, which form he put with the other forms of prayer in the Jewish liturgy then used, that it might be ready in every one's mouth. If this fact be true, it seems to argue such an enraged spirit against the Christians, and hatred at the Christian religion, to have been in this man, as suits not well with this advice of his, which Luke gives here an account of; except that one would think to reconcile Maimonides and Luke by saying this was Gamaliel's mind and judgment, that although the apostles and their followers were heretics, and even dangerous, yet they were not to be suppressed by human violence, nor the counsels of human policy, but the whole of it should be committed to the wise providence of God, that their rooting out must be looked for from God, and not hastened by human contrivances, and therefore that for this purpose he composed that prayer, and added it to the rest in the daily liturgy, whereby God was besought to root out these men if they were ungodly and heretics; that if they were not from God, he himself would in a way and manner most agreeable to his own providence and wisdom disappoint and overturn their designs. As to Paul, Gamaliel's disciple, that bitter persecutor of the church of Christ, two things may be answered, to wit, that Gamaliel himself was indeed at first of the same disposition with Paul against the apostles and their followers, which was cruel and fierce, but that then he had changed his thoughts, God having inclined his heart to milder courses, which often comes to pass, or that afterwards Paul dissented from his master, as being of a hotter temper, and therefore of a more angry and hostile spirit against those who he thought would overturn the Jewish religion received from their fathers, for which he was a great zealot."

[1] In Sum. Talm. lib. ii. Tract. de Orat. & Bened. Sacerdot.

36. *For before these days rose up Theudas.* *Theudas* is not a Greek, but the Hebrew name תודה, which the Syrians pronounce by a dipthong *Theuda*, as they call Thomas, *Thaumas*, and Joseph, *Jauseph*, as Grotius noted. "Luke," saith Henry Valesius,[1] "or rather Gamaliel in Luke, saith expressly that Theudas rose up but very lately, yea, in these same days wherein he spake. *For before these days rose up Theudas*, which words demonstrate the thing to have been done very lately, for so both Greeks and Latins use to speak of a thing lately fallen out, as may be proved by many instances. *For before these days*, then, is as much as in these days, for the Greeks and Latins say, before the third day of the kalends, for the third day of the kalends. Wherefore when Luke subjoins, *after this man rose up Judas*, nothing else is meant by it than that Theudas was older than Judas the Galilean. Which gloss, though at first it seems somewhat hard, yet it is altogether necessary, and most true, neither does it want examples, for as often as we reckon from the last, which is nearer us, we must make the first last, and the last first. For that reason Tertullian, in his Apologetic, hath used the word *retrò*, to say "a good while ago," in times past; and *retrò̆sior*, for "ancienter," and nevertheless *retrò* in Latin is the same as *post*, "afterward."

"But because Casaubon denies that ever the Greeks spake so, we produce a witness beyond all exception, which is Clemens Alexandrinus,[2] who speaks in the very same manner that Luke does; for having observed almost all the heretics to have broken out about the time of Hadrian, and to have come even to the reign of Antoninus Pius, as Basilides and Valentine, he subjoins, 'for Marcion lived about the same time with Basilides and Valentine, but he, as the elder, was conversing with them, being yet young.' He adds then, 'After whom, Simon for a while heard Peter preach.' Who sees not in this place of Clemens, that 'after whom,' is the same with 'before whom?' For neither was Simon the Sorcerer after Marcion, but rather lived long before him, as is constant among all. But certainly Clemens, while he makes a catalogue of heretics, reckoned them first who were the last, and put Simon the last of all. But also geographers describing the situation of lands and names of people, speak after the same manner: for they say, after these are those, that is, above these

[1] Upon Euseb. book ii. ch. 11.

[2] In lib. vii. Strom. towards the end.

those are placed. And so much against Casaubon's opinion,[1] who thought that Theudas, of whom mention is made in the Acts, to have been older than Judas. But one will perhaps say, that from what we have argued, it seems to be abundantly evinced that Theudas was not older than Judas of Galilee; yet nevertheless that Theudas, whereof Luke speaks, must be distinguished from that Theudas mentioned by Josephus, 20th book of his Antiq., toward the end of ch. 2.; for the first Theudas, of whom Gamaliel speaks in that oration which he had in the Jewish council, did raise a tumult in Judea about the time of Christ's passion. But the other, of whom Josephus speaks, stirred up sedition after the death of King Agrippa, while Cuspius Fadus governed Judea, about the fourth year of the reign of Claudius Augustus. Seeing, then, that Gamaliel had this speech a little after Christ's resurrection, and before Stephen's martyrdom, that is, about the latter end of Tiberius's reign, he could not at all have spoken then of that commotion which Theudas made while Claudius reigned. We cannot meet this objection any other way, unless we say that Josephus was mistaken in making Theudas's sedition later than he ought. For that there were two Theudases, who feigned themselves prophets, one after another, stirring up the Jews to hope for new things, I can no ways be persuaded. Let Luke and Josephus be compared, where both of them speak of Theudas, and it will plainly appear that they both meant one and the same man. Certainly all circumstances agree so exactly in both narratives, that Josephus seems to have commented upon Luke. One difference there is as to the time, which yet is not of such moment that we should invent two Theudases; for if as often as we meet with such differences in the narratives of ancient writers, we would distinguish persons and things, we must beware, lest unadvisedly we make two men of one. How much more safe is it, when we find two writers differing among themselves, to say that one of them is in a mistake, which since it is wicked to affirm of the scripture, the whole blame must be laid upon Josephus." Lightfoot saith,[2] "Admit only that Josephus errs in computing the times, and the whole difficulty is removed. And truly, I see not upon what account we owe that reverence and modesty to Josephus, as to wrestle so much for his reputation. Another Theudas must be found out, or the pointing of commas altered,

[1] Exercitat. 2. cap. 18. [2] In Horis Heb.

or some other, I know not what, absurd plaster must be applied, rather than Josephus must be accused of a mistake, who yet is found often to trip and reel both in history and chronology. I would therefore think Josephus's Theudas to be Gamaliel's, but that Josephus, mistaking the time, stained a true history with false chronology."

*Saying he was somebody.* That is, boasting himself to be some great and eminent deliverer of the Jews from the servitude, with which the Romans oppressed them. This history Josephus relates thus,[1] (and after him Eusebius.[2]) While Cuspius Fadus governed Judea, a certain juggler named Theudas, having gathered together a great multitude of men, persuaded them to carry away their goods, and follow him as their captain to the river Jordan, and being, as he himself said, a prophet, made them believe by his power he would divide the water, and so they might have easy passage. By such speeches he deceived many. But shortly after Fadus suppressed their madness, having sent some troops of horse against them, who having suddenly surprised them, killed some, and took others prisoners. Theudas himself was also taken by them, whose head they cut off and carried to Jerusalem.

*And brought to nought.* That is, all their endeavours vanished.

37. *After this man.* These words are the same with "before this man," as we showed in the verse immediately preceding out of Valesius's notes upon Eusebius.

*Rose up Judas of Galilee.* Of him Josephus saith thus,[3] (and out of him Eusebius[4]): Judas the Gaulanite, born in the town of Gamala, having joined one Saddock a pharisee in his society, stirred up the people to revolt; both of them saying that the tax was nothing but a mark of manifest bondage; and encouraged the whole nation to defend their liberties. The same in the second book of the Jewish Wars, c. 7. "At that time a certain Galilean, named Judas, stirred up the inhabitants to revolt, openly upbraiding them, that they should thus endure to pay tribute to the Romans, and own, besides God, some mortal men to be lords over them." The same Josephus calls[5] this Judas the Gaulanite, Judas the Galilean. Perhaps he was commonly believed thus, because that in Galilee he chiefly stirred up his tumults, though Gaulan and Gamala belonged not to Galilee, but to Perea, or the region beyond Jordan.

[1] Antiq. xx. 2. [2] Hist. lib. ii. cap. 11. [3] Ant. xviii. 1. [4] Hist. i. 5. [5] Antiq. xviii. 2.

*In the days of the taxing.* That is, while Publius Sulpitius Quirinius, or Cyrenius, taxed Judea. Scaliger (saith Valesius) saith,[1] "That Luke speaks not here of the first taxing, under which Christ was born, but of the second, which was made after Archelaus's banishment; and sharply reproves Eusebius for confounding these two taxings among themselves. But Scaliger himself is very greatly mistaken; who being seconded by no author, would obtrude two taxings upon us, while both Josephus and Luke himself avouch there was but one. For Luke saith not *of the second taxing*, but only *of the taxing:* intimating that there was but one taxing. Origen also, in his first book against Celsus, agreeth with Eusebius, in these words: 'After him, in the days of the taxing, at which time Jesus was born, Judas a certain Galilean made many of the people to revolt to him.' Therefore Scaliger's censure must attaint Origen, for he affirmed the same that Eusebius did. For Origen distinguished not two taxings of Judea. Moreover, Eusebius agreeth very well with himself, for that having followed evangelic authority, he made that taxing of Quirinius to fall about the birth of Christ, it follows that he should apply the insurrection of Judas the Galilean to the same time, wherein, indeed, he differs from Josephus, but agreeth exceeding well with Luke and with himself. If so be that any will choose to embrace our opinion, there shall no difference be found between Luke and Josephus. For we say that the taxing at the time Christ was born, began when Herod reigned in Judea, and that it was ended by Quirinius, when Archelaus, Herod's son, was banished. In which very time we say that Judas's insurrection fell out in Judea, to wit, after Archelaus's banishment. Surely, before Archelaus's being deposed, there was no ground why Judas should stir up the people to revolt; for that the Roman magistrate would not tax there, where the king was a friend, and an ally of the people of Rome; neither were the Jews in any hazard of being slaves to foreigners, while they had a king of their nation and religion. Whence it appears, that the taxing and insurrection of Judas the Galilean, could not fall out till after Archelaus's banishment." Thus far Valesius in his notes upon Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, book i. ch. 5.

The same Valesius, in the same place a little before: "Josephus," saith he, "does indeed mention the taxing made by Quirinius in Syria

[1] Lib. vi. de Emen. Temp. and in Anim. in Euseb.

and Judea, as soon as Archelaus was banished. But he speaks not of this taxing, which Luke in his gospel says, ch. ii. 1, 2, was made, when Herod was yet reigning. But indeed it seems to me that an error hath crept into Luke's text in Quirinius's name, and that for Quirinius the name of Sentius Saturninus ought to be restored. For this man, as Josephus testifieth, was governor about the latter end of Herod's reign. Tertullian also writeth,[1] that Judea was taxed by Sentius Saturninus. Whence it appears, that in Tertullian's time, some have read in Luke's gospel Saturninus for Quirinius. Besides, it is strange that Josephus should have pretermitted the first taxing, who yet was so accurate in prosecuting the history of his nation, that he reckons all the governors of Syria; for he mentioneth both Sentius Saturninus and Quintilius Varus his successor. When Eusebius understood this, it was his judgment that it was the same taxing that Luke and Josephus mentioned; but that Josephus was mistaken, who thought this taxing to have happened after Archelaus's banishment. Therefore the same Eusebius[2] placeth that tumult of Judas the Galilean, which followed upon the taxing made by Quirinius, about the time of Christ's birth, and the end of Herod's reign. Neither was Eusebius so stupid as not to see Luke and Josephus to disagree among themselves in setting down the time of this taxing, it being evident even to the blind. But in this discord he for respect to the gospel, chose to disbelieve Josephus, and to follow Luke, which opinion is indeed far more likely and probable than that of Scaliger, who thinketh there were two taxings of Judea both made by Quirinius. But in this opinion of Scaliger's, many things not very probable do occur. First, it behoved Quirinius to have been twice sent to Syria for one and the same purpose, to wit, to tax. First, about the time of Christ's birth, then about ten years after. But it is not probable that one man should be twice sent to govern a province. It is certain that Josephus, that accurate historian, when he mentions Quirinius's coming to Syria and Judea, saith not that ever he came to Syria before, or that any taxing was before that time made either by him or any other Roman judge. But if the taxing had been made already, why is it done again by the same man? for if it had been rightly made, and without fraud, it was no ways necessary it should be done again; but if not well, justly it behoved to send

[1] Lib. iv., contra Marcion. cap. 19. [2] In Chronico.

another who should make a more just taxing. Further, how could that former taxing be made by a Roman magistrate, while Herod reigned, seeing that the senate had declared Herod to be king of Judea by an undoubted right; neither had the Roman magistrate a right to act anything by authority in Judea, so long as king Herod lived. I pass by, that in the last days of Herod, wherein Christ was born, Saturninus and Varus, but not Quirinius, were Cæsar's deputies in Syria. These be the arguments whereby I am chiefly inclined to think Scaliger's opinion not probable, who argues for two taxings. Neither doth it withstand that Luke saith, that the taxing which was made a little before Christ was born was the first, for by it is only meant that this was the first time wherein the Romans taxed Judea, neither was there ever any taxing before. It is also false what Scaliger saith, that the latter taxing belonged to Archelaus's tetrarchy, and was for his goods only. Yea, Josephus saith expressly[1] that Quirinius was sent by Cæsar to tax throughout Syria and Judea. Petavius followed Scaliger's opinion,[2] to which he adds this only, that both these taxings were made by Quirinius, being sent with an extraordinary power to Syria. But both Luke and Josephus, their words refel this; for Luke saith, *When Cyrenius was governor of Syria*, and Josephus hath: 'To do justice among the people;' which cannot be said but of the ordinary governor. Casaubon, in his Exercitations, takes the same course to reconcile Josephus and Luke. But indeed in my judgment all of them have lost their labour, for one of them must needs be in a mistake, which, since it is heinous to say of the evangelist, it is safer to lay the cause of the mistake upon the Jewish writer. Which, if it seem somewhat harsh to any, there remains yet this one way of reconciling them, which we mentioned already, that in Luke's text we restore Saturninus instead of Quirinius, and that we say the taxing in his time was made, not by the Roman governor, but by King Herod himself. It might also be said that this taxing was indeed finished and perfected, when Quirinius was governor after Archelaus's banishment; yet it began long before, towards the end of Herod's reign, at which time Christ was born. Thus also the difference that appears between Luke and Josephus is taken away. By this means Luke and Josephus agree excellently well together, for the evangelist calls that taxing which began to be made about the

[1] In fine 17 Ant. and init. 18.

[2] In Rat. Temp.

time of Christ's birth, Herod being yet alive, the taxing of the governor Quirinius, because it ended at length under Quirinius. This, indeed, in my opinion is the fittest interpretation of that gospel text in Luke, being such as supposeth only one taxing to have been made, not two: as Scaliger, and others following his opinion, contrary to the faith of history, have devised." Thus far the learned Valesius.

*Drew away much people.* That is, made many of the people revolt from the Romans.

*After him.* That is, to him.

*He also perished.* As much as to say, saith Origen,[1] "Who after he was punished himself, his doctrine also was overthrown, except some few remainders."

38. *Refrain from these men.* That is, Have nothing to do with them, as Matt. xxvii. 19.

*Of men.* That is, of men's devising.

*And let them alone.* To this word must be joined that part of the verse immediately following, *Lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.*

*For if this council,* &c. The construction requires that these words and the following, till the fore-cited part of the next verse, *Lest haply ye be found,* &c., should be enclosed between two parentheses.

*It will come to nought.* That is, it is not so firm as that it can stand.

39. *Ye cannot overthrow it.* That is, ye will labour in vain to overthrow it, forasmuch as whatever is of God must stand in spite of all men. Bullinger in his commentaries upon this place, highly extols this counsel of Gamaliel's. But if we believe Calvin, "Gamaliel drew a perverse consequence from true principles, because that which only should be applied to faith, he does misapply to outward duty and way of acting. And so he not only overthrows all political order, but also he enervates the discipline of the church." Castellio, in his Vatican, answereth Calvin thus: "Seeing the business was about a matter of religion, which was yet then in controversy, and not about any crime expressly forbidden by the law, Gamaliel could not, though he had been a Christian, have given the Jews a better advice. First, his reason was true; if it was not from God, it would fall of itself, according

[1] Lib. i. cont. Cels.

to that of Christ: *Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be plucked up: let them alone,* &c., Matt. xv. 13. And of David, who would not kill Saul when he might, 1 Sam. xxiv. 6. Also the examples which Gamaliel produceth are true. Now whereas Gamaliel feared that they should fight against God, that came afterward to pass; which, if they had followed his advice, had never been." And a little after, "Whereas Calvin saith that this advice of Gamaliel's is such as would overthrow all political order, and enervate church discipline, he saith not true; for the discipline of the apostles was not quite without nerves, though it had no such nerves as Calvin speaks. Also political order is in force in sins that are certain, and without controversy. In the law of Moses the seventy elders judged in smaller and more easy causes, and brought the more hard and difficult to Moses, and he consulted with God concerning them. So may it also be done now. Adultery, manslaughter, false witness, and other certain and known crimes, may without hazard be judged. But for heretics the matter is controverted (for if it were not controverted, it would not be debated any more than murder), and therefore to be referred to the oracle. Therefore as Moses waited the time of the oracle, and yet did not in the meanwhile overthrow the political order, so we are to wait the time of God's judgment, which will be a certain oracle in this controversy. Yet God in the meantime will make use of the service of his ministers in things not controverted." These are Castellio's words, with which agree these choice words of the sermon preached before the House of Lords, on Nov. 5th, 1680: "Of societies of men, Christians of all others are most averse from ways of violence and blood, especially from using any such ways upon the account of religion: and among Christian churches, where they differ among themselves, if either of them use these ways upon the account of religion, they give a strong presumption against themselves that they are not truly Christians." Thus far the Right Reverend Bishop of St. Asaph, William Lloyd, a man of excellent parts, great erudition, singular piety and benignity, to whom I do, and shall all my lifetime acknowledge myself to be extremely bound. "We do not," says Gregory Nazianzen,[1] "brand our enemies with reproaches as many do, covering the weakness of their reasons and arguments with foul language, as is said of the cuttle fish, that it vomits its ink in the water to escape

[1] Orat. 32.

the fisher, but we make it appear by this infallible proof that we fight for Christ, because we fight with meekness and humility, as Christ did." Salvianus, a presbyter of Marseilles, speaking of the Arians,[1] whose heresy every orthodox man abhors: "They are heretics," says he, "but they do not know it. They are heretics with us, but with themselves they are not such; for they so far judge themselves Catholics, that they defame ourselves with the brand of heretical overthwartedness. What therefore they are to us, we are the same to them. The truth is with us, but they presume it be with themselves. God's honour is with us, but they think that what they believe is for his honour. They are ungodly, but this they think to be true godliness. They err, but they err with a good intention, thinking that they both honour and love God. Though they have not an orthodox faith, yet they think it to be a perfect love of God, and how they shall be punished for this heterodox error in the day of judgment, none can know except the Judge. In the meantime, God, as I think, therefore lengthens his patience to them, because he sees, that although they believe not aright, yet they do err only out of love to a judgment which they suppose to be religious."

40. *And to him they agreed.* To wit, that they should not kill the apostles; but not that they should send them away untouched; which yet was fit and agreeable to what Gamaliel spoke.

*And when they had called*, &c. As much as to say, when they had called in the apostles, whom before they commanded to go aside, or be carried out of the council, and lest the council should seem to assemble against them as innocents, and guilty of no crime, they punished them with that judicial punishment of forty stripes, enjoined Deut. xxv. 2, 3, which was inflicted upon the disobedient, and was commonly called by the Hebrews, 'a striking.' The Jews, by the Romans' permission, had power to correct their own in Judea and some neighbouring places, even with strokes.

*They commanded*, &c. As much as to say, they strictly forbade them, that they should not henceforth preach the gospel of Christ, and that they should speak nothing to any man that tended to the praise of Jesus of Nazareth.

41. *And they.* To wit, the apostles, were dismissed by the Sanhedrim, after being basely beaten, as Christ foretold, also remembering his command, Matt. x. 17, 21, 35; xxiii. 34; Mark xii. 5; xiii. 9; Luke xii. 11; Matt. v. 11, 12; Luke vi. 22, 23.

[1] Lib. v. De Provid.

*Departed from the presence of the council rejoicing.* By these words is meant, that the apostles did with so much constancy of mind endure these persecutions, that they not only did not complain, but also greatly rejoiced. The most pious, and eminent for learning, Dr. J. Sharp, Dean of Norwich, who formerly, by his own beneficence, and the liberality of the Right Hon. Lord Heneage Finch, late high chancellor of England, did frequently and largely supply my wants, in that famous sermon made before the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London, upon Michaelmas day, A.D. 1680, saith most truly and elegantly of the just man: "Let what will happen to him, he is full of peace and joy, for he hath met with no disappointment of his designs. His great aim was to please God; and his conscience from God's word assures him that he hath done it, and he hath nothing to do further, but to wait for the happy time, when the secrets of all hearts will be revealed, and every man's conscience and actions will be made manifest, and then he doubts not to receive approbation and praise, and a great reward in that day of the Lord Jesus; and so much the rather, because this light affliction wherewith he is now exercised, he is assured, will work for him a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory, 2 Cor. iv. 17."

*That they were,* &c. As much as to say, that they had this singular proof of the grace of God, to be afflicted for Christ's sake, and the propagating of his kingdom, Phil. i. 16. "Here," saith Calvin, "the cause should be respected which associates us with the Son of God, who not only with his glory swallowed up the dishonour of the world, but turned its reproaches, mockeries, and abuses to a great honour.

42. *And daily,* &c. As much as to say, but the apostles, relying upon the protection of Christ, nowise frighted with the adversaries' threats or punishments did, contrary to the unjust prohibition of the Sanhedrim, preach the gospel of Christ, not only sometimes, but daily, not only from house to house, that is privately in every house, but also publicly in the most famous place of the city, the temple. "He," saith Calvin, "that accounts himself happy when he suffers for Christ, let him never faint, though he should undergo hard trials. For the apostles were in a manner armed with stripes, that without fear they might hasten to death. Woe therefore to our wantonness, who, as soon as we have suffered the least persecution, like soldiers discharged from service, presently surrender the torch to others."

## CHAPTER VI.

1. *The number of the disciples.* That is, of such as believed in Christ; and so the church's wealth increasing, her affairs increased also.

*Multiplied.* To wit, daily in Jerusalem.

*There arose a murmuring.* As it ordinarily happens in a great multitude.

*Of the Grecians.* The Greek text hath Hellenists. The holy writers of the New Testament did call all Gentiles by the name of Hellenes, when religion was treated of. And so I am apt to think that they were called Hellenists, who either themselves, or their forefathers, having been addicted to the superstition of the Gentiles, were, being proselyted, engrafted into the Jewish nation.

*Against the Hebrews.* They seem to be called Hebrews here, that were sprung from the Jews' line. Clemens Alexandrinus and Chrysostom call them, "Hebrews from the very first original."

*Were neglected.* That is, were not enough supplied. To wit, the Hellenist's widows, who were either sick or burdened with children, were worse entertained than the Hebrew widows were, in their daily distributions of necessaries for food and raiment. Salmasius saith, that the cause of this murmuring made by the Hellenists, was: "That they lamented their widows to be passed by in the daily ministration, because doubtless the Jewish women were chosen, and taken to that office." The Ethiopic rendered it, "Because they saw their widows serve daily. It seems, the despising of the Hellenist's widows consisted in this, that the daily labour of serving the poor was laid upon them.

2. *Then the twelve called the multitude of the disciples.* That is, The apostles convened the whole flock of believers in Christ, that in such a multitude there might be enough, out of which the deacons might be chosen, and that the election might be by the votes of the whole church.

*And said.* To wit, to the whole congregation of the disciples, or believers.

*It is not reason.* That is, it is neither convenient nor expedient.

*That we should leave the word of God.* That is, be less taken up in propagating the doctrine of the gospel.

*And serve tables.* That is, That we should apply ourselves to the care of serving the poor among believers in bodily necessaries. Here is a figure called synecdoche, expressing the thing containing for the thing contained, *tables*, for the meat and drink used to be laid on tables. Also of the part for the whole; that is, even for every thing else besides meat and drink that belonged to bodily sustenance. And so, to *serve tables* is the same as to look after things necessary to maintain the bodily life.

3. *Look ye out.* That is, advisedly choose.

*Men of honest report.* That is, whose faith and uprightness is unquestionable.

*Full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom.* That is, abundantly furnished with spiritual wisdom, or wisdom proceeding from the Holy Ghost.

*Whom we may appoint over this business.* That is, whom we may appoint to take care of the poor, as the officers among the Jews called Parnesim in each synagogue. See Lightfoot's Horæ Hebraicæ, in Matt. iv. 23.

*But we*, &c. As much as to say, we, being liberate from this care of overseeing the poor among the faithful, in things pertaining to the bodily life, may with all care attend our office, either pronouncing what the church must say after us in public prayers to God, or instructing the people.

5. *And the saying pleased*, &c. As much as to say, And so, by the advice of the apostles, were seven stewards chosen by the common consent of the whole church, to take the care of the poor, and of distributing the church's money. Their names were Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, and Nicolas a stranger, or proselyte of Antioch. From their Greek names it appears that in this election chief respect was had to the Hellenists. The first church of Christ was made up of Jews only, none of the Gentiles being as yet either called or admitted to it. It consisted of two sorts, to wit, Hebrews, who were such from their first original, and of Hellenists, who in respect of their lineage and nation, were Greeks, that is, Gentiles, but by circumcision were incorporated into the Jewish nation. "The first seven deacons of the church," saith Salmasius, "were chosen out of the number of the Hellenists, who were all of them, except one, born at Jerusalem. And seeing the Hellenists were proselytes, and six of them born at Jerusalem, Luke reckons the seventh last,

whom he telleth us was a proselyte of Antioch. If it were simply read in Luke, 'and Nicolas a proselyte,' it would be nowise doubted but we should understand the other six to have been Jews, and not proselytes, but since he adds *a proselyte of Antioch,* who can doubt but that the rest were likewise proselytes, though not of Antioch, but of Jerusalem? for these things came to pass in Jerusalem."

6. *Whom they set before the apostles.* To wit, that by their authority and blessing they might be confirmed.

*And when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them.* Here the form of election is set forth, which was also in the primitive institution of the church used in making bishops, or presbyters. The church presented men of great wisdom and piety to the apostles or their delegates, who were greatly endued with a spirit of discerning, to be ordained, who, after having tried them, prayed to God that he would bless them in the new office to which they were appointed, and endue them with such wisdom, as they might with great success manage the same. Those prayers being ended, they laid hands on them, in token of the ministries being committed to them. Sometimes also the Holy Ghost did by the prophets point out by name such as he would have chosen to this or that ministry, Acts xiii. 2; 1 Tim. i. 18; iv. 14.

7. *And the word,* &c. As much as to say, Such was the power of the Holy Ghost speaking by the apostles and working miracles, that every day many, and among them some even of the priests in Jerusalem, which Christ's own preaching did not bring in to embrace, at least to profess the faith, did now (having overcome all respect to carnal fear and vain-glory) adjoin themselves to the number of the believers, and obeyed the precepts of faith, or doctrine of the gospel.

8. *Full of faith and power.* That is, eminent for the faith and virtue of miracles. This manner of speaking is not unusual in scripture, to say they are full of the gifts of God, in which the strength and grace of the Spirit doth notably discover and show itself.

9. *There arose.* By rising, Luke means those of whom he speaks to have opposed the doctrine of the gospel; not to have dragged Stephen presently to judgment, but to have first debated with him concerning the religion he taught. These opposers of Stephen were either Hellenists, or strangers, who lived in Jerusalem,

either about their affairs or for studying. The Jews tell us there were four hundred and eighty synagogues in Jerusalem.

*Of the Libertines.* Suidas: "Libertines, the name of a nation." Moreover, in the first collation of Carthage[1] is mentioned one Victor, bishop of the church of Libertina in Africa or Numidia. The learned Junius suspects some corruption to have been made in the letters of the word Libertines; for he notes, that they were those strangers who, as Epiphanius witnesseth, called holy houses *lebrathas*, and the parishes belonging to it, with the whole convent, *labras;* "for," saith he, "all these belonging to one synagogue were called *lebrathenun*, and from thence corruptly the synagogue was called the synagogue of the Libertines."

*And Cyrenians.* What Cyrene was, whence they were called Cyrenians, see our literal explication on Matt xxvii. 33, and Amos ix. 7. Josephus testifies[2] that there were many Jews in Cyrenia.

*And Alexandrians.* Alexandria the metropolis of Egypt, whence these Alexandrians came, was built by Alexander, from whom it took its name. Ptolemy Philadelphus adorned it with a library of seventy thousand volumes; but men famous for learning and wisdom, who were its inhabitants, were a greater ornament to it. Among which were renowned Philo the Jew, of whom was that proverb, "Either Philo Platonizeth, or Plato Philonizeth;" Apion the Grammarian, whom Tiberius Cæsar called "the cymbal of the world;" and Pliny, "the trumpet of public fame;" Didymus the Grammarian; Claudius Ptolemeus, though some say that Pelusium was his country; Appian the Historian, therefore called the Alexandrian; Clemens the Presbyter, surnamed Alexandrinus; Origen, of whom it is said, "Where well none better, where ill none worse;" Athanasius, Cyril, Didymus, surnamed the Blind; and others whose names I do not now remember. Alexandria is now by the Turks, under whose yoke it groans, called *El Iskanderieh,* by corrupting the name of Alexander, whose corpse, Quintus Curtius[3] saith, was transported thither from Memphis. Ptolemy's famous library, as Ammianus Marcellinus[4] saith, was burnt when the city was destroyed under Julius Cæsar. The Jews had equal privileges in Alexandria with the Macedonians. See Grotius upon 3 Maccabees.

*And of them of Cilicia.* Cilicia, now Carmania, was one in Constantine's time; then it was divided into two parts, the first

[1] Mem. 201. [2] Antiq. xvi. 10. [3] Lib. x. cap. 10. [4] Lib. xxii. cap. 41.

of which was called "Cilicia the first, a champaign (or level) ground, and consular," saith Spanheim, Introd. ad Geog. Sac. "It had upon the west Isauria, upon the east the second Cilicia, upon the south the sea of Cyprus; the metropolis of it is Tarsus, the head of the nation, a colony of the Romans, a free city, having the privilege of a Roman city; whence that of Paul of Tarsus below, ch. xxii. 28."[1] The second Cilicia, called also Trachea, having upon the north Mount Taurus, upon the east Comagene, upon the south the Issick Gulf, which had its name from the town Issus between Syria and Cilicia, famous for the victory obtained there by Alexander against Darius; where also Cicero, as he reports of himself,[2] was called emperor, and boasteth that he had the same tents which of old Alexander had. This was a province ruled by the emperor's lieutenant sent thither with a garrison; but its metropolis was Anazarba or Anazarbus, otherwise called Diocæsarea. There is mention made of this second Cilicia in the acts of the council of Chalcedon.

*And Asia.* See what we have said above, ch. ii. 9.

10. *And they were not able to resist the wisdom and the Spirit.* That is, the wisdom suggested to him by the Holy Ghost. The particle *and* is put in the beginning of the verse instead of "but," which is frequently done in other places of scripture.

*By which he spake.* As much as to say, by which Stephen's tongue and his mind while he was speaking were directed, according to Christ's promise, Matt. x. 20; Luke xxi. 15. Beza witnesseth, that in a most ancient Greek copy of his is added here, Because they were reproved by him with all boldness, that is, with all freedom.

11. *Then.* To wit, when they could not resist the truth.

*They suborned.* The old Latin interpreter expresseth it by the word *submiserunt*, in which sense the best Latin authors use the verb *immittere*. See Gellius 4 Noct. Attic. 18, Sallust. Catil. Plin. lib. vi., epist. 13.

12. *The elders.* That is, the senators of the Sanhedrim.

*To the council.* The Greek hath it Sanhedrim.

13. *And set up false witnesses.* They are also said to be false witnesses who give a false construction to what hath been truly spoken, and turn it to a crime; as they here turn that to wicked-

[1] We contradict this, moved by the reasons of Grotius upon that place.

[2] 2 Ep. x. 5. Attic. 20.

ness and blasphemy, which according to truth was foretold of the destruction of the temple, and the ceasing for the most part of the rites depending thereon. See Luke xix. 43, 44. David inveighs against such witnesses in the person of Doeg, Ps. lii. 2—5, compared with 1 Sam. xxii. 9—13.

*Blasphemous words.* That is, Base and reproachful.

*Against this holy place.* That is, Against the temple of God. Acts xxv. 8; Matt. xxvi. 61.

14. *And shall change the customs.* That is, The legal ceremonies, which typified Christ to come, and the gospel law.

15. *Saw his face as it had been the face of an angel.* That is, they beheld his face full of reverent and serene gravity.

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## CHAPTER VII.

1. *The high priest.* That is, the chief of the Sanhedrim.

*Are these things so?* As if he had said, Are these things true which they say and witness against thee?

2. *And he said.* Seeing Stephen was accused, because that he, moved by divine instinct and inspiration, had foretold the destruction of the temple, and the abolishing of the legal ceremonies, that he might demonstrate and evince that there was no evil in that, he, briefly running over all ancient history even to their times, covertly intimateth, that the favour of God was restricted to no place, not even to the temple or tabernacle; and also that the Jews, if they did sufficiently lay to heart their own doings, and those of their nation, had no reason to be offended at this prediction.

*Men, brethren, and fathers.* If we may give credit to the famous Salmasius, "Stephen, who was a proselyte, calls the Jews brethren, as being partaker of the same promises with them, an observer of the same law, a worshipper of the same God. He calls them also fathers, because proselytes, being their disciples from whom they had the law, were accounted, as it were, their children, and they as their fathers." But the apostle Paul, who was not a proselyte, but a Jew by nation, useth the same compellation to the Jews below, ch. xxii. 1. It is more reasonable therefore to say, that

both Stephen a proselyte, and Paul a Jew by birth, call the younger among them brethren, and the older fathers.

*The God of glory.* Hebrew, "The King of glory." Ps. xxiv. 7. That is, the omnipotent and glorious God, King of kings.

*Appeared unto our father Abraham.* Stephen might use this expression, not only as a Christian, but also as a Jew, or a proselyte of the Jewish religion. "The God of the Jews, who calls himself the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and of Jacob, is also the God of the proselytes; for the proselytes worshipped one and the same God, and bound themselves to observe the same law with that which he gave to the Jews. If they could call the God of the Jews their God, as well as the Jews, who can deny that they could call Abraham their father? But seeing Abraham, by the promise made by God to him, was called the father of nations; those nations, whose father he was called by God, could be no other than those which the Messiah purchased to God the Father by his own blood. And there is no doubt but the Christians at this day may call Abraham their father." Thus far the renowned Salmasius.

*When he was in Mesopotamia.* That is, while he yet abode at Ur of the Chaldees. "Not to mention the fables of the Hebrews, who change Ur into an appellative name, I do not approve of their opinion, though it seem more probable to Bochart,[1] who places Ur towards the mountainous parts of Armenia, in the confines of Syria, and more northern Mesopotamia, where by the name Ur, they denote a Persian castle.[2] For neither does the name of Chaldæa seem to be extended so far; nor had Abraham then come from the east, but rather from the north. Neither can a demonstrative argument be drawn from the similitude of names (such as is that of the Persian castle in Marcellinus, whither he reporteth that Cassianus and Mauritius came), as Bochart himself elsewhere observes. Isaac Vossius, a very learned man, will have Ur to be the same with Chebar or Chobar, at the confluence of the Chabor and Euphrates; but the way is nearer from that place into Syria; nor was it needful for those that were journeying to Canaan to go up into Charran, nor was that a city of Chaldæa. Therefore it is uncertain whether it be Ura, mentioned by Pliny,[3] in the turning of Euphrates toward the east, and Babylonia; or Ouria, spoken of by Eupolemus,

[1] Phaleg. lib. ii. cap. 6. [2] Amm. lib. xxv cap. 26. [3] Lib. v. cap. 24.

a city of Babylonia, according to Eusebius;[1] but according to Ptolemy, situate near Euphrates, in Babylonia; or the city Orchoa, or any other city of Chaldæa, whose name was changed. But the Chasedim, Chaldæans, who were the issue of Chesed the son of Nahor, Gen. xxii. 22, seem to be mentioned by a prolepsis, Gen. xi. 31, as are the names of Bethel, Dan, &c." Thus far the most renowned Frederick Spanheim, the son, in his introduction to Sacred Geography. The most learned Usher, bishop of Armagh, is of opinion that the word Chasedim is rather an appellative of a sect, denoting diviners and magicians, than the proper name of a nation. The fortune-tellers in Chaldæa itself, are also found distinguished by that name, Dan. ii. 2, 10; iv. 7; v. 11. "Stephen," saith Heidegger, "reckons Mesopotamia the same with Chaldæa. For this reason certainly, that that part of Mesopotamia which lies next to Syria, is in the scriptures also mentioned under the name of Chaldæa. And Pliny, lib. vi. 26, declareth that some part of Babylonia, yea, Babylon itself, was comprehended within the bounds of Mesopotamia." Babylon, the head of the Chaldaic nations, for a long time enjoyed the greatest renown in the whole world; on which account the rest of Mesopotamia and Assyria was called Babylonia. And the same Pliny a little after: "There are also cities in Mesopotamia, Hipparenum, and this of the Chaldees, as also Babylon near the river Narraga, which gave name to a city." The Persians demolished the walls of Hipparenum. The Orchens, also a third sect of the Chaldæans, were placed in the same situation, turned toward the south. "Moreover, Tremellius is of opinion that Orchoe is the same with Ur. The same Pliny[2] also declareth, that Mesopotamia is bounded on the east with Tigris, on the west with Euphrates, on the south with the Persian Sea, and on the north with the mountains of Taurus; so that not only all encompassed by the two rivers, but also all places situate by their banks, are to be comprehended in Mesopotamia. Possibly the words of Josephus[3] tend also to the same purpose, where, speaking of Abraham, he saith, 'When the Chaldæans and the rest of the Mesopotamians rose up against him, he determined to transmigrate himself, and relying upon the good will and favour of God, he went and dwelt in the land of Canaan.' It is therefore apparent, that Abraham's native country Ur, may rightly be ascribed both to Mesopotamia and also to Chaldæa." Thus far

[1] Præp. lib. ix. [2] Lib. vi. cap. 27. [3] An. i. 7.

Heidegger.[1] "Babylon," saith Lightfoot, "may also be said to be in Mesopotamia, partly, because it was situate betwixt the two rivers, Euphrates and Tigris, but especially, according to scripture idiom, because it was on the other side of the river. Which that it is observed by the vulgar interpreter, you may see from Josh. xxiv. 3, where for that which is in the Hebrew, 'And I brought Abraham your father from beyond the river,' he has, 'I brought therefore your father Abraham from the borders of Mesopotamia.'" Eratosthenes, in Strabo, lib. iii. saith, "That Mesopotamia is comprehended with Babylonia in a great circle by Euphrates and Tigris."

*Before he dwelt in Charran.* As if he had said, Abraham was indeed as yet in Mesopotamia when the Lord appeared to him, but at Ur of the Chaldees, not at Charran. Abraham departing from Ur of the Chaldees with his father's house, came to Charran, "not with an intention to abide there, but to go over to the land of Canaan," as saith Torniellus, A.M. 2113, No. 3. But when he was come to Charran of Mesopotamia, an eastern city, not far from Uz, where Job afterwards inhabited, his father Terah was seized with a distemper, whereof he died; hence his duty to his father, now a dying, who had given himself as a guide and companion of this pilgrimage on the account of religion, detained and kept back Abraham from accomplishing his begun journey, and so he dwelt in Charran till Terah accomplished the days of his pilgrimage, being now two hundred and five years of age, as it is related, Gen. xi. 31, 32, by way of anticipation. "Mesopotamia,[2] where the Euphrates runneth close by it, towards the south and east, is adjoining to Arabia the Desert, being only parted from it by the river, so that there are indeed some cities (such as even at this day are Ana, or Anna, of the largest and most famous of that country), some whereof on this side of the river are accounted cities of Mesopotamia. Hence they have one and the same language, religion, and customs; the nature of the ground is the same, being plain and barren, and running out into waste deserts, producing the same herbs and twigs; the same emir also, or prince of the Arabians, extending his dominion a great way in Mesopotamia. Whence it is, that the southern part of Mesopotamia is by Xenophon, lib. i. Anabas., Pliny, Hist.

[1] Hist. Sac. Patriarc. tom. i. exercit. 23, num. 45, & tom. ii. exercit. 3, num. 5.

[2] Frid. Spanhem. Hist. Job i. cap. 7, n. 4.

lib. v. cap. 24; Strabo, Geogr. lib. xvi. and others, reckoned a part of Arabia. But now Charran, the place of Nahor's abode, called by Josephus Χαρὰν, also Charrhai by Stephen, Ptolemy, and Sozomen; Χαῤῥὰν in the Acts; by Jerome Aran, as also Carræ, if it be the same city with that of the Roman writers of the Crassian overthrow, Charan by the Geog. of Nubia, called also Nahor, from Nahor who built and inhabited it, Gen. xxiv. 10, is situate in that part of Mesopotamia, which the river Chabora watereth, between Euphrates and Ascorus; for by holy writ we may learn that Charran lay in the way that leadeth from Chaldea into Canaan, Gen. xi. 31. So that it is altogether more southerly, towards Arabia the Desert, and Syria Palmyrena, or Aram Tsaba. For the way from Ur of the Chaldees to Palestine is from the east to the west, except where to avoid the unpassable places of Arabia travellers turn toward the north, through that part of Mesopotamia that is more southerly, which is to the northward of Chaldæa. Again, the country of Charran was said to be easterly in respect of Palestine, Gen. xxix. 1. Hence it is certainly in the southerly part of Mesopotamia, which borders with that part of Arabia where the inhabitants dwell in tents, according to the style of the scripture and the insight of maps. For the northern parts of both the Syrias and the country of Assyria are not said to be eastward but northward. Hence we may discern their mistake, who will have Charran to be situate a great way towards the north and the mountains of Armenia, about the 36th or 37th degrees of latitude, and who confound it with Edessa, or Orfa, as R. Benjamin, Peter Appian, Jacob Ziglerus, Joseph Moletius, and others. And the Carræ that are there marked toward the Assyrians, whence Lucan called them the Assyrian Carræ, as in the book of Tobit they are placed between Nineveh and Raghes, are of necessity altogether different from the Charran of Nahor, and Abraham. Charran, therefore, in Mesopotamia was situated betwixt Babylonia and that part of Syria which led into Palestine; hence it lies more towards the south, not far from the river Euphrates, as the Chaldæan paraphrase hath it. The Nubian geographer confirms this, who will have Harran to be more southerly than the city of Aleppo, about 31 degrees north latitude. Hence Arias Montanus, on Gen. xxiv. 10, declareth the city Padan to be in that tract nearer to Babylonia, which more truly was the country in which Charran the city of Nahor was situate; nor

was it contiguous to Palestine, as Adrichomius will have it in the theatre of the Holy Land, which, as being in Mesopotamia, is rather contiguous to Arabia the Desert, as this is extended northward to Euphrates, wherein we have placed Job's habitation; yea, those of the east do declare that Charran in Abraham's days was inhabited by the Sabæan Arabians, as also the famous Hottinger in his Oriental History, chap. viii., out of Kesseus the Muhammedan."

*And he said unto him.* To wit, when he was addicted to the superstition and idol-worship of the Chaldæans, or as those of the east say, of the Zabians, Jos. xxiv. 2.

3. *Get thee out of thy country.* The uninterrupted tenor of the words sufficiently importeth, that he speaketh of one call, when Abraham dwelt at Ur of the Chaldees, where he was born and brought up. The call itself, together with the promise, is extant; Gen. xii. 1, 2, 3. Stephen, indeed, left out the promise, because it was not needful to touch upon every particular.

*Come into the land which I shall show thee.* He promiseth that he will at length show him the land, which he did not express in the call itself. Hence also, Heb. xi. 8, Abraham is said to have gone out, *not knowing whither he went.* If Abraham knew not whither he went, the land towards which he must go could not be shown him till after his setting out; whence is it that, by a prolepsis, Abraham is said to have set out from Ur of the Chaldees, together with Terah his guide in his pilgrimage, and Sarai and Lot his companions therein, that he might go into the land of Canaan? Torniellus answers, in the year of the world 2113, No. 3: "That it might very well be, that Abraham when he set out, knew that God would have him go to the land of Canaan; but that he did not know whether God would have him to settle there, or go further to some more remote country, and therefore he came into Charran, not with a design to settle there, but to pass over towards the land of Canaan, firmly believing that there the Lord would show him the land whereto he must go, and in which he must abide; even as a little after it truly came to pass. For when he came to Sichem in the land of Canaan, he heard from God, Gen. xii. 7: *To thy seed will I give the land.*

4. *Then.* To wit, after Abraham understood both God's commands and promises.

*He came out of the land of the Chaldeans.* As if he had said, he utterly forsook his father's house, and together with his father, Sarai and Lot, departed from Ur of the Chaldeans. Stephen will have Mesopotamia the same with Chaldea. "The Arabians," saith Ludovicus de Dieu, "are still of opinion that Chaldea belongs to Mesopotamia." For the geographer of Nubia, in the sixth part of the fourth climate, where he describeth Mesopotamia, saith, "that Bagdad extendeth thither, which is that we now call Babylon the metropolis of Chaldea; whose province Benjamin of Tudela in his Itinerary, concludeth to be Beretz Sinear, in the land of Shinar, which is, Chaldea." But although God's call commanding Terah, together with Abraham, Sarai, and Lot to depart from Ur of the Chaldeans, was directed to Abraham, yet because Terah was father of the family, therefore, Gen. xi. 31, the business of migration is ascribed to him, not to a son of his family, as Scaliger[1] hath rightly observed.

*And dwelt in Charran.* "For no long time," saith the most eloquent of the Jews, Philo, in his Book of Dreams. Augustine, de Civ. Dei, xvi. says, that Abraham's departure from Ur of the Chaldeans, and from Charran, fell out in one and the same year; which Josephus confirms, while he writeth, Ant. i. 8: That Abraham left Chaldea when he was seventy-five years of age. "Moses, speaking," saith Heidegger, "of Terah, Abraham, and the rest that went with them to Charran," saith, Gen. xi. 31, וַיֵּשְׁבוּ שָׁם, *and they dwelt there.* And of Terah, indeed, that when he was aged two hundred and five years, he there put a period to his last day. But Moses hath not expressed how long Abraham and the rest of his companions dwelt there: yet it is probable, that he did not stay long there, yea, not a whole year, that he might not seem refractory to the divine call. For what else but sickness and infirmity of body could deter Terah from accomplishing the journey he had undertaken, whom piety towards God caused to forsake his native country, and his own house? What also but dutifulness toward his dying father, who on the account of religion had given himself for a guide and a companion in this pilgrimage could hinder Abraham, whose ready obedience in obeying the divine call is so much spoken of in the scripture, from going straight into the land of Canaan? For that Terah, either taken with the pleasantness of the place, as Aben Ezra fondly

[1] In Elencho. Pareano.

imagines, or making a relapse unto his old idolatry, as others allege, tarried at Charran, and would not accompany his son, is as like a fiction as may be. Nor are we much moved with Petavius's, Bonfrerius's, and Harvilleus's arguments, by which they would evince that Abraham dwelt at Charran several years. First, say they, Stephen saith Abraham dwelt in Charran, Κατοικῆσαι ἐν Χαρράν. But it is probable, that by the word *dwelt*, some years are denoted. Secondly, Abraham is said, Gen. xii. 5, to have *gotten souls*, that is, to have purchased slaves, beasts, and cattle, whereby his goods were increased. Now in purchasing these, and gathering them together, there must of necessity several years be spent. Thirdly, Abraham called Charran his own land, Gen. xxiv. 4. But he would not have called it his own land, if he had not dwelt in it for some years. For who would call that his own land which he only passed over? These arguments have no solidity in them. Not the first; for let us suppose that Terah and Abraham departed from Ur of the Chaldeans toward the latter end of the spring, and that Terah's sickness interrupting them, they continued there all the summer and winter following, and then that Abraham again parted from Charran in the beginning of the next spring; was not the interval of time long enough, that he might be said to have dwelt there? So he who hires a house for six months, although a lesser time, is yet no less said to have dwelt there, than he who has continued his habitation in it for six years. And the Hebrew word יָשַׁב, as also the Chaldaic יְתִיב, signifies not only "to dwell," but also "to sit;" so that the shortest stay in a place is enough to say these words of an inhabitant. Not the second, for there is no necessity why we should rather understand Moses of gathering together riches, slaves, and cattle brought forth in his house, than of procuring by emption slaves, cattle, and other things, whereby his patrimony left by his father might be increased. And this acquisition, in how small a time might it be performed? Not the third, for neither does Abraham call Charran his own land, but Aram Naharaim, or Mesopotamia, as appears, Gen. xxiv. 4, compared with ver. 10. But not Charran only was in Mesopotamia, but also Ur of the Chaldeans, as we have shown above.

*And from thence*, &c. Terah, Abraham's father is said to have lived two hundred and five years, when he died at Charran, Gen. xi. 32. But Abraham, whom Stephen here saith plainly not to

have gone from Charran till after Terah's decease, Gen. xii. 4, is said expressly to have been seventy-five years of age when he departed from Charran. If we subtract these seventy-five years from the two hundred and five of Terah's age, the remainder will be a hundred and thirty years. Abraham was therefore born in the hundred and thirtieth year of Terah. And therefore when in Gen. xi. 26, Terah is said at the seventieth year of his age to have begotten Abram, Nahor, and Haran, the meaning is, Terah began to beget three sons, Abraham, the first in merits and dignity, but the youngest by birth; the second, Nahor; Haran, the third, whom many will have to have been the eldest of all, seeing he was father to Melcha the wife of Nahor, and Jescha, whom the Hebrews think to be Sarah, Abraham's wife. Abraham, therefore, after the death of his father went forward to the land of Canaan, according as the Lord had commanded him when he was yet in Ur of the Chaldeans, taking with him Sarai and Lot, who came with him from Ur of the Chaldeans, and all the substance that he had purchased at Charran. Josephus, Ant. i. 8, reports, that Abraham, in his journey from Charran to Canaan, made a stop at Damascus, and reigned there; his words are these: "Nicolaus the Damascene, in the fourth book of his history writeth thus: 'Abraham reigned in Damascus when he was a stranger, as one who had come with an army from the country situate above Babylon, which is called Chaldea.'" Nor much different is that of Justin,[1] Trogus Pompeius's Epitomist. "The city had its name from Damascus, king thereof. After Damascus, Azelus, then Adores, and Abraham and Israel, were kings thereof." "But," as Pererius excellently reasoneth,[2] "Abraham had sinned grievously, nor had he fulfilled the command of God, whereby he was enjoined to depart from Mesopotamia into Canaan, as was fitting, if he had attempted not only to stay at Damascus, but also making light account of God's promises, to purchase himself a kingdom. Add that Abraham every where professed himself a pilgrim and stranger; and Jacob acknowledged the same of himself and his forefathers. He therefore had nowhere a proper seat and habitation, much less a kingdom." Nor does the account of time permit that Abraham should be said to have made any long stay at Damascus, that he might reign there. For, seeing the year in the which he departed from Charran was the seventy-sixth year of his age, and the same

[1] Hist. Philip. lib. xxxvi. [2] On Gen. xii. 11.

Abraham, after he had dwelt ten years in Canaan, took Hagar to wife, of whom in the eighty-sixth year of his age he begot his son Ishmael, Gen. xvi. 15, 16, it appears that he went directly from Mesopotamia to Canaan, and that he nowhere fixed any settled habitation till he came to Canaan. Moreover, whether he had obtained that kingdom by force or entreaty, he would not so soon have deserted it, especially when he was constrained by famine to undertake a journey to Egypt; nor would the sacred writers have neglected to give some hints of a passage so considerable, and which would have tended so much to the glory of the Jews.

5. *And he gave him not*, &c. Stephen proposes two things here to be considered in Abraham, whereby God did mightily exercise his faith. First, That he transported him into Canaan, which the Jews now inhabit, and yet gave him no possession, not so much as a foot-breadth. Secondly, That he promised to give this land to him and his seed, when as yet he had no seed.

6. *And God spake*, &c. As if he had said, But God foretold to Abraham, seized with a deep sleep and fear, Gen. xv., that his seed should be a stranger *in a land that is not theirs;* that is, in a strange land, and should be in bondage and affliction there four hundred years. That these four hundred years are to be computed from the hundredth year of Abraham in the which he begat Isaac, or the hundred and fifth year in which a separation was made of Abraham's seed, and an appointing of Isaac heir, Ishmael being banished, Gen. xxi., is beyond all question; for in this prophecy (in which he appointeth four hundred years for the wandering, affliction, and bondage of his posterity) God maketh express mention of the seed that should wander, be afflicted, and in bondage; and therefore these four hundred years cannot be thought to have had a being, before that seed was appointed or actually differenced and determined. But the time from Abraham's removing into Canaan to the year of the Israelites' departure from Egypt is computed to be four hundred and thirty years. Hence Paul, Gal. iii. 17, plainly reckoneth four hundred and thirty years from the promise made to Abraham, Gen. xii., when he was about to depart from his native country, to the publishing of the law which was on the third month after the children of Israel's departure out of Egypt. "The years of the pilgrimage of the children of Israel," saith Heidegger, "are described by Moses, Exod. xii. 40, מוֹשַׁב, *And the sojourning of the children of Israel,*

אֲשֶׁר, *that sojourned in Egypt, continued four hundred and thirty years.* On which place Dr. Usher, Bishop of Armagh,[1] learnedly observes three things especially. First, "That the word מוֹשַׁב, as generally it denotes any habitation, so when it is referred to foreigners and strangers it signifies a pilgrimage. Hence with the Hebrews תּוֹשָׁב denoteth a sojourner and pilgrim: and Abraham himself, Gen. xxiii. 4, saith that he *was* גֵּר־תּוֹשָׁב *a stranger and pilgrim.* And Gen. xxi. 34, instead of וַיָּגָר the Chaldee has ורחיב. And ch. xxviii. 4, instead of אֶת־אֶרֶץ מְגֻרֶיךָ the same has ית ארעא תיתביהד. Secondly, That the land of Canaan, as it was accounted the land of the sojourning of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, so also of the Israelites that descended from them; to wit, by reason of that strict tie of kin that is betwixt forefathers and their posterity. And truly God had promised to those three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that he would give them this land of their pilgrimage, to be by them heritably possessed, Ps. cv. 11, which afterwards was accomplished in their posterity. As therefore the possession of the posterity is attributed to the forefathers; so also the pilgrimage of the forefathers is attributed to this posterity. Instances of this you may, see Ps. lxvi. 6; Hos. xii. 4; Amos v. 25; Judg. x. 11, 12; Acts vii. 42. Thirdly, That seeing the Hebrews have no cases, the pronoun אֲשֶׁר here has an ambiguous reference. Hence it is that the Vulgate Latin edition, the Polyglott Bibles, the Royal of Antwerp, and the Jayan of Paris, read in this place: "But the dwelling of the children of Israel, who sojourned in Egypt, was for four hundred and thirty years." Whereas other copies of the same edition have: "The dwelling of the children of Israel, whereby they abode in Egypt." To which latter acceptation of the relative pronoun determining the chronography, seeing it attributes four hundred and thirty years to the sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt, which was a shorter time by half, the former is altogether to be preferred, which removes that inconvenience, and gives us only a prosopography, or a description of them whose entire pilgrimage, beginning at the seventy-sixth year of Abraham's age, is continued thence to the going forth out of Egypt for the space of four hundred years. But the reason why Moses takes that description of the Israelites from their sojourning in Egypt, was, because that pilgrimage of the patriarchs was both

[1] Chronol. Sac. lib. ii. cap. 8.

but of a few only, and frequently interrupted, and less obvious to men's view, to wit, when they were but small in number, yea, very few, and strangers in it, and went from one nation to another, and from one kingdom to another people, Ps. cv. 12, 13. But this sojourning of their children in Egypt comprehended a great multitude of men, was stable, and much spoken of by all. "For three things," as Pererius noteth, "made the sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt observable and famous. First, The preferment of Joseph, during whose life the people of Israel were in very great repute. Secondly, Their notable and admirable increase after Joseph's death, though they were afflicted with a most heavy bondage. Thirdly, Their deliverance, and going forth out of Egypt, accompanied with so many and great miracles."

The Greek has thus translated that place of Exod. xii. 40. "Now the pilgrimage of the children of Israel, whereby they and their fathers wandered in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt, continued four hundred and thirty years." Thus have the Alexandrine manuscript, the Complutensian, and Aldine editions. And it appears that it was read so of old by Eusebius in his Chronicon, Quintus Julius Hilarion, in his small book of the duration of the world,[1] Austin, q. 47, in Exodus, and Sedulius in Gal. iii. Moreover, in the very time of the apostles, Dositheus delivered this place of Exodus to his Samaritans, thus new pargeted out of the Greek translation: "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, and of their fathers, whereby they sojourned in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years." George Syncellus[2] saith, "The computation of four hundred and thirty years of the pilgrimage of Israel in the lands of Canaan and Egypt, according to God's prediction to Abraham, takes its beginning, by the common suffrage of the interpreters and historians, from the seventy-fifth year of Abraham's age." Moreover, not only Eusebius, and other Christian chronographers, divide the space of four hundred and thirty years into two equal intervals, but Josephus[3] also, and before Christ's days, Demetrius, not Phalereus, but the younger, from whom Alexander, surnamed Polyhistor, relateth that from the time that Abraham was chosen from among the nations, and came from Charran into Canaan, unto the coming of Jacob into Egypt was

[1] [De Mundi Duratione in Galland's Bibliotheca Patrum, vol. viii. p. 285.]
[2] 1 Chron. p. 117. [3] Ant. ii. 6.

two hundred and fifteen years. Which sum of two hundred and fifteen years may be made up out of the scriptures without any difficulty. For Abraham went to Canaan when he was seventy-five years old, Gen. xii. 4. From the time that Abraham went to Canaan to the hundredth year of his age, in the which he begat Isaac, Gen. xxi. 5, are twenty-five years. From Isaac's nativity to that of Jacob, Gen. xxv. 26, sixty years. From Jacob's nativity to his going down with his whole family into Egypt, Gen. xlvii. 9, a hundred and thirty years. All which years added together make up the sum of two hundred and fifteen years. As to the other two hundred and fifteen years past in Egypt till their going out thereof, Bishop Usher describes them thus: from Jacob's going down into Egypt until the death of Joseph are seventy-one years. Thence till the birth of Moses sixty-four. Thence to the Israelites going forth out of Egypt eighty, Exod. vii. 7. All which years joined together make up the two hundred and fifteen years of the sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt.

*Shall bring them into bondage.* Augustine, Civ. Dei, lib. xvi. cap. 24. "As it is written of Terah, Abraham's father; 'and his days at Charran were two hundred and five years;' not that they were all passed there, but because they were there finished, so likewise it is therefore here added, *And shall bring them into bondage, and will afflict them four hundred years,* because in that same affliction the number is completed, not because it was all performed there." The same Augustine, Q. 47. on Exodus saith, "What God said to Abraham, *Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and they will bring them into bondage, and oppress them four hundred years,* is not to be understood so, as if the people of God were to continue in that most grievous bondage for the space of four hundred years; but because it is written, *In Isaac shall thy seed be called,* the four hundred and five years are computed from the year of Isaac's nativity, until the year of the outgoing out of Egypt. If therefore you subtract from the four hundred and thirty years the five and twenty which intervened betwixt the promise and the birth of Isaac, it is no matter of admiration, if the scripture would express the four hundred and five years by the even sum of four hundred, seeing it uses so to denominate time, that that which a little exceeds or comes short of the sum of the more perfect number, be not computed. What therefore he says, *They will bring them into*

*bondage, and oppress them,* is not to be referred to the four hundred years, as if they should keep them in bondage so many years; but the four hundred years are to be referred to this, *Thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs;* for that seed was a stranger, whether in the land of Canaan, or that of Egypt, until they received for their inheritance the land, according to God's promise, which was accomplished after that they were delivered out of Egypt: so that a hyperbaton is here understood, and the order of the words should be thus: "Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs four hundred years;" but that this is supposed to be interposed, "and they will bring them into bondage, and oppress them;" so that this interposition doth not belong to the four hundred years. For it was in the latter part of the years of this sum, that is after the death of Joseph, that the people of God laboured under that grievous bondage."

7. *And the nation to whom they shall be in bondage will I judge.* That is, I will punish. To *judge* is frequently used for "to punish." 2 Chron. xx. 12, *Our God, wilt thou not therefore judge them?* Ps. ix. 19, *Let the nations be judged in thy sight.* And hence *judgment* is put for "punishment," Prov. xix. 29, *Judgments are prepared for scorners,* that is, punishments. So Exod. xii. 12, *Against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgment,* that is, I will inflict punishment upon all the gods of Egypt.

8. *And he gave him a testament.* Greek, "a covenant." As if he had said, after he had made those excellent promises he commanded Abraham and his posterity to be circumcised; that the same circumcision might be as it were a seal of the covenant entered into with Abraham and his natural seed. "This," saith Grotius, "makes for Stephen's purpose, that the observance of circumcision might not be believed to be the cause of the promises."

*And so.* To wit, after he was circumcised.

*He begat Isaac.* Not by the power of nature, but by virtue of God's promise made to him, that Isaac, given on account of the promise, might be an earnest and shadow of the grace that was to be given by the gospel.

*The patriarchs.* That is, the fathers of the twelve tribes of Israel. See above, ch. ii. 27.

9. *And the patriarchs moved with envy.* Here Stephen briefly hints at the emulation of the patriarchs, from whom the Jews boasted of their original, to wit, that they, out of a detestable

hatred and envy sold him to the Midianite merchants, Gen. xxxvii. 28, who was ordained by God a saviour for them, that they might carry him into Egypt. "This is," saith Casaubon, "that selling of slaves, which the ancients called ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ, when the slaves were sold on that condition, that they should be transported into remote countries." Moreover, Stephen covertly insinuates, that after the same manner Jesus was delivered by the envious multitude of the Jews to the Romans, that he might be crucified.

*And God was with him.* As if he had said, but God turned the evil, wherewith Joseph's brethren oppressed him, to his good, Gen. l. 20. As it also fell out in your envy against Jesus who was crucified, above, ch. iii. 8.

10. *Gave him favour and wisdom.* A figure of speech called hendyades, that is, he made him gracious for his wisdom, Gen. xli. 39.

*In the sight of Pharaoh.* That is, with Pharaoh king of Egypt, whom the Egyptian priest Manetho called Mephramuthosis. Justin also, out of Trogus, lib. xxxvi., c. 2, declareth that Joseph was entirely beloved by Pharaoh. "For," saith he, "being most quicksighted, he was the first that invented the knowledge of dreams, and nothing either of divine or human affairs escaped his knowledge, so that he foresaw the barrenness of their lands many years before it came to pass; and all Egypt had perished with the famine, if the king had not at his admonition commanded by an edict, that the corn should be laid up in store for several years; and his proofs were such, that they seemed not to proceed from men, but to be oracles given from God."

*He made him governor over Egypt.* That is, he advanced him to the chief place of authority in the kingdom, Gen. xli. 43.

*And over all his house.* That is, according as Grotius interprets it, "He made him also master of his court, such as the high stewards were to the French of old, and to the Greeks of Constantinople, the κυροπάλατοι, so called because the care of the palace was committed to them." So God hath set Jesus Christ over his heavenly court, and hath given him supreme power next to himself.

11. *Now there came a dearth,* &c. That is, "When sufficient provision was made in Egypt for a famine, a grievous scarcity of corn vexed sorely the whole earth," as Sulpicius Severus expresseth it, Sac. Hist., lib. i. So now a hardness of heart, blindness of

mind, and a famine of the heavenly bread, came upon those who are called Egyptians by a certain figure of speech, who profess the Christian religion externally; and upon the Jews, who would drive away, exterminate, and cast out Christ.

12. *He sent our fathers first.* That is, in the first year of the famine. As if he had said, Jacob pinched with famine sends his ten sons for corn into Egypt, keeping Benjamin his youngest son with him at home. "So," saith Daniel Brenius, "in the first embassage, whereby the Jews are hitherto compelled to be as it were disowned of God in Egypt, spiritually so called, Messiah the deliverer, although by them desired, yet is not acknowledged, because they were not yet aright affected for the evil of rejecting him, and the judgments they thereby brought upon themselves."

13. *And in the second.* To wit, year of the famine, when Joseph's brethren returned to him for corn.

*Known*, &c. That is, he made himself known to them, Gen. xlv. 1. And so Joseph's kindred was made known unto Pharaoh or Mephramuthosis. "The manifestation of Joseph to his brethren when they returned to him the second time," saith the now cited Daniel Brenius, "doth typically represent to us, that the Jews at last brought under with calamities, at the second time, when the gospel of Christ shall be again preached, and his name spread throughout the whole earth, shall acknowledge him for the Messiah, and God on the other side, owning them for the Messiah's brethren, will make them partakers of his good things through him."

14. *Then sent Joseph*, &c. As if he had said, at the command of king Mephramuthosis, Joseph sends back his brethren furnished with chariots, provision, and presents, to bring thither his father and his whole family, with all expedition: "forewarning them that the famine would continue five years longer," as saith Sulpicius Severus, Sac. Hist., lib. i. See Gen. xlv.

*Threescore and fifteen souls.* That is, consisting of seventy-five persons. "Interpreters have been at very much pains," saith the famed Ludovicus de Dieu, "to reconcile this place with that of Gen. xlvi. 26, where Moses makes mention only of seventy souls of Jacob's house, that went down into Egypt. But there is no great difficulty in it, if we say that the places are not parallel. For Moses makes his account, wherein, together with Jacob, only his posterity and those that proceeded out of his loins, are comprehended, his sons' wives being expressly excepted, ver. 26. For

which reason, not only those who actually entered Egypt with him, but also Joseph and his two sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, are comprehended in the number of seventy, although they were in Egypt long before; because, both as proceeding out of Jacob's loins, and being as to their original of the land of Canaan, they were strangers in Egypt, and so were deservedly reckoned, as if they had gone down into Egypt with Jacob. And it is of singular moment in that catalogue, that Judah's two grand-children by Pharez, to wit, Hezron and Hamul, although they were not then born, as may be gathered from the series of time, but afterwards in Egypt, are comprehended in that number, ver. 11, that they might supply the place of the two sons of Judah, Er and Onan, then deceased. For which reason also, Numb. xxvi. 21, whereas in the rest of the tribes, not the grandchildren but only the children make up the princes of the families, in the tribe of Judah alone, not only his sons, Selah, Pharez, and Zerah, but also his grandchildren, Hezron and Hamul, are made princes of the families of Judah, as if added to his sons. But none of these things have place in Stephen's discourse; for he does not give a genealogy of Jacob's race, but only an account who they were that Joseph sent for from the land of Canaan into Egypt. His words are, *Then sent Joseph, and called Jacob his father unto him, and all his kindred, threescore and fifteen souls.* He sent for more than proceeded out of Jacob's loins, but did not send for all that came out of his loins. First, therefore, Judah's two grandchildren are to be excluded there, then Joseph himself with his two sons; for he could not send for those, as not yet born, nor himself and his sons, as already dwelling in Egypt. Therefore if we subtract these five, and then Jacob their father, who is mentioned apart by Stephen, there remain of Moses' number of seventy, but sixty-four: to wit, the eleven brethren, one sister Dinah, and fifty-two sons of the brethren, to which, if we add the eleven wives of the eleven brethren, which undoubtedly Joseph sent for together with their husbands, and which belonged to the kindred, ye have his whole kindred, seventy-five souls. The Ethiopic renders it, 'And Joseph after that he knew that, he commanded that they should call his father, and all his kindred. And there came unto him seventy-five souls.' Which version excludes Joseph and his children, because they could not be said to come unto him; but in that he errs, that he includes Jacob also in the number of the

seventy-five souls, as coming also with the rest to Joseph. For that number agreeth only to his kindred. Nor does it militate anything against what is said, that most are of opinion that the ten sons of Benjamin, who are comprehended by Moses in the number of the fifty-two grandchildren of Jacob, Gen. xlvi. 21, were at that time either none or few of them born, and therefore they could not be rightly said to have been sent for by Joseph. For it may be answered, that his sons, though born afterwards, might be rightly added to the number, lest he only among all the brethren should be reckoned without children. But there is no necessity to recur to that, seeing he was of that age then that he might have had so many children. For Joseph was thirty years of age when he was first brought before Pharaoh, Gen. xli. 46. Betwixt which time and Jacob's entrance into Egypt intervened seven years of plenty and two of famine, Gen. xlv. 6. Now when Joseph was thirty-nine years of age, Benjamin might be of the age of thirty-seven; at which age, especially where polygamy had obtained, why might not he be father of ten sons? Hence it may be collected, that neither is there any error to be imputed to Moses' text from Stephen's words, nor to Stephen's words from Moses' text, but that both spoke very well according to their different intent. Hence it also follows, that the text of the Seventy interpreters is corrupted, which, in Gen. xlvi. 27, instead of seventy has seventy-five. Which seems certainly to have been done by some Christians, who when they could not reconcile the place of Stephen with the words of Moses, and did believe that by all means Stephen was to be credited, they altered the Greek text of Moses, or rather corrupted it, that it might be at least demonstrated whence Stephen had these things. There are manifest signs of corruption. For, first, all the Hebrew copies, Josephus (Antiq. 4), and the ancient Latin interpreter, read only seventy. Secondly, The Seventy interpreters themselves, Deut. x. 32, where this story is repeated, do agree with the Hebrew, and number only seventy. Thirdly, That they might varnish the 27th verse we have mentioned, with the more likeness of truth, they have corrupted also the 20th verse, where contrary to the faith of all the Hebrew copies, the Samaritan, and ancient Latin, they have added five others of Joseph's posterity, to wit, Machir the son of Manasses by his concubine Syra, and Gilead, Machir's son, Manasses' grandson; as also Ephraim's two sons, Shuthelah

and Taam; and Edem, one son of Shuthelah, Ephraim's grandson. But instead of Taam, Augustine, Civ. Dei, lib. xvi., cap. 40, has Bareth, from 1 Chron. vii., in which chapter it is also to be observed, that there is neither mention made of Taam nor Edem, and that the sons of Manasses, Machir, and Ephraim, were reckoned more than five. Wherefore did they then pitch upon only five of them to put into Moses' catalogue? Because they who would supply Stephen's number in Moses did not stand in need of more. But the same persons, not very consistent with themselves, ver. 27, added to Manasses and Ephraim, with their five sons and grandsons, two others, although without their names. For instead of that which is in Moses, 'And the sons of Joseph who were born in Egypt were two souls,' the Seventy have 'nine souls;' whence at last was the number of the fifty-seven souls to be collected; so that all things in that verse are most corrupt, and worthy of no credit. Nor can any greater absurdity be imputed to Stephen, than that Joseph sent for not only himself, and his two sons present with him, but also his three grandsons, and two of their sons, who were born long after."

15. *So Jacob went down into Egypt.* Jacob, being strengthened after his sacrifices offered to God, went down into Egypt with his whole family, in the beginning of the third year of the famine, being now aged one hundred and thirty years, Gen. xlv., xlvi., xlvii.; and Deut. xxvi. 5.

16. *And were carried over into Sychem,* &c. As if he had said, the bones of the patriarchs, who went down with Jacob into Egypt, were first indeed transported to Sychem, but thence to Hebron, and interred in the sepulchre which Abraham, Gen. xxiii. 16, bought from the sons of Ephron. And thus at Sychem indeed were the empty monuments, as Hieronymus an eye-witness testifies in the epitaph of Paula, but in Hebron were the true sepulchres of the patriarchs, of which Josephus saith, Antiq., lib. ii., cap. 4, "But his brethren died after they had lived happily in Egypt, whose bodies, after some time, their posterity and children buried at Hebron. But they transported the bones of Joseph afterwards, when the Hebrews departed out of Egypt into Canaan." Whence it may be concluded that the bodies of the eleven patriarchs were buried at Hebron, and that before their departure out of Egypt: but that Joseph's bones were transported into Canaan long after, at their departure. For although he does

not say that the bodies of the eleven patriarchs are buried in Hebron immediately after their death, but μετὰ χρόνον, "a time intervening;" yet he says, that Joseph's bones only were transported ὕστερον, "afterwards," when they were departed out of Egypt. The interring of the former, therefore, was performed before the departure. "Which," saith the famous Lud. de Dieu, "the very series of Stephen's discourse seems to evince. For when he had first spoken of the death of Jacob, then of the death, transportation, and burial of the patriarchs, he subjoins, that then the time of accomplishing the promise made to Abraham drew near, and that the people, increased to a great number, incurred the king's hatred, and were by Moses, after they had suffered most heavy afflictions, brought out of Egypt, which truly are so recited, that they seem to have happened after the interment of the patriarchs."

*In Sychem.* Sicemus, or Sicima, sometime the metropolitan city of Samaria, was situated on mount Gerizim, according to Josephus.[1] "And seeing," saith he, "he was kindly entreated by all he came near, the Samaritans who then held the metropolis Sicima, situate on Mount Gerizim, and inhabited by the apostates of the Jewish nation, seeing that Alexander did entreat the Jews so magnificently, they resolved also to profess themselves Jews." Benjamin of Tudela gave them the same situation in his Itinerary, by whom it is called Nebelas, that is, Neapolis, for so they called it in his days. Pliny also, lib. v. cap. 13, makes mention of Neapolis among the towns of Samaria, which formerly was called Mamortha, saith he. Its name was altered from the Hebrew into a Greek form; for it is in the Hebrew *Shechem*, whereof mention is made, Gen. xxxiii., xxxiv., where it is declared that Simeon and Levi the sons of Jacob, for the rape committed on their sister Dinah by the king of Shechem's son, took it, and destroyed all the males together with the king and his son. Afterward Abimelech, Judg. ix. 45, rased it to the ground and sowed it with salt. But Jeroboam king of Israel rebuilt it, and dwelt in it, as it is declared in the History of the Kings, 1 Kings xii. We read, Gen. xxxiii. 19, that Jacob purchased a parcel of land from the sons of Hamor the father of Shechem for a hundred kesithis, that is, sheep or lambs. Here Joseph, whose issue obtained the propriety thereof, is said to have been buried, Josh. xxiv. 32. In the same place

[1] In Calce lib. xi. Antiq.

God renewed his covenant with the Israelites a little before the death of Joshua; the Israelites gathered together, besought Rehoboam that he would remit the rigour of their yoke; and Christ had a conference with the woman of Samaria at Jacob's well. It was of old a city of refuge, and the metropolis of the Levites.

*And laid in the sepulchre.* As if he had said, They were carried from the land of Sychem to Hebron, and laid in the burying-place purchased by Abraham of old for four hundred shekels.

*Of the sons of Hamor.* These words are not construed with the verb *bought*, but with the more remote *were laid*, and so the preposition *of*, does not denote the sellers of the burying-place, but the place itself, from whence the patriarchs were carried forth to their burial to be laid in the sepulchre which Abraham bought. The famed De Dieu expounds *of the sons of Hamor*, "by the help and assistance of the sons of Hamor, the father of Sychem." "For," saith he, "seeing that interment happened when strange people had all the power in the land of Canaan in their hands, and so the Hebrews might incur danger, when they were interring the bodies of their fathers, they very wisely first made their application to Sychem, and they not only demanded the assistance of the sons of Hamor, but also, that they might the more safely accomplish it, they committed the whole business to them, to do in it as they thought fit." So *of the sons of Hamor*, &c., is not to be construed with *bought*, but with *are laid*, which opinion I confess is prevalent with me, for Josephus's authority, Antiq. ii. 4."

*Hamor the son of Sychem.* A Hebraism, that is, Hamor of Sychem, or the Sychemite. In the Greek it is an elliptic speech, Emmor of Sychem, which may be variously supplied according to the various acceptations of the word Sychem, by which sometimes a person, sometimes a place, is designed in the scriptures. If it be taken for a place, it is plain that inhabitant is understood; if it be referred to Emmor alone, or if it be referred to the sons of Emmor, which I rather think, inhabitants is to be supplied. So that the meaning is, from the sons of Emmor the Sychemites, that is, from the Emmorrean inhabitants of Sychem. But if Sychem here be taken for a person, the word father is to be supplied, and it must be rendered with the learned Beza, "from the sons of Hamor, the father of Sychem." For Emmor or Hamor was Sychem's father, not his son, as appears from Gen. xxxiii. 19; Josh. xxiv. 32. Nor is there any reason why the Greek words cannot bear that,

seeing the like occurs in approved Greek writers. Herodotus in Clio, Ἄδρατος ὁ Γορδιέω τοῦ Μιδέω, "Adrastus the Nephew of Gordius, who was father to Midas." Thalia, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω, "Cyrus, Cambyses's father." Ælianus, xiii. var. 30, Ὀλυμπιὰς ἡ Αλεξάνδρου, "Olympias, Alexander's Mother." Steph. de Urb. on the word Δαίδαλα. Ἡ δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ Δαιδάλου τοῦ Ἰκάρου ἡ ἐν Λυκίᾳ, "Dædala, a city of Lycia built," or as the learned Tho. de Pinedo has rendered it, "was so called by Dædalus, Icarus's father." Also Luke xxiv. 10, Μαρία Ἰακώβου, *Mary the mother of James*, is rightly rendered by the Syrian and both the Arabics, out of Mark xv. 40, where it is expressed.

17. *The time of the promise.* That was to be performed.

*Which God had sworn to Abraham.* The famous manuscript of England, and the Vulgate Latin read, "had confessed." That is, Which God had made to Abraham, and confirmed by an oath, Maimonides saith, that every earnest affirmation of God is called an oath. Such is *knowing know*, Gen. xv. 13, that is, know assuredly.

*The people grew and multiplied in Egypt.* As if he had said. There was an incredible multiplication of the Israelites from the time that Jacob went down to Egypt, so that in the space of about 216 years, of seventy men 603,550 males were descended, and those above the age of twenty years, besides 22,000 Levites, and the infants that were drowned and destroyed by Pharaoh, Exod. xxxviii. 26; Numb. i. 46, 47, iii. 39, the devices of the Egyptians being set at nought by God. There are not wanting other instances of a speedy increase. Mankind did so increase in 250 years after the flood, that in the army of Ninus against the Bactrians there was 700,000 foot, and 200,000 horse, according to the relation of Diodorus Siculus out of Ctesias.

18. *Till another king arose*, &c. Bishop Usher, in his Annals on the year of the world 2,427, saith: "Ramesses Miamun is that new king who knew not Joseph; born after his death, willingly casting off the remembrance of his benefits. And by his advice the Egyptians, who were afraid of mischief from the Israelites, kept them under with hard bondage; besides their domestic and rural service they had also the building of the king's store-houses imposed upon them, to wit, the cities Pithom and Raamsis, or Ramessis, Exod. i. 8, 14; Acts vii. 18, 19, one of which Mercator

thinks was so named from the king and builder thereof, the other possibly from the queen.

19. *The same dealt subtilly with our kindred.* That is, craftily, of free men making them vile slaves.

*And evil entreated our fathers.* To wit, very severely.

*So that they cast out their young children.* As if he had said, So that they were forced to expose their young children that were males to the raging waters. "The wicked king," saith Usher, "after he had in vain commanded Shiphrah and Puah, the Hebrew midwives, to make away the male infants privately, published an inhuman decree to drown them in the river, Exod. i. 15—22, in the time that intervened betwixt the birth of Aaron and Moses."

*To the end that they might not be quickened.* That is, That they might not be preserved alive. Ζωογονεῖν, "to bring to life," as with the Hebrews, חחיה, the Syrians, אחי, and the Arabics, אחיא, signifies not so much "to give life anew, as to preserve that is already in being." See Exod. i. 17, 18, 22. Ezekiel, a most ancient Jewish poet, whom Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. i., and Eusebius, lib. ix. Prepar. Evang. have made mention of, in his tragedy of Moses, published in Greek and Latin by Frid. Morellus at Paris, 1609, hath excellently expressed the import of this verse in these words:—[1]

> "But cruel Pharaoh, 'gainst us wholly bent,
> Did many cunning stratagems invent
> Us to enthral; our lives a burden were;
> In making bricks, our bodies daily wear,
> While he did many fenced cities rear.
> Next must the tender parent, his dear son
> In seven-stream'd Nilus' rapid waters drown."

20. *In which time.* To wit, when the Israelites by the king's command were compelled to drown their children immediately when born.

*Moses was born.* Usher, on the year of the world 2433, saith, "Jochebed, forty years after the death of her father Levi, brought forth Moses to Amram his nephew, her husband. For Moses was eighty years of age when he spoke to Pharaoh to let the Israelites go out of Egypt, Exod. vii. 7, and forty years after their outgoing, when he died in the 12th month, he was a hundred and twenty years of age, Deut. xxxi. 2; xxxiv. 7."

[1] [Ezekiel appears to have been a Jew, and to have lived at the court of the Ptolemies of Alexandria about the second century before Christ.]

*And he was exceeding fair.* This Terence would have expressed, "And he was of so beautiful a countenance that none exceeded him," The Latin word, *gratus*, ἀστεῖος, saith Grotius, is from the Greek in Exod. ii. 2, where it is in the Hebrew, טוֹב, "beautiful." "To God," which is added here in the original, is a Hebraism, לֵאלֹהִים, "to God," that is, very beautiful.[1] See our annotations on Jonah i. 2, on these words, *The great city.* Justin, out of Trogus, lib. xxxvi. cap. 2, makes mention of the comeliness and beauty of Moses. Of which Josephus thus, Ant. lib. ii. cap. 4, 5, "None was so indifferent a spectator of beauty, who would not admire the beauty of Moses, and many that met him when he was carried in the streets were so taken with his beauty, that they not only looked on the countenance of the child, but also forgetting other business made it their work to satiate themselves with beholding him. For such was the child's beauty, that it as it were captivated and detained the beholders."

*And nourished up.* As if he had said, the great affection of Moses' parents overcame all their fears, and so, contrary to the wicked edict of the king, they hid him three months at home, Exod. ii. 2; Heb. xi. 23.

21. *And when he was cast out,* &c. As if he had said, When by reason of the diligent inquisition made by the king and their Egyptian neighbours, the child could not longer be hid, his mother put him in a basket of bulrushes daubed with slime and pitch, and laid it in the flags by the river side; Miriam, or Mary, Moses' sister standing afar off, and expecting the event of it. Being so laid out he was found by Pharoah's daughter, who, as Josephus, Ant. ii. 5; Epiphanius, in Panarium, and others say, was called Thermutis. She delivered him to be nursed by Jochebed his mother, who was brought to her for that purpose by the child's sister that stood by the river side, and adopted him for her son, Exod. ii. 8. "And thus the hands of Pharoah's daughter preserve a revenger of her father's cruelty," saith Augustine. Philo addeth, "that Thermutis was Pharaoh's only heiress, and that she had been long married, and because she had no children, she gave out that she was with child, that it might be believed that she brought forth Moses, and not that she adopted him." This possibly is hinted at Heb. ii. 24, where it is said, that Moses when he was

[1] [Καὶ ἦν ἀστεῖος τῷ Θεῷ: *and was a proper child in the sight of God.*—Tyndale's version. *And was acceptable unto God.*—Geneva version.]

grown, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter. Yet in Josephus, Ant. lib. ii. c. 5, Thermutis acknowledgeth before the king her father, that Moses was not born her son, but taken up: "Whom I have resolved to adopt for my son, and to make him thy successor in the empire and government." The same Josephus addeth, "that Moses in his infancy cast upon the ground, and trampled upon with his feet, the crown when it was put upon his head by the king of Egypt in jest. Hence he was in great danger of his life by the instigation of the Egyptian priests, but was preserved by Thermutis.

22. *Was learned*, &c. In Ezekiel, the tragic poet, Moses is introduced speaking thus of himself:—

> "Us while a child most carefully she bred,
> And royally in disciplines instructed,
> And as she had been my mother nourished."

*Moses.* That he was named Joachim at his circumcision, and when he was received into heaven Melchi, Clemens Alexandrinus Strom. i. reporteth, but whence he had it is uncertain. In Philo's Antiquities, he is said to have been called Melchil by his mother. Thermutis called him Moses, that is, "drawn out," or taken out, to wit, of the waters of the Nile, from מָשָׁה, "he drew out," "he brought out," Exod. ii. 10. Josephus believes that Moses was so called from the Egyptian word Μῶ, "water," and ὑσῆς, "preserved," which comes from הוּשַׁע. From Μῶ also is Monius, as Abenezra affirms he was called by the Egyptians. "Yea," saith the most learned Hoffman in his Universal Lexicon, "in some verses of Orpheus he is called ὑδρογενὴς, that is, ὑδατογενὴς, as much as to say, 'born in the water.'" But Salmasius, Ep. lx., thinketh that the etymology of Moses is plainly Egyptian, and verbally it importeth, saith he, "taken out of the water," as an old poet in Eusebius affirmeth, that is Μωύσι; for Μωοῦ in that language signifieth water, σὶ, to take.

*In all the wisdom of the Egyptians.* The wisdom of the ancient Egyptians chiefly consisted in hieroglyphics and mathematics. The invention of geometry, seeing by reason of the inundation of the Nile the bounds of their lands could scarce be distinguished, is attributed to them.

*And was mighty in words and deeds.* As if he had said, And he was a man exactly accomplished with all learning and virtue.

23. *And when he was full forty years old.* Bereschith Rabba, fol. 115, col. 3: "Moses lived forty years in Pharaoh's court, and forty in Midian; and the same number of years he ministered unto Israel." See also Shemoth Rabba, fol. 118, col. 3. What Moses did till he was forty years old, the scripture nowhere declareth. Josephus reporteth [1] that he was a general in the Ethiopic war, and that when he besieged Saba, he married the king's daughter, by name Tharbis, who was deeply in love with him. Whatever there be of this war, which Theodoret and others say is fabulous, there is no doubt but that Moses has omitted many things concerning himself, out of humility. For it is not probable that he gave himself over to laziness and sluggishness during the forty years that he lived at court like a prince.

*It came into his heart to visit*, &c. As much as to say, By a new and extraordinary impulse of the Spirit he was moved to visit his brethren the Israelites, whose spirits were broken with the rigour of their bondage. Philo saith, that Moses used frequently to visit his brethren the Israelites that were groaning under their burden, and that he supported them with comfort, and dealt with the taskmasters to be gentle towards them: and that he was thereupon suspected by the king and his court to be one that affected innovations.

24. *And seeing one of them.* To wit, a Hebrew, whom Rabbi Solomon, by what authority I know not, affirmeth to have been the husband of Shelomith the daughter of Dibri of the tribe of Dan, that is mentioned Lev. xxiv. 11.

*Suffer wrong.* That is, wrongfully beaten, Exod. ii. 11. Some think that this Egyptian who beat the Hebrew was one of the king's governors, who took account of the Israelites' work, and punished those that were slack. The Jews add, that this Egyptian committed adultery with the wife of that Israelite, who while he was inveighing against this injury of the Egyptian with words, had his mouth stopped by the Egyptian with stripes.

*He avenged him.* That is, by a just revenge he provided for his security. For at that time there was no judge who could redress the injury, and the injury was urgent and could not admit of delay of time. Yet many of the ancient fathers, amongst whom Augustine, lib. xxii., against Faustus, cap. 20, *et seq.*, do accuse Moses of too great zeal and precipitancy. Œcumenius, on the

[1] Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 5.

Epistle of Jude, saith, that the devil contended chiefly about the body of Moses as unworthy of burial on that reason chiefly, for that he killed the Egyptian unjustly.

*Smote the Egyptian.* The scripture hath not expressed the manner how he smote him. The ancient Hebrews, as Clemens Alex. Strom. i. testifies, do also fictitiously and fabulously report, that the Egyptian was not killed by Moses with any external weapon, but by the bare pronouncing of the name Jehovah against him; as Peter did kill Ananias and Saphiras by a mere word. Sulpicius Severus saith,[1] "Moses, when he was come to a man's age, seeing a Hebrew beaten by an Egyptian, moved with grief, revenging his brother's wrong, kicked the Egyptian to death."

25. *For he supposed,* &c. As if he had said, he thought that they would understand, when they saw him so ready to defend his brethren when wronged by their enemies, that they were to be delivered afterwards by God from the tyranny of the Egyptians by his means; which yet they did not understand. By this testimony of Stephen, Moses seems to have killed the Egyptian on this account, as being acquainted with his call to deliver the Israelites from the grievous bondage of the Egyptians; which the scripture is silent in, Exod. ii. 12. This Augustine observed in his second question on Exodus.

26. *And the next day.* That is, the next day after that Moses killed the Egyptian, and covered him with sand after he had killed him.

*He shewed himself to them as they strove.* That is, he saw two Israelites quarrelling, [conspexit duos Hebræos rixantes] as the Vulgate Latin interpreter renders it, Exod. ii. 13. Jonathan and Rabbi Solomon say, that these two Hebrews that contended were Dathan and Abiram.

*And he would have set them at one again.* Greek, And he forced them to peace, [συνήλασεν αὐτοὺς εἰς εἰρήνην.] That is, he used all means to reconcile them. "The name of the effect," saith Grotius, "is given to the endeavour;" and the word signifying as it were, "violence," denoteth the earnestness of the agent, as ἀναγκάζειν, "to constrain," Luke xiv. 23; and παραβιάζεσθαι, "to use forceable means," Luke xxiv. 29. See the like expressions, Gen. xix. 3, xxxiii. 11, in the Vulgate Latin 12; Matt. xiv. 22; Mark vi. 45; Gal. ii. 14.

[1] Sac. Hist. lib. i.

*Saying*, &c. He does not cite the very words which Moses, Exod. ii. 13, is said to have spoken to him that did the wrong to his neighbour, but he expresses the sense very well. "For," saith Grotius, "there he is called ὁ πλησίος, 'neighbour,' who is here called ὁ ἀδελφὸς, brother, countryman, descended of the same ancestors."

27. *But he that did his neighbour wrong.* He, in the original Hebrew, is called wicked who has an evil heart and malicious mind. "Equity commandeth," saith Aristotle in his book of the Art of Oratory, "that we make a difference betwixt injuries and faults, as also betwixt faults and misfortunes. Misfortunes are, which can neither be provided against, nor are committed with a malicious mind; faults, which might have been prevented, yet are not done out of malice; but injuries are done both designedly and maliciously."

*Who made thee*, &c. Chrysostom, on 2 Cor. vii. 13, saith of Moses: "Even before he had brought out the people with his hand, he led them by his actions; wherefore that Hebrew was very foolish in that he said to him, Who made thee a ruler and a judge over us? What sayest thou? Thou seest the deeds, and dost thou make controversy of the name? Just as if one that saw a physician cut exactly according to art, and so help a distempered member of the body, and then should say unto him, Who made thee a physician? Who gave thee a power to cut? My art, good man, and thy disease. So, also, his skilfulness made Moses a judge. For to govern is not only dignity, but also an art, and that, indeed, the sublimest of arts." The same master of the church handling this subject on Eph. iii., in the end, saith, "Thy injustice, thy cruelty hath made me a ruler and a judge."

29. *Then fled Moses at this saying.* As much as to say, Moses, understanding by this upbraiding language that it was publicly known that he killed, though justly, the Egyptian that wronged the Hebrew, and fearing what might befall him, by reason thereof, he fled. "The Egyptians," as Grotius observeth, "esteemed the Hebrews as slaves, yea, as beasts, whom they would have every one persuaded to be incapable of injury."

*And was a stranger in the land of Madian.* That is, And he was an exile in the land of Madian. Eusebius maketh mention[1] of two cities of that name. The first is beyond Arabia, towards

[1] In locis.

the south, in the Desert of the Saracens, to the east of the Red Sea: whence they are called Madianæi, and the country, Madianæa. The other is near Arnon and Areopolis, whose ruins are only to be shown now. A learned author under the name of Jerome writes,[1] that Moses was an exile in the latter.

*Where he begat two sons.* As if he had said, Where, after having taken to wife Sephora or Zippora, daughter to Hobab or Jethro, niece to Raguel, he begat two sons of her, Gersom and Eliezer: as Sulpitius Severus expresseth it, book i. Hist. Sac.

30. *And when forty years were expired.* To wit, during his exile at Madian.

*There appeared to him.* To wit, to Moses while he kept the flock of Jethro his father-in-law.

*In the wilderness of Mount Sina.* Where there were excellent pastures. To the south of Judæa are Sinim, Isa. xlix. 12; Sinæans, as the Vulgate interpreter has translated Sini, Gen. x. 17; whence the barren country of Sin, and in it Mount Sinai has its name, Exod. xvi. 1. Moreover it is certain, that the same mountain is called both Horeb and Sina, or Sinai, yet so that towards the east it is properly called Sinai, or Sina, but that part that looks to the west, Horeb.

*An Angel.* Hebrew, Exod. iii. 2, *An angel of Jehovah*, that is, an angel acting in the name of the most high God.

*In a flame of fire in a bush.* Greek, "In a flame of fire of the bush." That is, the species of the flaming fire did show that God came in his ambassador to revenge the injuries the Egyptians had done to his people; but the bush not consumed, was a type of that same people that should be preserved alive amidst all these calamities caused by the wicked.

31. *When Moses saw it.* To wit, the burning bush not consumed.

*He wondered at the sight.* Astonished at the strangeness of this miracle.

*And as he drew near.* To the bush.

*To behold it.* That is, that he might look more nearly into it.

*The voice of the Lord came unto him.* As if he had said, The angel, the messenger of the Lord, spake to him to this purpose. In divers and sundry manners God spake to the fathers, but

[1] In loc. Heb. Act. Apost.

at length, in the last days, he began to speak to us by his Son, Heb. i. 1.

32. *I am the God*, &c. Athanasius says,[1] "But that angel was not the God of Abraham, but God spake in the angel; and it was the angel that was seen, but God spake to him." The author of the Answers to the Orthodox, in Justin Martyr, Quest. 112: "The angels who in God's stead appeared and spoke to men, were called by the name of God himself, as that which spoke to Jacob, and to Moses. Yea, men also are called gods. It is given to both by virtue of the office enjoined them, both to be in the stead, and bear the name of God. But when the office is fulfilled, they are no more called gods, who only obtained that name on the account of some work they were to do."

*The God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.* When God is said to be the God of any, it is to be understood [that God is] a special favourer and bountiful patron of him, as sufficiently appears from that form of the covenant, Lev. xxvi. 12, *I will be your God, and ye shall be my people*, which Paul cites, 2 Cor. vi. 16; and from the peculiar covenant made with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Gen. xvii. 7, 8. Now they had some good things measured out unto them in this life, but mixed with many troubles. For neither had they any settled place of their own, but wandered up and down with their families and flocks, and were also frequently tossed with the injuries of men and fortune. Hence also Jacob called himself a stranger and pilgrim, when he spoke to Pharaoh, which the author to the Hebrews very pertinently insisteth on, ch. xi. 13. It remains, therefore, that God was the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, not only when they lived on earth, but also when God spoke these things to Moses. For, as I have said, nothing had befallen them in this life which could answer the magnificence of so great a name. But, besides, we much more do good to him, if we can, for whose sake we do good to others. God wants not power, and he says that he will bless their posterity for the sake of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; much more, therefore, will he do good to them. But they who are dead are not capable of a benefit, if they are always to continue in the state of death. It follows, therefore, that they are to be restored unto life, as Christ from hence evinced against the Sadducees, Matt. xxii. 32; Mark xii. 27; Luke xx. 38, that he may in a

[1] Orat. 6.

peculiar and special manner be the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, that is, may be beneficial to them. Moreover, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as we have observed on the forecited place of Matthew, do not not signify the soul, which is only a part of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but the person, consisting both of soul and body, to which life and death are properly attributed. But seeing the promises of God are no less certain than things that are now in being, in God's account, who is both willing and powerful to raise them from the dead, they are reckoned as risen already, according to that, Luke xx. 38: *For all live to him.* Origen, book iv. against Celsus, saith, "that the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, joined with the name of God, had so great virtue, that not only were they intermixed by their posterity with their holy prayers, and the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob called upon in driving away evil spirits, but were also made use of by all charmers, and those who dealt in magic."

*Durst not consider.* That is, behold, as it is in the English, or contemplate. For as Grotius observes, "words belonging to the internal and external senses are applied promiscuously to both." In the Hebrew, Exod. iii. 6, it is, *And Moses hid his face, because he was afraid to look upon God.*

33. *Then said the Lord unto him.* That is, the angel sent by God. Philo saith, that God in the promulgation of the decalogue spoke not by himself, but, "filling a certain rational mind with a clear knowledge, which forming the air, and attenuating it as it were in likeness of flaming fire, uttered a distinct voice, as the breath goes through a trumpet."

*Put off*, &c. This, Exod. iii. 5, is declared to have been said to Moses before that God told him by the angel sent by him, that he was the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. See what we have said on Eccles. v. 17.

34. *I have seen, I have seen.* As if he had said, With my eyes intently fixed I have stedfastly looked upon it. God is said to see the affliction, and hear the groans of a people, when he raiseth them up, and refresheth them when they are sorely perplexed and almost spent with grief; as, on the contrary, he is said to shut his eyes, not to hear their cry, to turn his back, when he seemeth to neglect them when they cry. Thus when God is said to descend, saith Calvin, "there is no need that God should move himself locally to bring help to his people; for his hand is stretched out through

heaven and earth; but this is spoken with respect to our senses; for when he did not regard the affliction of his people, to our apprehension he might seem to have been absent, and to have had his care exercised about some other thing in heaven. Now he declareth that the Israelites shall be sensible that he is near them."

*And now I am come*, &c. As if he had said, Go therefore to Amenophis, father to Sethosis, or Ramesis, and Armais, and son to Ramessis Miamun, who succeeded his father, who died in the sixty-seventh year of his reign, in the kingdom of Egypt, nineteen years ago, and show thyself a leader in restoring thy people to their liberty. That the same man whom the Egyptians called Amenophis, father to Sethosis, or Ramessis, and Armais, was by the Greeks called Belus, the father of Egyptus and Danaus, Bishop Usher hath most clearly collected out of Manetho, on the year of the world 1494: "And truly the time assigned to Belus by Thallus the chronographer, 322 years before the destruction of Troy, according to the relation of Theophilus of Antiochia and Lactantius, does exactly jump with the age of our Amenophis. Although the mythologists, confounding Belus the Egyptian and Belus the Assyrian, Ninus's father, do fable that this Belus, who was drowned in the Red Sea, transplanted colonies from Egypt into Babylonia." Thus far the most renowned Usher in the now cited place.

35. *This Moses*, &c. Moses who was appointed by God to be a saviour to the Israelites, is at the first rejected by them, in this typifying Christ, whom at his first coming the greatest part of the Israelites refused to acknowledge. Nor in any other respect is Moses here called λυτρώτης, "a redeemer," but because after many and strange miracles wrought by him in Egypt, when at last the first-born of the Egyptians were slain by the destroying angel, he preserved the people of God by the blood of the Lamb and brought them safe out. "And so," saith Lud. de Dieu "he gave a type of that true price and that true redemption, which believers rejoice to have been purchased for them, by the death of the First-begotten of all the creation, and by the blood of Christ the immaculate Lamb."

*Sent by the hands of the angel.* A Hebraism. That is, giving him a command by an angel.

36. *He brought them out.* He largely publisheth, both the good deeds Moses did for the people, and the honours conferred on him

by God; that so the stubbornness of the people against him might appear the more base, and it might be less to be wondered at, if those who were come of such ungrateful parents were so unnatural and inhuman towards Jesus Christ.

*Shewed wonders and signs in the land of Egypt.* The royal palace of Egypt was at that time Zoan, that is, as the Chaldæan paraphrast interprets it, Isa. xix. 13, Tanis, whence has its name the Tanitic mouth of the Nile, which some call Saïtish, as Strabo testifies, lib. xvii. Asaph testifieth that the miracles were done there by Moses, Psal. lxxviii. 12.

*And in the Red Sea.* The commoner sort of the literate world think that was called so because its waters are red, whereas this sea according to Q. Curtius [1] differs nothing from others in colour; the same in the same place saith, "It had its name from King Erythrus, for which reason the ignorant thought that its waters were red." Agatharcides affirmeth the same in his collections, out of book i.,[2] Of the Red Sea. This Erythrus, from whom they say it had its name, was Esau, who from his redness was called Edom, Gen. xxv. 25. These are of equal signification, *Erythrus* in the Greek, *Edom* in Hebrew, *Ruber* in Latin, *Red* in English, *Rouge* in French. Hence by the Greeks it is called Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, in Latin *Rubrum Mare*, in English *Red Sea*, in French *Mer Rouge;* but in the Holy Scripture it is called יַם סוּף, "the sea full of weeds," because it abounds in sea reits;[3] it runs by the land of Edom, that is, Idumea. In this sea Solomon set out that fleet whereof mention is made in 1 Kings ix. 26.

*In the wilderness forty years.* This time answereth to those years in which Christ, after his offering up himself on the cross for us, which was typified in the paschal sacrifice, did continue to invite the Jews to faith and repentance, by miracles wrought by God through the ministry of his apostles.

37. *This is that Moses,* &c. As if he had said, this very same Moses, Deut. xviii. 15, gave you signs whereby to discern a true prophet, and so he commended Jesus to you in whom those signs do shine much more gloriously than in other prophets. See what we have said above, ch. iii. 22.

38. *Was in the church,* &c. As if he had said, In the assembly and meeting of the people in the wilderness, he was a Truch-man [4]

[1] Lib. viii. cap. 9.
[2] Apud Photium in Bibliotheca, cod. CCL.
[3] [*Reits*, sea or river weeds.]
[4] [*Truch-man*, an interpreter.]

betwixt the angel that spoke to him in Mount Sina, and our fathers who stayed at the bottom of the same mountain. See Exod. xix. "That which is immediately subjoined," saith Beza, "about his conferring with the angel in mount Sina, and receiving the tables of the law, doth manifestly seem to denote a certain special convention of the people, to wit, that history which is mentioned in Exodus, from chap. xix. to xxxv."

*With the angel which spake to him.* In God's name, and by his special appointment. Josephus saith, [1] "Seeing we have received our principal tenets, and the most holy part of our laws from God by angels." The law was given by angels, by the ministry of a Truch-man, to wit, Moses, that it might be of force until the promised Seed should come, Gal. iii. 19. And the writer to the Hebrews prefers the gospel to the law in this, that the gospel was given by Jesus Christ, whereas the law only by angels, Heb. ii. 2. "In which place," saith Grotius, "they are called angels, with a number denoting a multitude, whereas Stephen only said angel, because such is the custom of those visions, that one angel sustains the name and person of God, and the rest are as it were his attendants. See Gen. xviii. 13; Luke ii. 13. Compare 1 Thess. iv. 16, with Matt. xiii. 39, 41, 49. Whence is it, therefore, that the angel who gave out the law saith, (Exod. xx.) "I, Jehovah:" as also other angels who were sent about matters of great concern do speak. Even after the same manner as heralds do proclaim the judge's words, as saith Augustine, 2 Trin. 2, and in like sort they suffer themselves to be addressed; so Moses saith that God, Jehovah, spoke to him in the bush, Exod. iii. 14, and he that spoke called himself אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר, which is an explication of the word יְהוָה. But Stephen saith that the angel of the Lord was seen by Moses in the burning of the bush, and that by the authority of Moses himself, Exod. iii. 2."

*Who received the lively oracles.* That is, he received from God the doctrine of life and salvation, to deliver it to us; nor did he deliver anything to us, but what he was commanded from above.

39. *To whom our fathers would not,* &c. As if he had said, but our fathers, not so much rebellious against Moses as against God himself in his person, "turned their minds to the profane rites of the Egyptians," as Lactantius expresseth it, Instit. lib. iv., c. 10. That the worshipping of beasts obtained in Egypt long ago, and

[1] Antiq. xv. 8.

that it began to be in use before the Israelites went up out of Egypt, is plain from Exod. viii. 26 (in the edition of the Hebrew bible by Athias, ver. 22); where, when Pharaoh or Amenophis, father to Sethosis or Ramessis and Armais, said unto Moses and Aaron, "Go and sacrifice to your God in this land," they answered, that they should sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians, that is, sheep and oxen, which the Egyptians abused to abominable idolatry. For the sacred writers used to call the idols of the Gentiles abominations, as you may see, Deut. vii. 25, xii. 30, 31; 2 Kings xxii. 13; Ezra ix. 1; Isa. xliv. 19; or, the abomination of the Egyptians, that is, a sacrifice which the Egyptians will abhor, who will never suffer those living creatures which they worship, to be killed for an offering; and in this sense the Vulgate and Chaldee interpreters understand it. The Egyptians also erected in their temples the statues of those living creatures which they worshipped when alive. Pomponius Mela, lib. i., cap. 9, saith, "They adore the statues of many living creatures, but much more the living creatures themselves." Strabo, lib. 17, where he speaks of their temple, saith, "But no image, or at least not in the likeness of a man, but that of some beast." And therefore king Mycerinus hid his daughter in the cavity of a wooden ox, covered with gold, to which the Saïtes daily sacrificed by burning all sorts of sweet-smelling things.[1] And Stephanus, de Urbibus, on the word *busiris* saith, "It is commonly reported that Isis buried Osiris there, laying him in a wooden ox, and therefore the city was called Busosiris." "He will have," saith the most famed Bochart,[2] "Osiris, buried there by his mother Isis, to have been shut up in a wooden ox, whence the city was first called Busosiris, and then afterward by contraction Busiris. Therefore that learned man is mistaken, who affirms that the Egyptians worshipped only live animals, not their effigies, and that the images of oxen are nowhere read to have been made use of in their worship. Moreover, that the Israelites, while they were in bondage to the Egyptians, did also serve their gods, Joshua xxiv. 14; Ezekiel xx. 7, 8; xxiii. 3, 8, expressly testify. From whence it seems to follow that the Israelites imitated the customs of the Egyptians, when they worshipped the molten golden calf in the wilderness." To which the words of Stephen, in this and the following verse, have a very near reference, *Their hearts turned back again into*

[1] Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 130.

[2] Hierozoic. p. i. lib. ii. cap. 34.

*Egypt, saying unto Aaron, Make us gods to go before us,* &c., *and they made a golden calf.*" Rightly, therefore, Lactantius saith[1] of the same Israelites: "They turned their minds to the profane rites of the Egyptians. For when Moses their leader went up into the mount, and tarried there forty days, they made an ox's head of gold, which they called Apis, which might go before them for a sign." And Jerome, on Hos. iv. "It seemeth to me, that therefore, both the people of Israel made that calf's head, which they worshipped in the wilderness, and Jeroboam the son of Nebat set up his golden calves, that they might retain that which they had learned in Egypt, in their superstitious worship, to wit, that Apis, and Mnevis were gods, which were worshipped in the shape of oxen," And Augustine, Ps. lxxiii. "The calf which that unfaithful and apostatizing people worshipped, seeking after the gods of the Egyptians." And Basil of Seleucia, Orat. vi. "They worshipped a calf in the wilderness, even as they did in Egypt." By the way, note, that instead of an ox or a calf, Lactantius said, an ox's head, and Jerome, a calf's head, as Tertullian against the Jews, cap. i., "When the ox's head came forth to them." And Cyprian, Of the excellency of patience, "that he might call an ox's head, and an earthly figment the guides of his journey." And Ambrose, Of repentance, lib. i. cap. 8, "casting behind their backs their faith, they worshipped a calf's head." And on Exodus, "The calf's head was made." Also, "But the following things will inform us wherefore the calf's head went out." Also, "Moses brake the tables of the law, and stamped the calf's head." And Optatus, lib. iii. "In the days of Moses the children of Israel worshipped a calf's head." And Jerome, on Hos. vii. "They made a calf's head in the wilderness." And on Amos v. "They formed the gold into the shape of a calf's head." And Augustine, in Ps. lxi. "A calf's head was the body of the wicked." And Isidorus, Orig. lib. viii. cap. xi. where, speaking of the Egyptian Apis, "The Jews made the image of this head to themselves in the wilderness." And the sentence of the fathers of the seventh synod about the use of images, "When they inconsiderately made a calf's head." And Eutychius of Alexandria:[2] "They took their wives' ornaments, and melted them, and there came forth out of them a calf's head." Which will excite the reader's admiration, seeing, if I mistake not, in ten several places of the scripture it is said,

[1] Lib. iv. cap. 10. [2] Hist. lib. i. p. 106.

that the Israelites made and worshipped a calf, and that Moses bruised the calf, but no where is it to be read the head of a calf. Yet there is no reason why any should imagine that this idol, according to the opinion of the ancients, had the head only of a calf, the rest of it resembling a man, such as was Βουκέρων, the feminine representation of Isis in Herodotus. For a head of an ox, or calf, signifies nothing else but an ox, or a calf." So Iliad, Ψ ver. 260, in the plays at Patroclus's funeral, "Achilles, for rewards to the gamesters, caused to be brought out of the ships, horses and mules, and the strong heads of oxen," that is, periphrastically, oxen, as the scholiast observes there. Again, in the hymn on Mercury, Apollo's oxen, taken from him by craft, are thrice called strong heads of oxen. Which Virgil, Æneid. v. 61, 62, imitates thus:

> Alcestes, of the Trojan offspring gives,
> Of's bounty, every ship two heads of beeves;

two heads of beeves, that is, two oxen." Thus far the universally learned Samuel Bochart.

40. *Make us gods to go before us.* No sentence could contain in itself a greater absurdity; seeing they cannot be gods that are made by men; nor could images be said to go before them, which have feet and walk not; yet there is no need of thinking that monster of polytheism to be insinuated by this expression; for the plural is used for the singular, as when the Israelites say of one calf, Exod. xxxii. 4; *These be thy gods, O Israel, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt.* So in the Hebrew original Abraham, who acknowledged one only God, yet said, Gen. xx. 13: *The Gods made me wander from my father's house.* And, Gen. xxxv. 7, Jacob called the place Bethel, because the Gods were there seen by him. And David, Ps. xlix. 2, *Let Israel rejoice in his Makers.* And Solomon, Eccles. xii. 1, *Remember thy Creators.* The Philistines also, though they knew that they worshipped but one God in Israel, yet when they were struck with his terrors, they said, *Who will deliver us out of the hands of these mighty Gods? These are the Gods which smote the Egyptians,* 1 Sam. iv. 8. And therefore Jonathan understood these things as spoken of one God. So likewise Theodoret, Quest. 1, on 1 Kings. Nor is it to be doubted, but the Israelites intended the same in these words, *These are thy gods, O Israel,* which the following words plainly shew, *which brought thee out of the land of Egypt.* By which words

they did not signify that they were delivered by this idol, which they knew to be void of life, and but lately made; but that they might not seem idolators, they would be believed to worship the true God in this idol. Which very thing Aaron had respect to, Exod. xxxii. 5, when he called the feast dedicated to that calf, the feast of Jehovah, as if the worshipping of that calf had been the worshipping of God. That Micah also, who had the molten teraphim, and Jeroboam who made the calves, pretended the same, appears from Judg. xvii. 3, 13; and 1 Kings xii. 28, which yet was but a vain subterfuge, nor did it acquit them from the crime of idolatry before God. That the Israelites so understood these words, "These are thy gods," is evinced by these of Neh. xi. 18. *They made themselves a molten calf, and said, This is thy god which brought thee out of Egypt*, that is, an image or symbol of that only God, who in very deed performed what he promised to our fathers, and delivered thee from the Egyptian bondage with a strong hand, and stretched-out arm.

*For this Moses*, &c. The people took occasion to ask this of Aaron, from Moses' stay on Mount Sina, whence he did not return till forty days were expired, Exod. xxiv. 18, which things, though they are plain in holy writ, Exod. xxxii. 1, yet are strained to a different sense by the Jews. For on the Hebrew words, *And the people saw that Moses tarried*, בּוֹשֵׁשׁ, the Talmudists have it thus,[1] "Do not read בּוֹשֵׁשׁ, tarried, but בָּאוּ שֵׁשׁ, that is, six are come, viz. hours. For when Moses went up to the mount he told the Israelites, I will return at the end of forty days, in the beginning of the six hours, from which the fortieth day beginneth. When therefore these forty days were expired, Satan came to trouble the world, and said unto them, where is Moses your teacher? They answered that he was gone up into the mount. But saith he, the six hours are expired wherein he promised to return; which when they did not value, he added, that Moses was dead. But when they were no more moved at that, he showed them the figure of his coffin; and then they said to Aaron, As for this Moses, the man that brought us out of Egypt, we know not what has befallen him." In Bereschith Rabba, sect. 41, the devil is said to have shown Moses himself hanging between heaven and earth. In Jonathan's paraphrase, they conjectured, that Moses was consumed in the mountain, whereon fire glistered from the face of

[1] Tract. de Sabbat. cap. 9, p. 89, A.

God. Therefore as being now deprived of their leader Moses, they ask visible gods which may go before them. Moreover, if we may give credit to the Tanchuma, fol. 46, those men who asked this were not Israelites, but the forty-thousand men who went up out of Egypt with the Israelites, and the two Egyptian magicians, Jannes and Jambres by name. But these are but foolish inventions to vindicate their ancestors from the crime of idolatry, when none who has not quite lost his senses but may smell out their deceit. For if instead of בּוֹשֵׁשׁ we read בּאוּ שֵׁשׁ, the sentence will be incoherent, nor will these words agree in the least with the following. Besides it supposes, that in Moses' time the days were divided into hours, which is plainly contradictory to all history. For other nations have learned the division of the day into twelve hours, invented by the Babylonians, long after, as we are informed by Herodotus, and others; this especially is to be considered, that if Moses by divine instinct did foretell at what time he would return, he returned at the very moment he appointed, nor was there any reason why their patience should be wearied out by his delays. Lastly. There is nothing more false than that only the strangers, who joined themselves to the Israelites when they came out of Egypt, asked gods from Aaron. For, Exod. xxxii. 1, it is said, the people came together to Aaron; and ver. 3, that all the people brought their ear-rings to him. *For we know not*, say they, *what is become of this Moses who brought us out of Egypt.* But Moses brought only the Israelites properly out of Egypt; the others followed them voluntarily. But also, ver. 8, they are called Israel; ver. 13, The seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; ver. 14, The people of God. Therefore the Levites when they executed vengeance to punish the guilty, did not kill only strangers, but their brethren, sons, friends, neighbours, sparing none that came in their way; because the guilt was universal. With good reason therefore does Stephen upbraid the Jews with this, that their fathers said to Aaron, *Make us gods*, &c.

41. *And they made a calf*, &c. On that very same day in which the people desired that they might have an idol made after the manner of the Egyptian superstition, Aaron, whether overcome with fear, or some other preposterous affection, hearkening to the mad multitude, contrary to the express words of the law, Exod. xx. 23, commanded them all, without respect to sex, to bring their ear-rings, and when they were brought melted them in a vessel fit

for that purpose, and presented the calf that came out of it to the people, built an altar to it, and appointed a solemn feast to be kept the next day, as it is more fully declared, Exod. xxxii. Hence, Deut. ix. 20, it is said, that God was mightily incensed against Aaron, and was about to destroy him, and would certainly have cut him off had not Moses interceded for him.

*And offered sacrifice unto the idol,* &c. The Israelites came together according to Aaron's appointment early next morning, worshipped the calf, and offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings to it, *and the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play,* Exod. xxxii. 6. For they worshipped this idol after the same manner that they did the true God. Except that of all the kinds of sacrifices the sin-offerings were only omitted, which yet they stood most in need of. And how guilty sover they were, yet they thought they had performed their sacred rites aright, and their consciences were benumbed with acting so great wickedness. Feasting and festival plays were appendices of the sacrifices, even in the worship of God. For whereas sacrifices were either burnt-offerings, or sin-offerings, or peace-offerings; in burnt-offerings all the sacrifice was burnt; in sin-offerings a part of it fell to the priest's share, who only feasted on it; in peace-offerings the offerers according to their right retained a certain portion of the sacrifice, that they might call together their friends, if they so thought fit, and be merry with them. For in these feasts the Israelites were commanded to rejoice before the Lord, Deut. xii. 7; xvi. 11, yet not with a light, lascivious, and petulant, but with a pious and moderate joy, conjoined with a praising God's name, as in the presence of the all-seeing God. And that plays were also then used, appears by David's example, whom Michal out at a window spied dancing, and playing, after he had offered sacrifices before the ark, 2 Sam. vi. 16; 1 Chron. xv. 29. But whereas Plato[1] saith, that some dance ἐμμελῶς, with a modest and becoming motion of the body, others πλημμελῶς, immodestly and unseemlily: undoubtedly David's dancing was ἐμμέλεια, modest, and composed, not desultory and light. "But idolaters," saith the most renowned Bochart,[2] "were so bad personators of the faithful in this point, that they did not contain themselves within these bounds. For these sacrificial feastings frequently ended in drunkenness, or lasciviousness, or contention, riots, beatings, and slaughters.

[1] Lib. vii. De Leg.

[2] Hierozoic. p. 1, lib. ii. cap. 34.

Therefore the ancients attribute the first rise of drunkenness to these feasts. And Aristotle[1] saith, that μεθύειν, signifying "to be drunk," was called so in the Greek, because, μετὰ τὸ θύειν, after their sacrifices were performed they drank more liberally. To the same purpose is that which Seleucus writes, that in the same place feasts were called θοίναι, ὅτι διὰ θεοὺς οἰνοῦσθαι δεῖν ὑπελάμβανον, because they "thought it was their duty to drink largely for their gods' sakes;" and θαλίαι, ὅτι θεῶν χάριν ἠλίζοντο, &c., because "they were congregated or came together for the sake of their gods." For otherwise, it was not of ancient custom to set before any, wine or delicacies in any abundance, unless it were done for the gods. To which that gradation of Epicharmus has respect, "After sacrifice was feasting, after feasting tippling, which to me seems very delightful, from tippling proceeded frowardness, of frowardness came railing, of railing strife, from strife condemnation, whence fetters, stocks, and fines." Where the Israelites are said, after they had sacrificed, to have sat down to eat and drink and rose up to play, the Rabbies by the word "play," understand mostly these things. For besides these indecent plays, the Tanchuma will have two others to be designed in this place, to wit, whoring and shedding of blood. The former he proves from Gen. xxxix. 14, 17, where Potiphar's wife accuseth Joseph, as if he had come לְצַחֵק to play with her, or to mock her, that is, to force her. The latter out of 2 Sam. ii. 14, where Abner saith to Joab, speaking of the twelve Benjamites, who were joined with the like number of David's soldiers, *Let the young men now arise,* יְשַׂחֲקוּ, *and play before us: play,* that is, let them fight and fall on to one another's overthrow. As if that most fierce engagement in which twelve pair of young men destroyed one another, was looked on by the spectators only as a play, as the encounterings of fencers at Rome. Whence the ancient Hebrews in Kimchi say, "Because the people made no account of the blood of the young men, as if it had been a play, therefore they were punished, and fell by the sword; to wit, in that battle which is mentioned, v. 17. But I see no reason why the Israelites should be believed to have played thus after their worshipping of the calf, that is, to have fallen either into uncleanness, or into murdering one another. I confess, that these have oftentimes been the consequents of drunkenness; but I find that the Israelites did eat and drink, yet not to drunkenness. But, Deut. xxix. 5, 6,

[1] Apud Athen. lib. ii.

they are said to have had no wine nor strong drink, that is, inebriating liquor, all the forty years they were in the wilderness. Therefore, whereas in the Greek version, Exod. xxxii. 18, Moses, coming down from the mount, saith to his servant Joshua, *φωνὴν ἐξαρχόντων οἶνου ἐγὼ ἀκούω*, 'I hear the voice of them that are singing through wine,' that *οἶνου*, whencesoever it has crept in, is a mere gloss, of which neither the Hebrew text nor other versions have the least appearance of. For in the Hebrew it is only קוֹל עַנּוֹת, 'I hear the voice of them that sing,' or, that sing one after another. I think therefore that some of the Greeks have rendered it, *φωνὴν ἐξαρχόντων*, others, *φωνὴν ὀνοὺθ*, for which the half-learned have written *οἶνου*, and thus made up of both, *φωνὴν ἐξαρχόντων οἶνου*. So that the *ὀνοὺθ* might be instead of the Hebrew עֻנּוֹת, as it might be read before the vowels were written down, and be written by them who were ignorant of the force of the Hebraism. For it was not unusual with them merely to copy words that were unknown to them. The Samaritan renders it 'the voice of sinners,' as also the Syriac, for instead of עַנּוֹת they read it עֲוֹנוֹת. Truly therefore the Greek scholiast, the Samaritan, 'I hear the voice of sins.' Nor ought that to have been suspected by Drusius." Thus far the most exquisite in all kind of sciences, Samuel Bochart.

42. *Then God turned.* That is, God turned his back on them. "It is an active verb for a reciprocal," saith Grotius.

*And gave them up to worship the host of heaven.* That is, he gave them over to their lusts, that instead of one idol they might invent innumerable.

*As it is written in the book of the prophets.* To wit, the twelve lesser, which were written and bound up in one book or volume, by reason of their brevity.

*Have ye,* &c. See our literal explanation on Amos v. 25.

43. *Yea, ye took up.* &c. That which is here declared, that the Israelites carried about with them in waggons and litters the images of Moloch or Remphan, was done by them when they yet abode in the wilderness, to wit, when they, enticed by the wiles of the Moabitish and Midianitish women, worshipped Baalpeor, or Belphegor, the god of the Moabites, and as I think, of the Midianites also, and offered sacrifices to it, Num. xxv.; Ps. cvi. For Baal and Moloch, or Melech, or Molech, are names common to all the gods, which were distinguished and differenced by epithets, as you may see by comparing 2 Kings xviii. 34, and Isa. xxxvi. 19, with Isa. xxxvii.

18. Whence also the god of the Ammonites, who is commonly called Moloch, is called Baal, Jer. xix. 5, and elsewhere; neither will ye almost find the name Moloch used peculiarly for the god of the Ammonites in the scripture, but where the naming or mentioning of the Ammonites either goes before, or immediately follows; wherefore it is called Melcom or Milcom, with a pronoun relative to the Ammonites. Yet Theodoret, on Ps. cv. hath observed, that Baal or Bel is in a special manner attributed to Saturn. Suidas, on Beelphegor, saith, "Beel is Saturn, but Phegor is the place where he was worshipped, whence he is called Beelphegor." Servius, on Æneid. 1, saith, "In the Carthaginian tongue, Baal signifies God; but by the Assyrians, Bel, by a certain use peculiar to sacred things, is called both Saturn and Sol." Also with the most learned, Moloch is the same with Saturn, especially in these words of Amos, cited here by Stephen, where the same is called in the Hebrew original כִּיּוּן, and in the Seventy interpreters ῥαιφὰν. He upbraids them therefore, because they carried about with them the tent and image of the star Saturn, which they wrought for themselves, that they might worship them as types and figures of their God, when yet the true God will not be worshipped by a visible or external shape. See our literal explication, Amos v. 26, on which place Grotius speaketh thus: "As Moloch is an Ammonitish name, so Kiun is an Arabic or Persian, which Abenezra saith is also written Kivan, and that it is with them the same as Saturn. The same is called by the Syrians Remmon, 2 Kings v. 18, to wit, because it was in the highest orb, as Tacitus speaketh. As Kiun was also pronounced Kivan, so Remmon was also Remvan; which the Greeks, having lost the use of the letter F, wrote ῥαμφὰν or ῥεμφὰν, which is their true writing. But Moloch, Kiun, or Kivan, are called gods, because although they were referred to the same star, yet they had divers names, habit, and worship, as the Moon and Diana with the Greeks. Many men also were related to the same star among different nations: and Moloch was of the shape of a king, Kivan of a star."

*Beyond Babylon.* In the Hebrew, Amos v. 27, *And I will remove you beyond Damascus.* See our literal explication there. The most renowned Samuel Petit, renders the place of Amos otherwise: "And

I will carry you away farther than Damascus is carried away." Now the inhabitants of Damascus, Amos i. 5, 2 Kings xvi. 9, were carried over into Kir, which Samuel Petit himself doubts not but was in Babylonia, and he suspects that that city of Babylonia, which by Ptolemy in the fourth table of Asia is called Chiriphe, had its name hence: but the prophet does foretell that the Israelites should be carried farther than those of Damascus were, for these were carried into Babylonia; but they should be carried farther than into Babylonia, to wit, into Media. See 2 Kings xvii. 6.

44. *Tabernacle*, &c. He aggravates the wickedness of the Jews, because, when they had both the place and manner of divine worship prescribed by God, both in the wilderness and in the promised land, they hankered after external figures with a preposterous abuse of the true and pure worship. As if he had said, The tabernacle indeed was set up by Moses at the command of God, which should bring men back to its heavenly archtype, which Moses saw in the mount. Excellently saith Calvin, "For God does not regard external rites, but precisely as they are symbols of heavenly verity."

*Of witness.* They who translate אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, "Tabernacle of the congregation," may be reconciled with them who render it, "Tabernacle of the witness or covenant," provided it be so called, not so much in respect of the people that came together there to God, as in respect to God himself, who was there made known to the people by the declaration of his testimonies and covenant, and as it were met there with them. "For so," saith Lud. de Dieu, "God himself explaineth it, Exod. xxix. 42, where there is a reason given why it is called אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, because אִוָּעֵד לָכֶם שָׁמָּה לְדַבֵּר אֵלֶיךָ שָׁם, *I will meet you in that place, that I may speak with you there.* You see that God meets that he may speak, and indeed, that I may speak with thee, to wit, Moses, which might be done without any assembling of the people. Nor was this name given to the tabernacle from הָאוּלָם, 'a porch,' which was the place the people met in, but from הַדְּבִיר, 'the most holy place,' where was the ark, where God met with Moses and the high priest; whence Exod. xxv. 22, וְנוֹעַדְתִּי, *and I will meet thee there*, to wit, at the ark, and I will speak with thee at the propitiatory." Thus far De Dieu. Hence the ark is called, the ark of the covenant, and the ark of the testimony, or, הָעֵדוּת 'the testimony' absolutely. The tabernacle is

also called, Num. ix. 15; xvii. 23, "the tabernacle of the testimony, or witness." Also Exod. xxviii. 21; and Numb. i. 50, "the dwelling place of the testimony."

*According to the fashion that he had seen.* That Moses is said to have seen a "fashion," the Spirit of God thereby signifies, that we must not devise forms at our pleasure, but that all our senses should be fixed on the form shown by God, that all our religion may be formed according to it. "The godly," saith Calvin excellently, according as he usually doth, "receive nothing but from the word of God; but others think anything lawful they have a mind for, and so they make their own pleasure a law, when yet God approves of nothing but what he himself has appointed." I pray God that all that are called by the name of Christians may judge by this most sound rule in their controversies about religion, and then all their judgments and opinions would easily agree.

45. *Bringing in.* That is, as the Arabic excellently translates it, "When they had received that," to wit, from those who died in the wilderness. So Matt. xxvi. 27, *Taking the cup*, that is, when he had taken the cup, or as it is rendered, Mark iv. 23, *having taken the cup.* See what we have said on Matt. xxvii. 48.

*Our fathers with Jesus.* That is, with Joshua, who at the death of Moses succeeded in the government, appointed by God, and who in name and deeds performed by him typified Jesus Christ.

*Into the possession of the Gentiles.* Greek, ἐν τῇ κατασχέσει τῶν ἐθνῶν; which the Syriac renders periphrastically, "into the land which God gave them for a possession among the Gentiles." Greek interpreters promiscuously use ἐν, "in," with the ablative, and εἰς, "into," with the accusative, because the Hebrews put the letter בְּ for both the prepositions, but Κατάσχεσις is used for ירשה, אחוזה, and נחלה, and rather signifies the land itself which is obtained and possessed, than the taking or acquisition of it.

*Whom God drove out before the face of our fathers.* That is, at the arriving of our fathers. This manner of speaking is to be seen, Deut. ii. 21, 22, and often elsewhere: which the authors of the inscription that Procopius Gazensis saw in Africa have imitated, "We are those who fled from before the face," that is, at the coming "of Jesus the robber, the son of Nave," that is, Nun.

*Even in the days of David.* In the Greek, as also the English, it is, "unto the days of David." As if he had said, and so the

tabernacle of the testimony was flittering and wandering until God declared to David by an angel from heaven, that he had chosen the threshing-floor of Arauna, or Ornan, the Jebusite for a sure and fixed seat for the ark, 1 Chron. xxi.

46. *Who found*, &c. As if he had said, This David obtained by the singular favour of God, that when he was earnestly desiring to build a settled seat for the ark of the Lord, God showed him the place chosen for that purpose.

*And desired.* Earnestly and most desirously: binding himself with a vow, Ps. cxxxii. 3, that he would in no time or place lay aside that solicitous care in searching out the place appointed by God for building the temple, until he found it by divine revelation. This vow of David's was according to to the will of God, in regard God had promised, Deut. xii. 5, that he would choose to himself a certain place, which should be the sanctuary seat, and had added a command that the people should frequent what place soever he should make choice of, and there perform the external rites he had prescribed in the law. But the vows of the papists are partly ridiculous and foolish, or even impossible, and partly manifestly impious, because they are made out of an opinion of merit, and to created things; therefore David's vow does in nothing justify them.

*Tabernacle.* That is, a habitation, or place, not designed for a short abode, as a tent, or tabernacle properly so called is, but like a house intended for a certain and settled dwelling, Ps. cxxxii. 5: *Until I find out a place for the Lord, an habitation for the mighty God of Jacob.* That is, until I find the place appointed by God for building the temple, in which, as in a certain seat, the ark of God may be put, to the end that he who delivered Jacob powerfully from dangers, may be worshipped with a constant reverence, by the people frequenting his worship according to his institution, Deut. xii. It is expressed משכנות, *tabernacles* in the plural number, because the temple had three division, Ps. lxviii. 26.

47. *Solomon*, &c. As if he had said, The place designed for the building the temple, was indeed shown to David, but not he, but his son Solomon was permitted to build that temple, 1 Kings v.

48. *But the Most High*, &c. As if he had said, But Solomon, while he was a building the temple, knew very well that God could not be included in such a structure, as he expressly prefaced in that solemn prayer which he made, 1 Kings viii. 27,

which afterwards is more clearly expressed, Isa. lxvi. 1, 2, to wit, that all things are filled with the majesty of God, and that they wrong him who dream that he is tied to a temple made with hands, and after a childish manner think that they deserve at his hands by doing of things of nothing.

49. *The heaven*, &c. As much as to say, I, who am everywhere, and govern all things, have no need of a temple made by men; I called indeed the temple, which Solomon set about at my command, *my rest*, Ps. cxxxii. 14, not that my glory is comprehended in its narrow bounds, or that I delight in a visible and fading building, but that I would have that to be the sign and pledge of my presence to those who worship me with an inward purity of heart, and a sincere affection of godliness. See our literal explication, Matt. v. 34, on these words, *Is God's throne.*

50. *Hath not*, &c. The meaning is, All things which ye behold anywhere are made by me, and are therefore at my disposal. "By these words," saith Calvin, "the prophet intimateth, that God has no need either of gold or costly ornament of the temple, or sacrifices. Whence it follows that his true worship does not consist in ceremonies. For he desires none of those things which we offer to him on their own account, but only that he may exercise us in the study of godliness. Which argument is more largely handled, Ps. l. For although it is a shameful stupidity to think to feed God with sacrifices, yet if hypocrites were not overwhelmed therein, they would not lay so great a stress on trivial things. Whatsoever worship is not performed in spirit, is unsavoury in God's account. Therefore let us know that God seeketh us, not our possessions, which we obtain from him only at his pleasure, by his free grace. And hence it is also manifest, what a vast difference there is betwixt true religion, and the carnal inventions of men."

51. *Of a stiff neck.* In the Greek, as also the English, "stiff-necked:" that is, untractable and refractory. See our literal explication on Hosea iv. 16. "Seeing Stephen does not give direct answers to the heads of his accusation, I willingly am of their mind," saith Calvin, "who think that he would have spoken more, had not his discourse been tumultuously interrupted. For we know what a consistory of judges he had. Wherefore it is no wonder if they forced him to hold his peace, with their tumultuous noise and mad outcries. And we also see that of purpose he used

long circumlocutions, that he might lenify them as wild beasts. But it is very probable that their rage was stirred up when he showed them that they had grievously corrupted the law, that their temple was polluted with superstitions, and that there was nothing that remained pure among them, by reason that they, resting in bare types, did not worship God spiritually; because they did not refer their ceremonies to the heavenly type. But although Stephen did not immediately go about to vindicate himself, but did endeavour by degrees to soften their fierce spirits; yet he spoke very pertinently to purge himself of the crime they impeached him for. These were the two principal heads of his accusation: that he had spoken blasphemy against God and his temple; that he had endeavoured to abrogate the law. Stephen, that he might dissolve these calumnies, beginning his discourse from the calling of Abraham, showeth that the Jews had no advantage of the Gentiles by nature, by proper right, or by merits for their works; but only by free gift, to wit, because God had adopted them in the person of Abraham. It makes likewise very much for him, that the covenant of salvation was made with Abraham before there was a temple, ceremonies, or circumcision itself; which things the Jews so much gloried in, that they thought there could be no true worship performed to God, no holiness without them. He afterwards declared how wonderful and manifold the goodness of God had been towards Abraham's race, and on the other hand how wickedly and perversely they had rejected the grace of God, as much as lay in them. Whence it plainly appears that it cannot be ascribed to their merits that they are reckoned the people of God, but only because God of his own good pleasure chose an unworthy people to himself, and did not cease to do good to them, though ungrateful. By this means their high and proud spirits might have been subdued, and reduced to humility, that being stripped of their foolish pride they were puffed up with, they might come to the Mediator. Thirdly, he showed that an angel was *præses* in giving out the law, and that Moses did so discharge his office, that he said other prophets should arise after him: yet of whom of necessity there was to be some chief and prince, who should put an end to all their prophecies and predictions, and bring them to a full accomplishment. Whence it is collected that they were not at all Moses' disciples, who did reject that doctrine that was promised, and held forth in the law,

together with its author. Finally, he shows that all the old worship which was prescribed by Moses, was not to be accounted of for itself, but ought rather to be referred to another end, because it was made with respect to a heavenly archtype: but that the Jews were corrupt interpreters of the law, in that they took every thing in a carnal and earthly sense. Hence it is evinced that there was no wrong done to the temple or law, because Christ is brought in as the end and verity of both. But seeing the state of the case did especially depend upon this point: that the worship of God did not properly consist of sacrifices and outward things, and that all rites did nothing else but shadow out Christ, it was Stephen's purpose to insist chiefly on this point, if the Jews would have permitted it; but when he came to the main point, they were highly enraged, and would not give audience any further, he could not make application of what was spoken, and instead of an epilogue, he was forced to conclude with a bitter rebuke."

*Uncircumcised in hearts and ears.* As if he had said, Whose hearts are full of vicious affections, and whose ears are shut and obdurate to all sound doctrine. The Jews are in the same manner upbraided, Lev. xxvi. 41; Jer. vi. 10, ix. 26.

*Ye always resist the Holy Ghost.* In the Greek it is, "Ye fall down cross its way." That is, ye stubbornly despise the Holy Ghost speaking in the prophets, and you set yourselves in opposition to his admonitions, as those do who stop one in his journey. This is קרי הלך to walk across one's way, Lev. xxvi. 22, 23, 24, 40, 41. Stephen seems to have had respect to Isaiah lxiii. 10. With this agreeth that sharp upbraiding of Jer. vii. 24, &c. Ezek. xx. from ver. 5 to the end of the chapter. Nor is the promiscuous multitude only accused of rebellion before God, but the priests, princes, and prophets are upbraided with the same crime, Jer. ii. 8; v. 31; vi. 13; viii. 10; x. 20, 21; xxii. 21, 22; xxiii. 1, 2, 9, 11—31; xxxii. 30, 32; Ezek. viii. 12; xxii. 25; Hosea iv. 1; Micah iii. 5, &c. Zeph. iii. 1; Zech. vii. 11; Mal. ii. 8, 11; iii. 7.

*As your fathers did, so do ye.* As if he had said, you children have succeeded your fathers in the same wickedness.

52. *Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted?* Excellently Lactantius,[1] "Prophets were therefore sent by God, both that they might be setters forth of his majesty, and chastisers of men's wickedness. But the precepts of justice are unpleasant

[1] Instit. i. 4.

to the vicious and evil livers. Therefore they, who were both accused of sin, and forbid to do it, put them to death, after they had most cruelly tormented them. 1 Kings xix. 10, Elias complaineth thus, *They have slain thy prophets with the sword, and I, even I only am left,* to wit of all those who came to the knowledge of Ahab's court, *and they seek my life to take it away.* Neh. ix. 26, *They slew thy prophets which testified against them, to turn them to thee.* See Matt. v. 12; xxi. 35; xxiii. 31, 33; Luke vi. 23; xiii. 34; Heb. xi. 37.

*And they killed.* To wit, your fathers, degenerated from the piety of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

*Which shewed before of the coming of the Just One.* That is, the messengers that were sent before the face of Christ that was to be born, "who," as Drusius expresseth it, "is here in a peculiar manner called the Just One; possibly, because he was innocent, when he was put to death. For צַדִּיק is a law term, signifying a supposed guilty person that is yet innocent; to which is opposed רָשָׁע, *ὑποδίκα*, a person that is accused as guilty, and is so indeed, as in that place of David, Psa. cix. 7, בְּהִשָּׁפְטוֹ יֵצֵא רָשָׁע, *when he shall be judged,* that is, when he shall contend in judgment, *let him be condemned.*"

*Of whom ye,* &c. As if he had said, but ye with a combination of wickedness did most wickedly conspire against Christ himself, the author of righteousness and salvation, nor left ye any means unattempted to bring about his death. See above, ch. iii. 13.

53. *By the disposition of angels.* Greek, "at the appointment of angels," that is, angels in the name of God ordaining and enjoining the observation of the law. So the law is said to have been ordained by angels, Gal. iii. 19. And, Heb. ii. 2, it is called the word spoken by angels. And although the law was given principally by one angel sustaining the name and person of God, yet because this was done in a stately manner, many troops of angels having attended him as apparitors, the promulgation of the law in Mount Sina is rightly ascribed to angels.

54. *They were cut to the heart.* As if he had said, they were enraged with a mad fury, and that unruly and head-strong fury against Stephen broke forth into a gnashing of teeth, as a vehement and violent fire does into a flame. See what we have said above, ch. v. 33.

55. *But he being,* &c. As much as to say, but Stephen armed

with an invincible power of the Spirit, lift up his eyes to heaven, and straight saw a certain resplendency representing the Divine Majesty, and Jesus triumphing in that flesh in which he was abased.

56. *I see the heavens opened.* The opening of the heavens is a sign previous to visions, Ezek. i. 1. Some of the Hebrews will have nothing else signified by the opening of the heavens, but that any thing is done, or showed by a heavenly power. But the pagans thought that the heaven was also opened by heavenly portents. Livy, lib. xvii. saith, "That the heavens were divided as it were with a great gaping: and that a great light shined out where it was open." And on that of Virgil,[1] "I see heavens part asunder in the middle," Minellius saith, "That it was divided and opened with a great chasma, or gaping.' Servius:[2] "Among other prodigies, heaven was said to have parted asunder."

*And the Son of man,* &c. A Hebraism, as if he had said, I see that man Christ Jesus, whom, as despised and the lowest of men, you think destroyed by death, enjoy the government of all things in heaven. Christ appears to Stephen not sitting, but standing on the right hand of God, that he may thereby signify that he is ready to afford him help in that conflict of his for his name. Yet in most other places the phrase of sitting on the right hand, or right hands of God is used, as more fitting to signify the glorious state of Christ, to wit, that majesty and power of ruling all things, which he obtained after his ascension into heaven, before which all must stand and be judged. Augustine saith, that Christ is said to sit, as a judge; and to stand, as our advocate with the Father.

57. *Then they cried out with a loud voice,* &c. As if he had said, Those of the multitude who were standing by, when they heard this declaration of Christ's glory, breaking out with a horrible noise, as if it had been intolerable blasphemy, they shut their ears, either by putting their fingers therein, or the flap of the ear, I mean, that lowest, and soft part of the ear which the Greeks call λοβὸς, from λαμβάνειν, "to take," because the ancients pulled the ear on that part, that they might give any a caution; hence the poet,[3]

"Then Phœbus, thus
Nipping my ear, advised."

The Hebrews call this part in a sheep בָּדֶל, Amos iii. 12; in a man תְּנוּךְ, Exod. xxix. 20, and frequently in Leviticus; and אַלְיָה, tail,

[1] Æneid. ix. ver. 20. [2] In Augural. lib. [3] Virg. Ecl. vi. ver. 3, 4.

in the writings of the Rabbins. Humanists call the flap of the ear, *lana, lanna,* or *lamna:* the ancient glossary, *lana,* λοβὸς ὠτίου: the glossary of St. Benedict, Lannæ, λοβοί: Philoxenus's Lexicon, λοβὸς ὠτίου, *lamna.* Of the flap of the ear the Talmud[1] speaketh thus, "Wherefore is the whole ear hard, but the flap soft? That if any hear an immodest word, he may bow his flap, so as to shut his ear." In the same place, speaking of the pointed figure of the fingers, "Wherefore is there in men's fingers a point like to that of a key? That if any hear an indecent word, he may put his fingers into his ears."

*And ran upon him with one accord.* As if from a judgment of zeal, which, while the commonwealth retained its liberty, they according to the law used against the authors of idolatry, who openly, in the view of many, had given themselves to it. These were presently, without any respite to be stoned, Deut. xiii. 9, 10. "But," saith Grotius, "these men sinned two manner of ways in this particular; first, against the law, which even while that was a free commonwealth, would not have that popular judgment practised, save only upon the authors of idolatry, which Stephen was not; and then against the Romans, who had taken away from them all right in matters of life and death. And the boldness of those men whom Josephus calls zealots increasing daily, both incensed the Romans, and was the occasion of the destruction both of their city and temple." See the same Grotius on the now cited place of Deuteronomy, and book 10th of the Right of War and Peace, chap. 20, Num. 5, 9.

58. *And cast him out of the city, and stoned him.* That is, and after they had cast him out of the city, they stoned him as a blasphemous person. Rabbi Moses de Kotzi[2] doth thus describe the ceremony of stoning by tradition: "The wise men say that a man used to be stoned naked, but not so a woman; that their clothes used to be pulled off at four cubits distance from the place where they were stoned, their secret parts being only covered before. The place of stoning was twice the height of a man, to which place he that was to be stoned went up with his hands bound. Then one of the witnesses beating him upon the loins, threw him headlong upon the earth. By which, if he was not killed, the witnesses lifted up a stone that was set there; it was just so much as two men could carry, which one of the witnesses

[1] In Tract. כתובות, fol. 5, 2. [2] Præcept. Jubente, 99.

rolled down upon him with violence. And if there was life still left in him, all the people stoned him." Talmud Hieros. fol. 23, 1, Babyl. Sanhed. fol. 42, 2, "The place of stoning was without the council house, according to that of Lev. xxiv. 14, 'Carry out the blasphemous person without the camp.' Tradition. The place of stoning was without the three camps. Glossary. The court was the camp of divine presence, the mountain of the temple, the camp of the Levites: Jerusalem, the camp of the Israelites." R. Moses Maimonides, in the treatise of the Edifice of the temple, c. 7, n. 7, saith, "There were three sorts of camps in the wilderness, that of the Israelites, which was divided into four partitions; that of the Levites, of which mention is made Num. i. 50, *And shall encamp round about the tabernacle;* and that of God, without the gate of the court, in the tabernacle of the covenant." And in reference to these afterwards; "that space which lay betwixt the gate of Jerusalem and the mountain of the temple, answered to the camp of the Israelites; the space betwixt the gate of the mountain of the temple and the gate of the court, which was the same that was called Nicanor's gate, answered to that of the Levites: and the space that was about the gate of the court, represented the camp of God." My brother Lewis Du Veil, in his most elegant Latin translation of the same Maimonides on the treatise of the manner of going up to the temple, c. 3, num. 2, hath most learnedly noted: "That that is true, we may learn from the apostle, who in the last chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, ver. 11, 12, 13, speaketh thus: *For the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest for sin, are burned without the camp. Wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate. Let us go forth therefore unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach.*"

*And the witnesses.* To wit, that they might be in readiness to cast the first stone, according as the law enjoined, Deut. xvii. 7, "Although therefore," saith Beza, "all these things were done tumultuously, and that not without violation of the governor of the province's authority, yet they would seem to do nothing but what the law of God enjoined them. Josephus, Antiq. xx. 8, declareth that while Albinus Festus's successor governed Judea, Ananias the high priest with the like boldness caused James, the brother of the Lord, to be stoned; on the account of which wickedness the priesthood was taken from him, and conferred on one

Jesus." Excellent is that of Calvin, on the now cited place of Deuteronomy: "Not without reason would God have the guilty die by their hands, by whose testimony they were condemned. Executioners were not made use of among the people of ancient times, that in punishing the wicked there might be a greater sense of religion, modesty, and reverence. But God especially committed this charge to the witnesses, because the tongue of a great many is precipitant, not to say blabbing, so that they would make no scruple to kill one with their words, whom they durst not so much as touch with their finger. It was therefore an excellent expedient for restraining this lightness, not to receive the testimony of any, unless his hand were ready to execute judgment."

*Their clothes.* To wit, their upper or outer garments. Greek, *τὰ ἱμάτια.* Lud. de Dieu, on John xiii. 4, saith, "Although *τὸ ἱμάτιον* in the singular number signifieth sometimes a cloak, yet *τὰ ἱμάτια* in the plural number, is not, that I know of, used to signify one cloak. Nor is there any fear of their being naked. For seeing in those hot countries they made use of most fine stuff, they put on several garments one upon another, that the force of the sunbeams might not easily penetrate them, which yet they easily put off, when they had occasion so to do. Next to the body was כתונת, 'the shirt;' above it מכנסים, 'the breeches;' over it אסטלא, 'the robe,' a garment that hung down to the a kle; to which was added מנור, 'the girdle,' wherewith they girded it, that it might not hinder them in their walking; above all these was, מעיל or מרטוט, 'the cloak.' Suppose then that our Lord laid aside his cloak and robe, it is rightly expressed in the plural number, *τὰ ἱμάτια,* 'his clothes,' and yet he was not naked. But also our Lord is rightly said to have been naked by a phrase usual among the Eastern nations, where he is said to be naked who hath put off his robe, although at the same time he hath both his shirt, or inner coat, and breeches on him. Thus King Saul sang naked before Samuel, 1 Sam. xix. 24. Thus Peter was naked in the boat, John xxi. 7, who therefore is said to have put on *ἐπενδύτην,* not certainly his innermost garment or shirt, but, as its name intimates, that which was put on above the other, to wit, his robe, which, as we said, was made fast about them with the girdle; whence it is also said, *τὸν ἐπενδύτην διεζώσατο,* 'he girded his upper coat.'"

*Young man.* Saul, who is here called *νεανίας,* "a young man,"

was, according to Chrysostom, upwards of thirty years of age when he kept the clothes of the witnesses that were laid down at his feet. And truly, a little after, when he was converted to the faith of Christ, he is called by Ananias, ἀνὴρ, "a man," ch. ix. 13. Nor is it likely the high priest would have conferred so much power on a young man, when he was yet under tutors, against the Christians. See the same ch. ix. 2; and Paul himself below, ch. xxvi. 4, testifieth that he spent all his youthful years among the Jews before his conversion. Estius on the Epistle of Philemon, saith, "That Saul the persecutor was called a youth, or rather a young man, νεανίαν, from the age of youth, which reaches to the thirty-fifth year, or as others say, even to the fortieth." Cicero, when he pleaded Sextus Roscius's cause, calls himself a young man, when yet at that time, according to Gellius,[1] he was twenty-seven years of age. Antonius, bishop of Grass, in France, in the life of Paul, writeth that he was thirty-three years of age when he persecuted the church of Christ. From that time to the eleventh year of the reign of Nero, when Paul in bonds wrote the Epistle to Philemon, by Onesimus his servant, according to bishop Usher's chronology, were thirty years; and therefore, Paul, then above the age of sixty, does rightly call himself Paul the aged, seeing as we have noted on Joel i. 2, he who was sixty years old, was called an old man by the Hebrews.

*Whose name was Saul.* This Hebrew, born of the Hebrews, descended of the tribe of Benjamin, born at Tarsus in Cilicia (which city, that it was then famous for the study of philosophic and liberal sciences, is confirmed by the authority of Strabo)[2], by sect a Pharisee, and the son of a Pharisee, did at this time apply himself to the study of the law in the synagogue of the Cilicians at Jerusalem, and frequented the school of Gamaliel, a doctor of the greatest repute among the Pharisees; being a strict observer of the law of God, as also of the traditions of their fathers. See below, ch. xxi. 39; xxii. 3; xxiii. 6—34; xxvi. 4, 5. 2 Cor. xi. 22. Gal. i. 14. Phil. iii. 5, 6.

59. *And they stoned Stephen, calling.* To wit, upon the Lord Jesus, as is plain by the subsequent words. The most learned Curcellæus saith,[3] "There is no small weight in these words of Christ, John xiv. 13, 14: *Whatsoever ye shall ask*: and, *If ye shall ask anything in my name, I will do it.* For he could not hear

[1] Lib. xv. cap. 28. [2] Lib. xiv. [3] Institut. lib. v. cap. 21, num. 21.

the prayers of his servants, and grant what they ask, if he had no power. Hence it appears that that, *If ye ask anything in my name*, is to be understood of prayers immediately directed to him; as if he had said, If ye ask anything of me, relying on my power and promise. Otherwise there is no question but we may, yea, it is our bounden duty to direct our prayers to God the Father, in the name of Jesus Christ, as we are taught, John xvi. 23. But of such prayers it is not spoken in this place. Therefore also Stephen made no scruple to call upon Him, even while he was a dying, saying, *Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.* Where they ridiculously shift, who will have the word Jesu to be of the genitive case; as if Stephen had not directed his prayers to Jesus himself, but to God the Father, who is the Lord of Jesus. For, besides that Jesus Christ in the writings of the New Testament is always denoted by the name of Lord, to distinguish him from God the Father, even the use of the Greek tongue doth not permit that in that phrase, Κύριε Ἰησοῦ, the latter word Ἰησοῦ should be of the genitive case; for then it must have had an article prefixed to it, and been expressed τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, to distinguish the person of Jesus from God the Father; otherwise there is no person skilful in that language, who can take that phrase otherwise than in the vocative case, as Rev. xxii. 20."

60. *And he kneeled down.* As was usual in fervent prayers, especially in dangers.

*Lord*, &c. "The blessed Stephen," saith Ambrose,[1] "by his faith did not seek Christ upon earth, but viewed him standing on the right hand of God: there he found him where he sought him with devotion of mind. But Stephen not only sees Christ in heaven, but toucheth him also by his martyrdom. For he toucheth the Lord while he prayeth for his enemies, and as it were holding him with his faith, he saith, *Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.* Understand therefore how great glory there is in true devotion. Mary Magdalene, John xx. 17, though standing near our Lord, does not touch him: Stephen, while upon earth, toucheth Christ in heaven; she seeth not a present Christ among the angels: Stephen among the Jews beholdeth his Lord while absent."

*Lay not.* Greek, στήσῃς. "Verbally rendered," saith Grotius, "it is 'weigh not.'" So Ezra viii. 25—32; Job xxviii. 15; Jer. xxxii. 9, 10; Zech. xi. 12. This verb ἱστάναι, "to account, or

[1] Ser. 56, De Tempore.

appoint," is instead of the Hebrew שָׁקַל, which, 1 Kings xx. 39, is translated τίειν, 'to weigh;' Exod. xxii. 17, ἀποτίειν, 'to render;' Isa. lv. 2, τιμᾶσθαι, 'to weigh.' Anciently money was heavy brass, which used first to be weighed, and then paid. Thence σταθμὸς, in Greek, a weight, in Latin, *libripens*, *impendia*, *expensæ*, *pendere*, *pensiones*, and the like. But because in balancing accounts, that which I charge another with, does discharge me as much as if I had weighed it, that is, paid it, hence it is that ἱστάσθαι, signifies 'to charge.' And by reason of the similitude which sins have to money-debts, as he is said to "pay punishments" who suffers them, so he is said 'to charge,' or 'impute,' who will exact them, 'not to impute,' who will not exact them. But in this place, charge not, or *lay not*, imports thus much, Do not make so great an account of this sin, as to block up their way to conversion, even as in that saying of Christ, Luke xxiii. 34."

*He fell asleep.* That is, he died.

*In the Lord.* That is, For the Lord, or for Christ's cause. The Hebrews do so use בְּ. *In the Lord*, is not in the Greek text.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

1. *Saul*, &c. Being about to speak of the persecution of the church of Jerusalem, forthwith he mentioneth Saul, who was the principal cause of that persecution, therewithal declaring upon what account he was induced to persecute the faithful members of Christ who lived at Jerusalem, viz., because he did consent to the death of Stephen, or rather, because he was, as the Greek text hath it, συνευδοκῶν, "delighted together:" that is, as a zealous Pharisee, together with the stoners of Stephen, he was delighted at his death, of which in the foregoing chapter. So that truly, after he once tasted the blood of the faithful, he thirsted more insatiably after the same, and was the more provoked to lay his hands on them.

*At that time.* That is, about that time.

*In the church.* That is, against the church.

*All.* Who had embraced the faith of Christ, and consisted of some thousands.

*Were scattered abroad throughout the countries of Judea and Samaria.* That is, through the towns and villages of Samaria, strictly so called. Some of these believers so scattered abroad, not long after went unto Damascus, below chap. ix. 19, 25, among whom was Ananias, a religious man according to the law, and having a testimony of all the Jews that dwelt thereabouts; below, chap. xxii. 12. Some went unto Rome itself peradventure, and among these Andronicus and Junius, kinsmen of Saul the persecutor, and who before him embraced the faith of Christ, Rom. xvi. 7. Some finally went even unto Phœnice, Cyprus, and Antioch, preaching the word of the Lord unto the Jews only, below, chap. xi. 19, to those, viz., that were scattered abroad in those places among the nations, James i. 1; 1 Pet. i. 1.

*Except the apostles.* Who stayed at Jerusalem, that with an invincible constancy they might there profess themselves to be the witnesses and preachers, by the special appointment of God, of those things which they did assuredly know by hearing and seeing of Christ, the Saviour of mankind.

2. *They took care,* &c.[1] As if he should have said, The devout men took care of Stephen's burial together, and did witness both by words and great store of tears, how grievously and bitterly they took his death, who did in no ways deserve it at their hand. Which, notwithstanding, it is not once to be doubted but that they did do it moderately enough, seeing they were well acquainted with the precepts of Christ, which among other things also did forbid immoderate grief. See 1 Thess. iv. 13.

3. *Saul,* &c. Luke returneth again to describe the persecution of the faithful of the church of Jerusalem, as if he should have said, In so great outrageousness of the bloody Jews against the church of Christ, Saul did more waste it than the rest: for having received power from the Sanhedrim, not only when the saints were put to death by him did he give his voice against them, but also he, entering into every house, and hailing thence both men and women, did bind them and commit them into prison, and did beat them often through all synagogues, and so for fear he forced some to blaspheme by denying Christ; he persecuted others, constant in the faith, to death. So cruel and furious is the vehemency of the zeal which is not according to knowledge. See below,

[1] [Geneva version: *Then certeyne men fearing God caried Steuen amongs them to be buried.* Rheims: *And deuout men tooke order for Steuens funeral.*]

ch. ix. 13, 21, xxii. 4, 5, 19, xxvi. 9, 10, 11; Gal. i. 13, 23; Phil. iii. 6; 1 Tim. i. 13.

4. *Therefore they that were scattered abroad.* For the persecution raised at Jerusalem.

*Passed over.* That is, travelled over divers places.

*Preaching the word of God.* That is, Preaching and declaring wherever they came the doctrine of Christ, confirmed by his and his apostles' miracles. Which manner of preaching of the gospel is granted to any Christian that is well catechized in the Christian doctrine; yea, rather charity, which we owe to others estranged from it, and the love of spreading the glory of God, requireth the self-same from every Christian.

5. *Philip.* He, who above, ch. vi. 5, is reckoned the second in the register of deacons, and below, ch. xxi. 8, is called an evangelist.

*Going down unto the city of Samaria.* That is to say, Coming down into Sebaste, which commonly was called Samaria, or, if we credit famous Lightfoot's conjectures, into Sychem, which at that time was the metropolitan, or mother city of all Samaria. See what we have spoken of Samaria above, ch. i. 6.

*Did preach Christ unto them.* That is, did bring tidings of the comfortable gospel of Christ to the inhabitants of that city.

6. *And the people gave heed*, &c. As if he should have said, A great multitude of men and women, with one accord did consent unto the doctrine preached by Philip, having heard the miracles which elsewhere he had wrought; and having seen those which he did work, while they did see him.

7. *Many*, &c. As if he should have said, Because many possessed with evil spirits were released from their tyranny, the devils themselves showing that they were thrust out of the possessed against their will, and very many others that had palsies, or lame hands or feet, were healed.

8. *And there was great joy in that city.* Both for the benefit of the cures, and for the grace of the gospel.

9. *But there was a certain man called Simon.* By surname Githeus, from Gitta, a village of Samaria, where he was born.

*Which before time.* That is, before Philip the deacon had come down from Jerusalem to Samaria.

*Was in the city.* Of which the former verse makes mention.

*A sorcerer.* That is, working such effects by diabolical art,

which he could not work, neither by a divine, nor natural power.

*Seducing the nation of Samaria.* As if he should have said, And by this means it came to pass that he enchanted and bewitched the nation of the Samaritans.

*Giving out that himself was some great one.* That is, loftily boasting. The scholiast of Horace upon the first epistle of the second book: "Like a conjurer, let him promise to do great things."

10. *To whom they all gave heed from the least to the greatest.* That is, All for the most part believed his enchantments, not only the Samaritans of the baser and poorer sort, but also of the more worthy and higher sort. There is no respect here had, by the words of the *least* and *greatest*, to age, but unto the state or condition, as Deut. i. 17; Ps. cxv. 13.

*Saying*, &c. As if he should say, That they were so fully persuaded that Simon himself was that power of God, which every nation worships as the highest. "Simon did say," says Irenæus, in his first book, ch. xx., "That he was the highest power, that is, he who is Father above all things."

11. *And to him they had regard.* As if he should say, Simon had so great authority among the Samaritans.

*By his sorceries.* That is, by his magic bewitchings.

*Had bewitched.* That is, had driven them unto madness. Satan can work so much by his instruments upon the minds of men, when God permits him.

12. *But when they believed.* To wit, the Samaritans, being delivered from their madness.

*Preaching the things*, &c. That is, to him preaching that most blessed heavenly state, which by the grace of God, through the merits of Jesus Christ, they were about to obtain, who did most steadfastly believe the promises of the same Christ, and did most constantly obey his precepts. Luke above, ver. 5, did more briefly express the sum of the gospel *by the preaching of Christ;* here more fully, *by the preaching of the kingdom of God, and of the name of Jesus Christ;* but the sense in both places is the same; for Christ brings us back, reconciles, restores us into favour with God: afterwards regenerates us by his Spirit; that Satan being overthrown, God may reign in us, and that we, being renewed unto spiritual righteousness, and dead unto the world, may live a

heavenly life in the earth, and at length may obtain eternal blessedness in the heavens.

*They were baptized.* That is, they were dipped in the water, according to Christ's command, Mark xvi. 16.

*Both men and women.* Who, viz., did profess themselves to have embraced the Christian religion; but not infants, who seeing they do not at all understand the gospel preached, they cannot consent unto it, that is, they cannot believe. See what we have said above, ch. ii, 38, 41, and what we shall say below, ver. 37, 38.

13. *Then Simon.* That man in times past so perverse, and notoriously wicked.

*Himself believed also.* The doctrine of the gospel preached by Philip, to wit, with a temporary faith, if those things be true which the fathers have written concerning the same Simon. See Mark iv. 17; Luke viii. 13.

*And when he was baptized.* That is, and when he had professed his faith publicly, by being dipped in the water, according to Christ's commandment.

*He joined himself to Philip.* That is, he departed not from Philip's side, and gave heed both continually and daily to his preaching.

*Beholding the signs and miracles which were done.* That is, The miracles which were wrought by Philip through the power of God, for the confirmation of the doctrine preached by him.

*Being amazed, wondered.* Such truly is the force of the Spirit of God, that it can move the hearts of the most wicked men, and draw them into amazement.

14. *When.* As if he should have said, But the apostles, who, as is said above, ver. 1, tarried at Jerusalem when the rest of the faithful were scattered abroad from thence, being informed of the conversion of the Samaritans unto the faith of Christ, sent Peter and John out of their company unto Samaria, by consent of them all, to the end that they might lay their hands on the Samaritans, and so might give them the singular gifts of the Holy Spirit, as appears by that which follows. By the way, hence we may see that Peter was not a monarch of the apostolical college and of the whole church, for the ambassador uses not to be greater and higher than he that sends him. I do reckon the pope will not suffer himself to be sent in embassy anywhere by his cardinals and fellow bishops.

15. *Who.* Peter, to wit, and John.

*When they were come.* Viz., unto the city of Samaria, in which Philip the deacon had preached the gospel of Christ.

*Prayed for them.* The Samaritans. Hence we may see that the power of bestowing the gifts of the Holy Spirit is not in the power of the apostles, but in the power of God and Christ; for otherwise there was no need of Peter and John's prayers.

*That they might receive the Holy Ghost.* That is, those excellent gifts of the Holy Spirit, with which everywhere they who believed in Christ, and not only they who were to preach the gospel and govern the church, were then wonderfully gifted; that having obtained the gift of prophesying, and speaking with divers tongues, they might confirm the doctrine of Christ, which then was new. See above, ch. ii. 38, and below, x. 44—46, xix. 6; 1 Cor. xii. 8—10.

16. *For as yet he was not come upon any of them.* As if he should say, None of these Samaritans as yet was gifted with those excellent gifts, in which God did present, or show, as it were, the visible presence of his Spirit for a time to his church, that he might confirm the authority of his gospel for ever, and that he might witness that his Spirit is to be alway the chief ruler, and director of believers.

*Were baptized,* &c. As if he should say, Although they had now believed in Christ, and had professed publicly their faith, by being baptized with water, according to the commandment of Christ. And hence we may see that those extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit, are neither tied to the sincerity of faith, nor to baptism of water lawfully received, so far are they from being conferred by any virtue of faith or baptism of water.

17. *Then laid they their hands.* Many nations had a custom, but chiefly the Jews, to point out the most excellent things, not only with words, but also with visible signs; hence ariseth laying on of hands, when by prayers the divine power was invocated for another. See Gen. xlviii. 14, 15; Matt. ix. 18, xix. 13, 14; Mark x. 16; but God was wont to give this honour to his prophets, as to bestow his gifts upon others, at the prayers of the prophets, of which prayers imposition of hands was a symbol. So Moses was commanded to lay his hands on Joshua, that he by that means might receive the larger gifts of the Spirit at the prayers of Moses, Numb. xxvii. 18, 20. Naaman, the Syrian prince, con-

joineth calling on God's name with laying on of hands, 2 Kings v. 11. Even so, God, being called upon by his apostles, did bestow those singular gifts at the laying on of their hands, with which he gifted the most part of the faithful, at the beginning of the preaching of the gospel, that they might be a most sure sign of the faith of those that were converted to Christ, and an undoubted token of the verity of the doctrine of Christ. "Let us remember," excellently says Calvin, "that the laying on of hands was the instrument of God, at which time he did give the visible graces of his Spirit to his own. But since the church hath been deprived of such riches, to wit, the visible graces of his Spirit, laying on of hands would be but an unprofitable image."

*And they received the Holy Ghost.* As if he should have said, God did give unto the Samaritans converted unto Christ, and dipped into the water, according to his precept, at the prayers of the apostles, and their laying on of hands, the graces of his Spirit, wherewith they, being gifted, could prophesy, and do wonders, such as are mentioned, 1 Cor. xii.

18. *And when he had seen,* &c. That is, when Simon Magus perceived that those on whom the apostles laid their hands, did as surely receive the gifts of the Spirit, as if those gifts had been in the apostles' power, he will buy this power of giving those peculiar graces unto them on whom he should lay his hands. And indeed, because Simon did reckon the heavenly gift such a vile thing, that he first under the gospel did attempt to purchase it with money, the giving and receiving of an earthly price for an holy and spiritual thing is called simony, q. 1, c. 1, *Presbyter;* and q. 1, c. 3, *Altare.* The canonists, notwithstanding, out of the opinion of the schoolmen, called the buyers of holy things, simoniacal persons, the sellers Giezites, from Giezi, Heb. Gehazi, the servant of Elisha the prophet, 2 Kings v. 20, &c.

19. *Give me,* &c. He will not buy the gifts of the Holy Spirit, that were commonly given to believers, but that gift wherewith the apostles alone being endued, to wit, that at their prayers those gifts were bestowed on whomsoever they laid their hands, as if that could be prized that is dearer than all gold.

20. *Thy money,* &c. As if he should say, Thy money offered to such a wicked use, being as it were altogether infected and polluted with the contagion of the wickedness of thy profane mind, abide with thee, and perish with thee in the same destruction,

which unless thou repent, shall surely befall thee; seeing that thou dost so contemptuously undervalue the Spirit of God, that thou wouldest set to wicked sale his inestimable gift, given freely unto us to illustrate the glory of Christ by our ministry. Bede, and the common gloss have observed, that the words of Peter are not so much a curse as a threatening, or threatening prediction; but that it is conditionally to be understood in respect of the person of Simon, is made manifest below, ver. 22.

21. *Thou hast*, &c. As if he should say, For neither as thou art now disposed, canst thou be either partaker or sharer of that eternal life which we do preach. Peter gives an account why he thundered forth a detestable prediction against Simon Magus so confidently, even now in the foregoing verse.

*In this preaching.* To wit, preached by us, of obtaining eternal life, by a sincere and lively faith in Christ. This preaching is everywhere called the gospel and the word of God. See above, ver. 4, 14.

*For thy heart is not right in the sight of God.* Many who are not of a right heart in the sight of God, oftentimes excel in gifts of the Spirit, for neither did the perverseness, and hypocrisy of Judas the traitor hinder him to excel in the gifts of the Spirit: neither had the gifts of the Spirit been so corrupted, 1 Cor. xiv. if their hearts had been sincere and estranged from all wickedness. Peter, therefore, doth not give the cause why Simon could not partake of the gifts of the Spirit, as those do suppose, who do think by the name of preaching, to be signified, by a Hebraism, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, but why he could not obtain eternal life, promised in the gospel and preached by the apostles; because truly God is the searcher of hearts, who doth not save any, except the upright in heart; he seeth his heart to be wicked and perverse, and by crooked windings or backgoings, to have turned from the sincerity of the gospel.

22. *Repent therefore*, &c. As if he should have said, If therefore thou wilt be acquitted of that punishment which doth abide for thee, repent forthwith of thy wickedness; and, having cast off all perverseness and hypocrisy, do thou uprightly and sincerely direct all thy actions up to the rule of the doctrine of the gospel preached by us, and come to God, to entreat him that he would mercifully pardon that guileful device of thy heart, to abuse wickedly the gifts of his Spirit into profane gain. The particle,

*if perhaps*, in this place does not signify any doubt, but how much difficulty and labour Simon is to have in entreating against the punishment of his wicked deed. "Therefore," says Calvin, "Peter does not strike a fear upon Simon that might subvert or overthrow this confidence of obtaining in his heart, or trouble him; but causing unto him an undoubted hope, if he should beg it humbly, and from his heart, only for the cause of stirring up of ferventness, putteth him in remembrance that pardon for the heinousness of his offence was difficult. It is necessary that our faith shine before us in going to God: even that it may be the mother of praying."

23. *In the gall of bitterness*, &c. Gr. εἰς γὰρ χολὴν πικρίας. The interpreters take εἰς, *in*, with the accusative case for ἐν, *in*, with the ablative, which elsewhere I confess is necessary, whether it may be so here, I doubt; for εἰς may contain a Hebraism, as it is, Isa. i. 31, *and the strong shall be* לְנִעֹרֶת, *for tow*, that is, as tow, *and his work for a spark*, that is, as a spark. 2 Cor. vi. 18, *I shall be unto you* εἰς πατέρα, *for a father*, that is, as a father, *and ye shall be unto me*, εἰς υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας, *for sons and daughters*, that is, sons and daughters. So in this place, Peter saith more emphatically, that Simon is the pure gall of bitterness, and a mere bond of iniquity, than to be in the gall of bitterness, and bond or band of iniquity. As if he should say, I see thee wholly, how great soever thou art, to abound with sins, and to be entangled almost with inextricable vices. In the words of Peter there are two very elegant metaphors, whereof the first seems to be taken out of Deut. xxix. 18; xxxii. 32; the other to be taken out of Isa. lviii. 6. See the like phrases, 2 Tim. ii. 26; Heb. xii. 15.

24. *Pray ye to the Lord for me.* Simon did feel that he was such within as Peter did say. Therefore when he did judge Peter, and his fellow John, to be signally honoured with grace and love by our Lord Jesus, and to be dear unto God, he will use their prayer as they did use Job's prayer, who did injure him.

*That none of these things which ye have spoken come upon me.* To wit, above, ver. 20; but although one only, Peter, is said to have spoken, John, notwithstanding, did approve of his words, or spoke like to them. "Now," says Calvin, "a question doth arise, what is to be thought of Simon? The scripture leads us no further than unto a conjecture, that he yielded unto the rebuke, and being touched with the sense of his sin, fearing the judgment of God,

afterward betakes himself unto the mercy of God, and commendeth himself to the prayers of the church. These being certainly not the least signs of penitence, therefore we may conjecture he did repent; and that, notwithstanding the ancients with one consent do write that he was a grievous adversary to Peter afterward, and that he did dispute with him three days at Rome. There is a written disputation that goes under the name of Clement, but which contains such unpleasant dotings, that it is a wonder Christian ears can bear it. Afterwards Augustine showeth unto Januarius, that there were divers and fabulous reports spread about that matter in his time at Rome: wherefore there is nothing safer than having renounced uncertain opinions, simply to embrace what is written in the scripture. What elsewhere we have read written concerning Simon, may deservedly be suspected for many causes." Epiphanius counteth it among the heresies of Simon, that he said the Old Testament was from an evil god; when, notwithstanding, a great many other fathers do write of him, that he did say that he himself was the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and in the person of the Father he did give the law to the Jews upon Mount Sinai, and that he did appear in the person of the Son in the time of Tiberius, and did suffer an imaginary death, and that afterwards he did descend in fiery tongues in the person of the Holy Spirit upon the apostles; and that Christ neither did come, nor did suffer any thing by the Jews. Again, others do write that he did teach that he himself was God, and descended in Samaria as the Father, and did appear to the Jews as the Son, in the rest of the nations he did descend as the Holy Ghost. Ignatius unto the Trallians, calls Simon Magus, "The first begotten son of the serpent, that was the prince of wickedness." Justin Martyr telleth us [1] that at Rome, in the island of Æsculapius in the river of Tiber, betwixt the two bridges, that the same Simon was rewarded with a statue and altar, having this inscription in Latin letters, "To Simon, the holy God." Photius says, in his Epist. xxxviii., that Simon did carry an image of Christ about him. Epiphanius, Hær. 21, telleth us, that he brought in the worship of images. We may see in Bede, in the fifth book of his History of England, chap. xxviii., that a certain kind of shaving was invented by him. From him, says Augustine,[2] did come the

[1] Apol. 2, ad Antoninum. [2] Hær. 39.

Angelics, so called, because they did worship angels religiously, whom the apostle rebukes, Col. ii. 18. The which heresy, Theodoret writes, that it did arise in the apostles' time, on the cited place of the blessed Paul: and that the thirtieth canon of the council of Laodicea, is to be understood concerning the same heretics, who in the same country of Asia did build oratories to St. Michael the archangel. From him did also proceed the Collyridians, who did worship Christ's mother with divine honour; witness Epiphanius. Simon did say that how many soever believed in him, do not fear the threats of the law, but act whatsoever they act as freemen: for they were not to obtain salvation by good works, but by grace. Theodoret declareth that of him in his Abridgment of Heresies. It is manifest, out of Origen's book against Celsus, that the disciples of Simon did deny Jesus to be the Son of God; and the same Origen, in his sixth book against Celsus, testifies unto us that he did shun martyrdom, and without difference worship idols. The same Simon is reported to have had for a companion of his crimes one Selene, that is, the moon, or as others call her Helen, a harlot of Tyre, whom after he had taken out of the custom-house, that he might commend her to all, as Numa Pompilius his Egeria, he did call her goddess, the Holy Spirit, and divine good pleasure, and did affirm that of her he did beget angels, and that the Trojan war in time past was undertaken for her, who is that lost sheep whom he came down from heaven for to seek, having disguised his form of god, that the angels that are over every one of the heavens might not know him. Let the belief of all these, and other things, which are reported of Simon, lie upon the authors' credit.

25. *And they indeed.* To wit, Peter and John, who were lately sent thither from Jerusalem.

*Testified, and preached the word of God.* As if he should say, After they had faithfully uttered what things they had learned from our Lord Christ, that the sure authority of the gospel doctrine, preached by Philip the deacon, might continue, and flourish, as a well-witnessed and authentical verity. Hence it is manifest therefore, that not only Peter and John came down to Samaria, from Jerusalem, that they might enrich the Samaritans with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, but also that they might establish them in the faith they had even now received, by approving of the doctrine of Philip.

*And preached the gospel in many villages of the Samaritans.* As if he should say, they preached the gospel in many of the towns of the Samaritans, through which they went.

26. *And the angel,* &c. Our Lord Jesus in his unparalleled clemency and mercy useth one of the heavenly messengers, who now are subject unto him since he is gone into heaven, 1 Pet. iii. 22, to communicate that knowledge that bringeth salvation unto men.

*Spake unto Philip.* Viz., the deacon, and now an evangelist, who in Samaria first preached the doctrine of Christ, and declared it to be true by miracles.

*Arise,* &c. The angel neither speaking any thing rashly, nor concealing any thing craftily, expresseth unto Philip whither he must go to try his obedience, and shows him what Christ would have him to do; with what profit, and unto what end, he hideth, and keepeth it secret from him. So whosoever, committing their success unto the Lord, shall go wherever he shall command him, he shall find by experience that it shall happily prosper, whatever thing he undertaketh at his command.

*Unto Gaza.* Gaza is the pure Hebrew word, עַזָּה. This name signifies "fortified, strong." The Seventy are wont to pronounce the letter *ain* by *g*, and sometimes they omit it, whence this city of Phœnicia is called Aza, or Gaza; in ancient times it did belong to the Philistines, afterwards to the Jews, for Judah took it, Judges i. 18; afterwards in process of time Alexander the Great did vanquish it, in besieging of which, he received a wound upon his shoulders, as Arrian doth write in his second book concerning Alexander's expedition, whose situation he doth thus describe, "Gaza is distant from the sea about twenty furlongs, and there is a sandy and deep ascent unto it; and the sea that is near the city is slimy; the city itself is great, and situated on a high hill, and compassed about with a strong wall, it is the utmost inhabited to one that goeth out of Phœnicia unto Egypt, at the entrance of the wilderness." At length Alexander king of the Jews, who also was called Janneus, Aristobolus's brother, did demolish it: witness Josephus.[1] Samson, or Simson, of old a judge of the Hebrews, did make this city famous by his noble acts, and death, Judges xvi.; from the situation of this, the new Gaza is little distant, as we learn by Justus the Hebrew, and Dominicus Marius Niger in his

[1] Antiq. lib. iii. c. 21.

fourth book. It was called Constantia, in the time of Constantine the Great, from Constantia his sister, as Eusebius informeth us in his Chronicle. From this town were Procopius Gazæus, also Timotheus Gazæus, who, as Suidas writes, flourished under Anastasius the emperor. Nathan, the false prophet, did arise in it about the year of our Lord, 1666, who together with his false Messiah, Sebathai Sebi, did deceive the foolish Jews, not those whom

"Titan of better clay their inwards framed."

Men, and more especially fools, do believe what things they do desire.

*This is desert.* A Hebraism, that is, which is desert. Some refer this unto the way, which in respect of the other way, leading to the same place, was not very common, for the wilderness of Mount Casius lies between them, as Strabo does write in his sixteenth book. Others rather unto the ancient Gaza, which remained desert from Jamneius, or Jannæus's time. Strabo, who flourished about the time of Tiberius, beareth witness that this Gaza was not inhabited about the time Luke wrote these things; in that, notwithstanding, he was deceived, that he did think it remained desert from the time of Alexander the Great.

27. *And he arose, and went,* &c. As if he should say, Being about to obey the voice of the angel, he went presently whither he was commanded.

*And behold a man of Ethiopia.* That is, a certain man of Ethiopia, which, as it is thought, is now called the kingdom of the Abyssines. Zaga Zabo, bishop of the Abyssines, in Damianus à Goes; "We," says he, "did receive baptism almost before all other Christians, from the eunuch of Candace, Queen of Ethiopia, whose name was Indich." Irenæus in his third book, ch. xxi. Eusebius in his second book, ch. i. Hierome on Isaiah li. testify, that the seeds of the gospel were sown by this eunuch among the Ethiopians, and were afterward adorned, and further spread abroad among them by Matthew the Evangelist.

*An eunuch.* This Greek name is derived from εὐνὴ, which signifies a bed, and ἔχω, I have: which signifies a groom of the chamber.

*Powerful.* Greek, δυνάστης. Cicero uses this Greek word in his eleventh Philippic oration, Seneca in his Thyeste. It is

rendered by Tertullian in his book concerning the resurrection of the flesh, *potentator*, that is, a man of great authority.

*Under Candace queen of the Ethiopians.* Pliny, in his sixth book of his Natural History, ch. xxix. saith that Candace was a common name to all the queens of Ethiopia, which had passed unto them for many years since. Ludovicus de Dieu says, "That this queen's proper name was called Lacasa; the catalogue of the Ethiopian kings doth affirm it, which, Marianus Reatinus doth subjoin unto his grammar; although little credit be to be given unto that catalogue, because it is stuffed very full of fables and trifles."

*Who had the charge of all her treasures.* The Greek word is thought to be a Persian word, signifying riches, moveable goods, a common treasure, and whatsoever thing we possess. That eunuch then was the keeper of the queen's money, or principal officer of the queen's treasure, which is wont to be called treasurer. The Ethiopian interpreter addeth, that this eunuch was governor of the city of Gaza.

*And had come to Jerusalem for to worship.* This eunuch had come to sacrifice to the true God in the place consecrated by the law to his solemn worship, being either a Jew by descent, although born in Ethiopia, or a proselyte; for Cornelius was the first-fruits of the uncircumcision, below, ch. x.

28. *Was returning*, &c. As if he should say, And after the sacrifices were ended at Jerusalem, he was incontinently carried home again into Ethiopia in his own chariot, and was reading in the prophet Isaiah. It is an excellent pattern of godliness, that so great a potentate did, even while he was in his journey, earnestly read the holy scriptures, although he was but a layman, as they commonly call it, and a politician. For the reading of the holy scriptures is even commended to those, as Deut. xvii. 18, 19; Josh. i. 8.

29. *Said*, &c. As if he should say, But the Holy Spirit did speak these words to Philip within, Go near unto the chariot, and join thyself to its side.

30. *Running thither*, &c. As if he should say, Philip having cheerfully obeyed the Holy Spirit, took an opportunity to reveal the truth of the gospel unto him from the reading, whereunto he did see the potentate earnestly bent.

31. *And he said, How can I*, &c. He speaks not of any testimony of scripture, nor of things commanded and forbidden, which

are clear of themselves, and that stand in need of no explication; but concerning mystical prophecy, which, as long as it is not accomplished, or although the accomplishment be come, being unknown to any, is not well enough understood; but if an interpretation be made upon the present accomplishment, by a man filled with the Spirit of God, the prophecy is very easy to be understood, even as this potentate did know, and perceive presently the meaning of a very abstruse, and hard place, once only proposed to him by Philip. "Nobly," says Augustin,[1] "and profitably hath the Holy Spirit so modified the holy scriptures, that by very clear places he might satiate our hunger, by the more dark rub off our contempt or loathings; there is almost nothing searched out of these obscurities, which may not be found plainly spoken elsewhere." Therefore in explaining the obscurer places of scripture, the more learned are to be consulted, who are much exercised in them; but they are so to be consulted, that they may make plain and evident to those that consult them, that their exposition is the genuine and true sense of the scripture, but not impose upon their consulters to yield to their interpretation before they have tried it. For here Philip did inquire of the potentate whether he did sufficiently understand what he did read; we must therefore know, and understand those things which we are to believe.

*And he desired Philip,* &c. Great was the modesty and humanity of this potentate; who not only suffered himself patiently to be inquired at by a stranger, and mean born man, as it did appear, but did confess his ignorance frankly and freely, did invite him most lovingly to come up into his chariot to sit, and confer with him, and to expound unto him the scriptures that he did not understand.

32. *The place.* Greek περιοχὴ, from the Greek verb περιέχω, which signifies "I contain," or embrace, that is, a sentence comprehended, or shut up in a full compass and measure of words, which they commonly call a section or period.

*As a sheep,* &c. The meekness and patience of Christ, when he was to die to purge away the sins of men, is described by the similitude of a sheep and a lamb, taking patiently their shearing, and slaughter itself, when the most part of other creatures, while

[1] Doct. Christ. ii. 6.

they are led unto the slaughter, use to cry out, and wrestle against it.

*So opened he not his mouth.* As if he should say, So he who, John xviii. 6, overthrew a great band of men by one word, when he was taken and led away, was bound, beaten with whips, nailed to the cross, did not threateningly complain, or speak angry words. See 1 Pet. ii. 23.

33. *In his humility* (Greek, "in his humiliation") *his judgment was taken away.* That is, by a base and detestable wrong, or oppression of him, he was condemned, and delivered up unto death against all law. The Hebrew has, Isa. liii. 8, *He was taken from straining and judgment.* That is, after he was bound by the wicked sedition of the Jews, and condemned by the sacrilegious voice of Pilate, he was lifted up upon the cross. See John iii. 14, xii. 32, 34, the Seventy seem to have read in the Hebrew text, בעצרו לקח משפטו, instead of מֵעֹצֶר וּמִמִּשְׁפָּט לָקַח

*His generation,* &c. As if he should say, Who can express in words the wickedness of that generation wherein he lived, who did proceed to so great a wickedness and ungodliness, that undeservedly they did condemn him to a cruel death? "These words, and such like, are frequently among the Jews," says Lightfoot.[1] "In the generation in which the son of David shall come, the synagogue shall be a brothel-house, Galilee shall be destroyed, and Gablan shall be wasted. The wisdom of the scribes shall be corrupted, good and merciful men shall fail, and truth itself shall cease, and the face of that generation shall be as the face of dogs. R. Levi says: That the son of David shall not come, but in a generation in which there shall be impudent faces, and which shall deserve destruction. R. Jannay says: When ye shall see generation after generation, railing and blaspheming, then look for the feet, that is, the coming of the King Messiah." Thus far famous Lightfoot.

*For his life shall be taken from the earth.* Hebrew, Isa. liii. 8, *Because he was cut off from the land of the living.* That is, They slew him most undeservedly with an untimely and violent death. See Daniel ix. 26; Luke xxiii. 31. These words of the prophecy are put in the preterperfect tense, whereas they have the signification of the future. The Jews did understand excellently well from these things prophesied here by Isaiah, that the Messiah

[1] Midras Schir. fol. 173.

should suffer pains, straits, reproaches, finally a violent death, and shameful punishment; but when they did know for a certainty by the predictions of the prophets, that both the highest honours were prepared for him, and the greatest power, and a kingdom also, they do suppose they can marvellously well prevent the discrepancy of the prophecies, in which the two comings of Christ are predicted—the one humble and base, the other noble and honourable—if so be they can devise two Messiahs: the one to come of that ancient Joseph, the son of Jacob by Rachel, which Messiah should be called Nehemias, the son of Uziel; that this should be unhappy, and appointed to miseries and a bloody death, in fighting against the wicked and monstrous Armillus: that the other should spring of the lineage of David, and be the restorer of the kingdom of Israel, and abound in glory, and gather the dispersed in Israel, by whom the Messiah son of Joseph, is to be raised unto life again, after that God hath discomfited Armillus, and all Armillus's army, with fire and brimstone sent down from heaven. "This doctrine," says Huetius, eminent in every sort of learning, "is delivered in the sixth book of the second part of the Talmud, which is concerning the feast of tabernacles, ch. v.; and the same doctrine is found both in Bereschith Rabba, and in R. David Kimchi, and Aben Ezra, and R. Makir in his Aromatic Powder, and in a great many later rabbins. In which it is marvellous to think how great an error hath deceived them. There is prophesied one Messiah's two comings; they look for two Messiahs' one coming. Of the which fiction of theirs, if any shall inquire a reason from them, they will either give none or a foolish one. They allege these words of Isa. xxxii. 20, *Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters, that send forth thither the feet of the ox and the ass.* They expound that sowing to be money given to the poor, which who shall give, they say he is worthy of Elias, and both the Messiahs. They think Elias is noted by the word *immittentes,* "that send forth," because it is written in Mal. iv. 5, *Behold I will send Elias the prophet.* They expound the foot of the ox to be the Messiah that is to come of Joseph, because Moses being near to death spake of Joseph, Deut. xxxiii. 17, *His beauty is like the firstling of his bullock:* but they expound the ass to be the Messiah son of David, whom Zecharias did predict, ch. ix. 9, that he should be poor, and carried on a she-ass. It is tedious to me to rehearse those trifles, which notwithstanding are to be found

in Bereschith Rabba; but it is profitable to know the madness of this sect thoroughly. The later rabbins should have been ashamed to grow wise; therefore they follow the authority of their fathers. But even this very self-same testimony out of Bereschith Rabba reproveth their error, where they acknowledge, out of the Prophecy of Zecharias, that the Messiah son of David is to be poor. Therefore Aben Ezra acknowledges himself to be ignorant whether Zecharias doth point at the Messiah there or not: whereas Saadias Gaon will have Zecharias to prophesy there of that Messias, to whom Daniel, ch. vii. 14, promiseth power, riches, and an eternal kingdom. The other place of Moses, in which Joseph is compared unto a firstling bullock, and which they do attribute unto the Messiah son of Joseph, is applied unto the Messiah son of David, in the Midrash Thehillim. The Jews say that Jacob did prophesy these words concerning the Messiah son of David, Gen. xlix. 10: "Till he come who is to be sent, and he shall be the expectation of the nations." And these words, Ps. lxxii. 17: *And all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed in him; all nations shall magnify him.* But in the book of the Talmud, entitled Sanhedrim, the same testimonies are referred unto that Messiah, of whom Isaiah spake, ch. liii. 4, *Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows.* R. Solomon Jarchi, in his Expositions upon the Gemara of Sanhedrim, and R. Moses Alschech say, that the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah belongs unto the Messiah son of David, in which are told the griefs, reproaches, death of the Messiah, the which opinion, Ra. Isaac Abrabanel retains in some places. This indeed doth teach that the Messiah son of David, is signified in those words, which are, Isa. xi. 3, 4: *He shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears, but with righteousness shall he judge the poor.* But the same book of Sanhedrim teacheth that the Messiah, whom Isaiah foretelleth there, shall be punished by God. The Messiah that is sprung of Ruth, is the self-same that was the nephew of David; notwithstanding we read in Ruth Rabbathi, that a kingdom and calamities are portended unto this Messiah in these words, which are in Ruth ii. 14: *Come hither, and eat of the bread, and dip thy morsel into the vinegar.* Therefore some rabbins of no small note do agree that there is one only Messiah to come twice."

34. *Answering.* That is, Beginning to speak, or having begun. See our literal explication, Matt. xi. 25.

*Of himself.* These things in some manner in a typical sense may not badly be understood of Isaiah himself, who suffered many evils in Manasses's time. But they are understood of another in a full and perfect sense, to wit, of Christ, that suffered griefs, reproaches, and a bitter death, that he might give us eternal salvation.

35. *And opening*, &c. As if he should say, But Philip having begun a long oration from this place of Isaiah, which was before his hands, he took an occasion to instruct the Eunuch about Jesus, in whom this and other predictions of the prophets are fulfilled in an excellent manner. He told him that that Jesus who was born of the family of David, born of a virgin at Bethlehem, and suffered a bitter death for our offences, was raised from the dead, to sit at the right hand of God the Father, whose only begotten Son he is, and that none is to obtain eternal salvation, but those who, earnestly repenting of their sinful condition, believe in Jesus himself, and obey his precepts. And that those that do profess his faith and repentance, ought to be dipped into the water according to Christ's appointment, that the remission of sins may be sealed unto them by this holy dipping, which remission is freely granted to every repenting sinner, when he does believe in Christ.

36. *And as they went on their way.* That is, while they went forward in the Eunuch's journey to Gaza from Jerusalem.

*They came unto a certain water.* Eusebius, in his book of Hebrew places, which Jerome did translate and augment, saith, "Bethsur is in the tribe of Judah, or Benjamin, and at this day is called Bethsoron, a village to us in the twentieth mile, as we travel from Ælia to Hebron, near which there is a fountain that springeth at the foot of the hill, and is sucked up by the same ground in which it ariseth. And the Acts of the Apostles do tell us that the Eunuch of Candace the queen was baptized in this fountain by Philip. And there is also another village called Bethsur, in the tribe of Judah, distant a thousand paces from Eleutheropolis."

*See, here is water*, &c. It doth manifestly appear that the eunuch among other things was taught by Philip, that baptism in water was of necessity to be taken by them, who, repenting of their sinful life, do embrace the faith of Christ, as a holy rite appointed and commanded by Christ himself, that it might be in itself a figure of new life, and a seal of the remission of sins obtained through Christ.

37. *If thou believest.* That the eunuch is not permitted to be baptized, unless he had professed a sincere faith in Christ, it doth sufficiently enough declare how truly great Basil hath spoken in his book on the Holy Spirit, ch. xii. "Faith and baptism are the two means of salvation, inseparably cleaving together; for faith is perfected by baptism, but baptism is founded by faith, and by the same names both things are fulfilled. For as we believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: so also we are baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and indeed there goeth before a confession leading us unto salvation: but baptism followeth, sealing our confession and covenant." But the covenant of God is his promise of giving us eternal life, and our answer is our promise of worshipping God according to his will revealed to us. The same church's teacher, in his third book against Eunomius: "Baptism is the seal of faith; faith is the confession of the God-head; it is necessary we should first believe, then be sealed with baptism." According to this rule of scripture, and agreeing with reason itself, the most part of the Greeks in all ages, even unto this day, retain a custom of delaying infant baptism, till they themselves can give a confession of their faith, as Grotius hath noted on Matt. xix. 13. But especially the sixth canon of the synod of Neocæsarea is to be observed, whose words are as follows: "Concerning a woman with child, that she may be baptized when she pleases; for her baptism concerns not her child. For everyone is to give a demonstration of his own choice in a confession." For however the interpreters draw it to another purpose, it does appear that the question was made of women big with child, because it did seem that the child was baptized together with the mother, which, notwithstanding, ought not, nor used not to be baptized, except of its own proper election and profession. And to this purpose are the words of Balsamo:[1] "The unborn babe cannot be baptized, because it is not come to light, neither can it have a choice in making confession, which is required in holy baptism." And Zonaras, "The babe will then need baptism, when it can choose." But the synod doth determine that baptism of a woman great with child, doth therefore rightly proceed, because her baptism concerns her alone, who can confess what she believeth, and not the child in her womb. But that synod of Neocæsarea was held before the first Nicene synod; for we read the name of Basil, Bishop of Amasia, subscribed

[1] In Compen. can. tit. 4,

to the Neocæsarean synod, who suffered martyrdom under Licinius, as Eusebius writes in his Chronicle. Gregory Nazianzen, in his fortieth oration, which is upon holy baptism, treating of those who die without baptism, gives us an instance in those to whom baptism was not administered, by reason of infancy. And the self-same Nazianzen, though he was a bishop's son, being a long time bred up under his father's care, was not baptized, till he came to man's age, as he doth teach us in his life. In like manner Basil the Great, that was born of very devout parents, and instructed unto godliness from his childhood, was not baptized until he was a man, if any credit be to be given to his life, that goes about under the name of Amphilochius. John of Antioch, called afterward Chrysostom, was born of Christian parents, as the truer opinion is, tutored by the famous Bishop Meletius, was yet not baptized till he was one and twenty years of age. Hierom also, Ambrose, and Austin, who were born of Christian parents, and consecrated to Christian discipline, even from their childhood, were not baptized before they were thirty years of age. Hence it doth manifestly appear, "That the wisest of our fathers in Christ did not come unto baptism until they were come to a strong and confirmed wit and age;" as Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down, observeth in the 12th sect. of the Life of Christ, in the sermon on Repentance, n. 20. Tertullian, in his book of baptism, ch. xviii. gives advice to infants to come unto Christ to be instructed, not to be baptized before they have understood the force of baptism. "Therefore," says he, "for the condition, and disposition, also age of every person, the delaying of baptism is more profitable: yet chiefly about little ones. What need is there of sureties to be brought in danger, who even themselves may break their promises through mortality, and be deceived by the increase of an evil disposition? Indeed the Lord saith, *Do not ye hinder them to come unto me.* Let them come, therefore, while they grow to years, let them come while they learn, and while they come let them be taught. Let them become Christians, when they are enabled to know Christ. Why doth innocent age hasten to the remission of sins? Men will deal more warily in worldly affairs, so that they who are not trusted with an earthly inheritance, are trusted with a heavenly: let them know to ask for salvation, that thou mayest appear to have given it to him that desireth." Ludovicus Vives

affirms,[1] "None, except grown to man or woman's estate, were wont to be baptized." The famous Bishop of Meaux, J. B. Bossuet, in his French treatise of the Holy Supper under both kinds, p. 127: "As touching infants, the pretended reformed (so the papists in France do call the protestants who follow Calvin's opinions) say that their baptism is grounded on the authority of the scripture; but they bring us no place out of it, expressly affirming it, and what consequences they draw out of the same, they are very far fetched, not to say very doubtful, and too deceitful." One nameless person, a very learned man, answering to the treatise of this learned bishop, saith, p. 92: "As for the custom of baptizing infants, I confess we nowhere read anything expressly and particularly written in the gospel, from whence the necessity of pædobaptism can be shown: and that those places of the gospel, by which it uses to be proved, at the most do prove that that custom of baptizing of infants is lawful and permitted, or rather not impermitted or unlawful. If all the anabaptists rested in that opinion, neither condemned that custom of wickedness and sacrilege, reason would be on their side, neither would they say anything which should not be founded on the common principles of all protestants. The primitive churches did not baptize infants; the learned Grotius hath made plain and proved that, in his notes on the gospel. That doth most plainly appear by the very rite of baptizing used in the Roman church. For baptism is to be asked before the person to be baptized enter into the church, which the surety does in the infant's name; a clear and distinct confession of faith is required, which the same surety rehearseth in the infant's name; a renouncing of the world, its pomps, the flesh and the devil, is to be promised, which the surety, or as they call it, the godfather promiseth for the infant; is not this a clear argument, that of old, the persons who were to be baptized, asked for themselves baptism in their own name, of their own choice, and profess their faith, and were wont to renounce their former life, to consecrate the remainder of their life in this present mortal flesh to Jesus Christ?" Curcellæus says, in his dissertation of original sin, num. 56, "that the custom of baptizing infants, was brought in without the commandment of Christ, and did not begin before the third age after Christ was born; in the two former ages no sign of it

[1] In Aug. Civ. i. 27.

doth appear." This custom being brought in, was much more frequent in Africa than in Asia and other parts of the world, and with a certain greater opinion of necessity, unto which they did fall, who did expound of baptism, that of Christ, John iii. 5: *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God*, &c., as if it did also include infants; whereas, notwithstanding, our Lord Jesus speaketh unto those only that were come to age, in the person of Nicodemus, and doth declare how greatly they stand in need to be born again of the Spirit and of water: that is, of the Spirit purifying their hearts. Christ, indeed, by this metaphor, alludeth unto the baptism of water that was sometime to be commanded by him, but did think only of the baptism of persons grown to years of understanding, seeing he commanded, Matt. xxviii. 19, that those that were to be baptized, should first be instructed in the faith. "For it cannot be that the body receive the sacrament of baptism, except the soul receive the verity of faith beforehand," as Jerome hath observed on that place of Matthew. See what we have noted above, upon ch. ii. 41.

*With all thy heart.* That is, With an earnest desire of thy heart, and an unfeigned faith. "The scripture," says Calvin, "oftentimes taketh the whole heart, for the sincere, and unfeigned heart, unto which is opposed a double heart. So there is no need that we should imagine them to believe perfectly, who believe with their whole heart, when there may be a weak and small faith in him, who notwithstanding shall have an upright heart, and free from dissimulation. So it is fit to take that which David glorieth of, that he doth love the Lord with all his heart. Philip truly did first baptize the Samaritans, whom as yet he knew to be far distant from the mark. The faith, therefore, of the whole heart, is that, which having lively roots in the heart, nevertheless endeavoureth to grow daily."

*Thou mayest.* Hence we may gather how absurd their opinion is, who think that by baptism, faith is produced in infants new born, and destitute of the use of all reason. For if baptism cannot do it in those that are come to years, it can much less do it in infants. Neither can it be said, except very absurdly, that they do believe in Christ, or in his gospel, when there does not indeed appear even the least shadow of faith in them. They do not know their parents by any token, and know not what difference there is betwixt their right and left hand, how then are

they able to understand the least things of the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, which are the objects of our faith? They do not consent unto any human thing; can they then assent unto divine things? They do frame no resolution in their mind as yet, can they then frame that resolution of leading their lives according to the gospel? Neither is their opinion much sounder, who do not ascribe any act of faith to infants, but yet nevertheless attribute some seeds of faith. For what is that seed? In the seed lieth the whole strength and substance of the thing that is to arise from thence. Is there any such like thing in infants? Does this virtue show itself of its own accord in them when they grow? No, truly, unless they be instructed in the doctrine of the gospel. But they say, *Without faith it is impossible to please God*, Heb. xi. 6, therefore we must judge either that infants have faith, or that they are damned eternally if they die in their infancy. Famous Curcellæus says,[1] "It is a foolish consequence, as if truly it did not appear, that this, as all the rest of the precepts of the gospel, belongs to those that are grown two years only, and are, capable of instructions, either of virtue or of vice, and that it doth oblige them alone. Truly faith is not more necessary unto salvation, than the observation of the rest of the precepts of the gospel, and to live after the Spirit, not after the flesh. Since then infants can be saved without these, why not also without faith?" The holy scriptures do show, 2 Sam. xii. 18, that David's little son, begotten of Bathsheba by adultery, died the seventh day after his birth. David did not mourn for him being dead without circumcision, who mourned for him before he died. Ambrose says in his funeral sermon on the death of Valentinian, "He did weep that he might not be taken from him: but left off to weep after he was taken away, whom he knew to be with Christ. And that ye may know that to be true which I assert, he did weep for Amnon his incestuous son, that was murdered, he mourned for Absalom the parricide, when he was slain: he did not think it needful to mourn for his innocent son, because he knew that they died for their wickedness, but did believe that this should live for his innocency." This proof of St. Ambrose doth show that that was no special privilege revealed to David concerning that infant; but that David did take that ground of consolation from the common law, which doth comprehend all the infants, at least of believers, dying in their infancy.

[1] Institut. vii. 8.

*I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.* As if he should have said, I unfeignedly believe from my soul and heart that Jesus Christ is the only begotten Son of the eternal God, the Redeemer, and Doctor of the world, promised in the law and prophets, who reconciled the Eternal Father to us by the sacrifice of his death, and swallowed up by the shining of his gospel these sparks which did glister in the Old Testament, that whoever should hear him, and should lead his life up unto the rule delivered by him, should obtain eternal salvation by his intercession and merits. Hence it is manifest, that to be baptized in the name, or unto the name of Jesus Christ, is no other thing than to be baptized upon profession of faith in Christ, without hypocrisy, and upon promise that he doth embrace the doctrine revealed by him in the scriptures, with an earnest desire of heart, and will reform and correct his manners according to it.

38. *And he commanded the chariot to stand still.* That is, And he commanded the chariot driver to stop the chariot.

*And they went down both into the water, both Philip and the eunuch.* Both he that was to baptize, and he that was to be baptized went down into the water, because he ought not only to sprinkle him with water, but to dip him into the water, Christ commanding *βαπτισμον*, dipping, but not *ῥαντισμον*, sprinkling. The Roman order, published with the writers concerning ecclesiastical ceremonies, saith; "The presbyters enter into the fountain within unto the water, and the males are first baptized. and then the females." Luther in his Latin tom. i., printed at Wittenburg, fol. 71, concerning the sacrament of baptism: "The name 'baptism' is a Greek word, it may be turned a dipping, when we dip something in water, that it may be wholly covered with water; and although that custom be now altogether abolished among the most part, for neither do they dip the whole children, but only sprinkle them with a little water, they ought altogether nevertheless to be dipped, and presently to be drawn out again. For the etymology of the word seems to require that. And the Germans also call baptism *tauff*, from deepness, which they call *tieff* in their tongue, as if it were meet that those be dipped deeply, who are baptized. And truly if ye consider what baptism doth signify, ye shall see the same thing to be required; for it signifieth this, that the old man and our nativity, that is full of sins, which is wholly of flesh and blood, may be overwhelmed by the divine grace: there-

fore the manner of baptism ought to answer to the signification of baptism, that it may show a sure and plain sign of it." The same, tom. ii. in Latin, concerning Babylon's Captivity, fol. 79. "The other thing," saith he, "which belongs to baptism, is the sign or the sacrament, which is the dipping itself into the water, from whence also it hath its name; for, to baptize, in Greek, is to dip, and baptism is dipping. For it has been said, that signs are appointed according to the divine promises, which resembled that thing which the words do signify, or as the later writers say, 'the sacrament effectually signifieth.'" And a little afterwards: "That the minister dippeth a child into the water, signifieth death. That he again bringeth him out of it signifieth life. So Paul expounds, Rom. vi." And a few words afterwards: "That therefore washing from sins is attributed to baptism, it is truly indeed attributed, but the signification is softer and slower than that it can express baptism, which is rather a sign both of death and resurrection. Being moved by this reason, I would have those that are to be baptized, to be altogether dipped into the water, as the word doth sound, and the mystery doth signify." John Bugenhagius Pomeranus, both a fellow and successor in the ministry of Luther at Wittenburg, whom Thuanus and Zanchius witness to have been a moderate, very godly, and very learned man, doth affirm about the end of his book, published in the German tongue, in the year 1542. "That he was desired to be a witness of a baptism at Hamburgh, in the year 1529; that when he had seen the minister only sprinkle the infant wrapped in swathing clothes, on the top of the head, he was amazed; because he neither heard nor saw any such thing, nor yet read in any history, except in the case of necessity, in bed-rid persons. In a general assembly, therefore, of all the ministers of the word that was convened, he did ask of a certain minister, John Fritz by name, who was sometimes minister of Lubeck, how the sacrament of baptism was administered at Lubeck? who for his piety and candour did answer gravely, that the infants were baptized naked at Lubeck after the same fashion altogether as in Germany. But from whence and how that peculiar manner of baptizing hath crept into Hamburg, he was ignorant." At length they did agree among themselves that the judgment of Luther, and of the divines of Wittenburg, should be demanded about this point: which thing being done, Luther did write back to Ham-

burg, "that this sprinkling was an abuse which they ought to remove." Thus plunging was restored at Hamburg.

Common fonts, big and large enough, were in ancient times fitted and accommodated to dipping, in the which fonts, by conduits, or certain inferior passages, the water overflowing upon the baptized, did run away, as is manifest even by this memorable history of Socrates, which we do here bring in.[1] A certain deceiver, a Jew by nation, counterfeiting himself to be a Christian, was oftentimes baptized, and by this sort of cheat had scraped together much money. When he had deceived many Christian sects by this craft, for he had been baptized both by the Arians and Macedonians, having none more whom he could deceive, at length he came to Paul bishop of the Novatians, and affirming that he had an earnest desire to be baptized, he prayed the bishop that he would be pleased to baptize him himself. He indeed praised the Jew's will and desire, but did deny that he could give him baptism, before he had been instructed in the principles of faith, and besides all this, had fasted many days. But the Jew, who contrary to his wish or expectation was compelled to fast, did so much the more urge that he might be baptized. The bishop therefore not willing to offend him with a longer delay, when he pressed, and urged him to it, prepares the things that are necessary to baptism. And when he had brought a white garment to the Jew, and commanded the belly of the font to be filled with water, he brought the Jew thither, as if he were going to baptize him. But a certain secret virtue and power of God made the water suddenly to vanish. But when the bishop, and those who were present, suspecting nothing of what then was done, they did think that the water ran out by some secret passage underneath, where it was wont to be let out, they fill the belly of it again, after they had carefully stopped all the passages. And when the Jew was brought again to the font, the water did again altogether vanish. Then Paul said, Either, O Man, thou deceivest, or hast unknowingly received the sacrament of baptism before. When therefore a great many men flocked together to see this miracle, one that knew the Jew, found him to be the self-same man that was baptized before by bishop Atticus." Hereto belongs also what the Magdeburg Centuriators do relate of Rathold.[2] "In the year of the Lord, say they, 718, Rathold, general of the Frisians, was brought unto this

[1] Hist. Eccl. vii. 17. [2] Cent. viii. 6.

by the preaching of bishop Wulfran, that he was to be baptized. When he had entered into the font with one foot, drawing back the other foot, he asked where the most part of his ancestors were? whether in hell, or in paradise? And hearing that more were in hell, drawing back his foot that was in the water: 'It is better,' says he, 'that I follow the greater part then the fewer.' And being so deceived by the devil, promising that he would give him three days hence matchless gifts, the self-same third day he perished with a sudden and eternal death. Sigebertus. Henry of Erford does relate the same out of the Acts and Monuments of Wulfran, chap. xxvi. Burgomensis says that it was in the year 729." Hither also pertaineth the history of Constantine, who from hence got the sirname of Copronymus, because when he was baptized in his infancy, he defiled the waters of the holy font with his excrements, in the year of Christ 720. We have a like example in the emperor Wenceslaus, the son of Charles the Fourth, who was born at Norinburg the 28th of September, in the year 1361: for he also is reported to have defiled the water with his dung, when he was baptized. Moreover it is reported that while the water that was to be applied to the baptism of Wenceslaus was warming, the pastor's house by Saint Sebald was set on fire, and burned out. Which things certainly could not happen, if both the Copronymus's, the one in the west, and the other in the east, had been sprinkled, and poured with a little water, being wrapped up in their swaddling bands and clouts. About the end of the eleven hundredth year after the birth of Christ, Odo, or Otho, bishop of Bamberg, who first preached the gospel to the inhabitants of Pomerania, as Suffridus his assisting presbyter doth witness;[1] "When there were three fonts built, he did so order, that he himself should baptize the male children alone in one of the fonts, and the rest of the priests, the women apart, and the men apart. What manner of fonts these were, and after what fashion all were baptized, is declared there after this manner: 'The good father caused the administration of the sacrament to be done with so much diligence, also with so great neatness and honesty, that nothing indecent, nothing to be ashamed of, nothing ever might be done there, which might not please any of the gentiles. For he commanded very big hogsheads to be digged a little deep into the earth, so that the mouths of the hogsheads did stand above ground unto the heighth of a man's

[1] Apud Andream S. Michaelis Abbatem in Othonis Actis, lib. ii. cap. 15.

knee, or less, which being filled with water, it was easy to descend into them. And he caused curtains to be hanged about the hogsheads upon small pillars set up, and cords put into them, that each hogshead might be enclosed all about with a veil in manner of a circle: but a linen cloth did hang upon a cord put through it, before the priests, and his fellow ministers, who stood on the one hand, to administer the sacrament, that so all things being very modest on every side, there might not be any thing censured as folly or filthiness in the sacrament, lest the honester sort of persons should withdraw themselves from the sacrament of baptism for shame' sake." The author proceeds, and declareth the thing yet more clearly in this manner. "When therefore all did come to be catechized, the bishop speaking unto them all, commonly with a speech that did agree to such, and setting one sex over against another, on the right hand, and on the left, anointed the catechized with oil: afterward biddeth them go from the font. Therefore they coming unto the entrance of the curtain, they one by one only did enter in with their godfathers, and presently the godfathers did receive the garment, with which the person to be baptized was clothed, and the taper, when he went down into the water, and they holding it before their face, until they did restore it again to him, when he came out of the water. But the priest, who did stand at the hogshead, when he had rather heard, than seen, that there was somebody in the water; having removed the vail a little, with thrice dipping of his head, did perfect what belonged to the sacrament of baptism, and when he had anointed him with liquor of chrism on the crown of the head, and a white garment being put on him, and when he had drawn back the veil, he commanded the person that was baptized, to come out of the water, his godfathers covering, and putting on him the garment which they did hold. Neither did the diligence of Otho in the winter time, neglect to find out what was most convenient for the season, to wit, he celebrated the sacrament of baptism in warm baths and in hot water with the same neatness and observation of modesty, with the hogsheads set into the earth, and curtains applied, frankincense, and other odoriferous spices sprinkling all things." This most accurate diligence of Saint Otho proveth, that the prudence of those men was contrary unto all good order, who after a thousand and three hundred years after Christ, did change baptism, that is, dipping, appointed by Christ, into rhantism, that is, sprink-

ling, brought into its place with great boldness, lest those that were to be baptized in cold countries and seasons, if they should be plunged according unto Christ's commandment, might fall into diseases, or be chilly with cold; for the heating of the water might be a sufficient remedy against this evil, or danger, as the above quoted excellent divine, and reformer, John Bugenhagius in his aforementioned German book, doth urge more at large. "Anciently, (when rhantism was not yet substituted for baptism,)" says the English Chrysostom of this age, "Those who were baptized, put off their garments, which signified the putting off of the body of sin; and were immersed, and buried in the water, to represent the death of sin; and then did rise up again out of the water, to signify their entrance upon a new life; and to these customs the apostle alludes, Rom. vi. &c." Thus the very reverend John Tillotson, D.D. dean of Canterbury, a man of great liberality toward the poor (which I myself profess with a grateful mind, that I have oftentimes had experience of it,) commended by all good men for the excellency of his wit, the uprightness of his mind, the purity of his manners and doctrine, in a grave and famous sermon on 2 Tim. ii. 19. "Christians," says another doctor in divinity, who excels in every sort of learning, and zeal of true piety, "being plunged into the water in baptism, signifieth their undertaking, and obliging themselves in a spiritual sense to die, and be buried with Jesus Christ (which death and burial consists in an utter renouncing and forsaking of all their sins,) that so, answerably to his resurrection, they may live a holy and godly life." So that reverend minister of the gospel, Edward Fowler, canon of Gloucester, in his admirable book concerning the scope of the Christian religion, doth interpret the force of the words of the apostle, Rom. vi. 4. Deservedly therefore that most learned Anonymus protestant of France, who answereth to that tractate concerning the communion under two kinds of my lord James Benigne Bossuet, the famous bishop of Meaux, saith, pp. 24, 25, "It is most certain that baptism hath not been administered hitherto, otherwise than by sprinkling by the most part of protestants, but truly this sprinkling is an abuse. This custom, which without an accurate examination, they have retained from the Romish church, in like manner as many other things, makes their baptism very defective. It corrupteth its institution, and ancient use, and that nearness of similitude, which is needful should be betwixt it and

faith, repentance, and regeneration. This reflection of M. Bossuet, deserveth to be seriously considered, to wit, that this use of plunging hath continued for the space of a whole thousand and three hundred years, that hence we may understand that we did not carefully, as it was meet, examine things which we have retained from the Roman church; and therefore since the most learned bishops of that church do teach us now that the custom established by most grave arguments, and so many ages, was first abolished by her, this self-same thing was very unjustly done by her, and that the consideration of our duty doth require at our hands, that we seek again the primitive custom of the church, and the institution of Christ." The same person there a little afterward: "Though therefore we should yield to M. Bossuet, that we are convinced by the force of his arguments, that the nature and substance of baptism consisteth in dipping, what may he hope for from us, but that we profess ourselves obliged to him by no small favour, and thank him that he hath delivered us from error, when we greatly erred in this thing? And as we are resolved indeed, to correct and rectify this error, so we desire earnestly with humble prayer and supplication of him, that he would correct and mend that error of taking away the cup from the laics coming unto the holy supper. Does Monsieur Bossuet think that the protestants will have a greater respect of that custom which they have found not to be lawful, and that by the most weighty, and solid arguments, than of the institution of Jesus Christ, and that to let Rome get an opportunity of boldly and freely breaking the laws of Christ by the pernicious imitation of our example? Far be that wicked frame of mind from them; they are straiter bound by the authority of their holy master, than to despise his voice, when his sound cometh to their ears: *My sheep follow my voice;* and again, *I do know my sheep.* None, except wolves lurking under a sheep-skin, refuseth, and turneth from it." So far our most learned Anonymus, which is most agreeable to his admonition unto the papists barring the laymen from the holy cup, in the preface of his forecited answer to the treatise of the bishop of Meaux concerning the communion under both kinds. "There is no place therefore for cogging in these things, for those that pretend the specious title of received custom for the day's practice, when Jesus Christ and his gospel is not the custom, but the truth. *From the beginning it was so,* says the same Jesus unto them, who did object unto him

the worst and cursed custom of their ancestors. When we shall be presented before the judgment of Christ, he will not judge his disciples by custom, but by the lively and effectual word of his gospel. Neither should any be taken with a vain hope of framing an excuse from the authority of the church, because all the authority of the church is from Christ, granted unto her for that intent and purpose, that she might procure a religious obedience to his laws, and heavenly precepts, but not that she might break, repeal, and cancel them." Thus far the Anonymus our countryman, whose sound reasoning hath made the booksellers generally suppose him to be Monsieur de la Roque, the most famous pastor of the reformed church which is at Rouen, whom his writings do show to be inferior to none in godliness and learning. Heidegger in his Historico-Theological Anatomy of the council of Trent, p. 2, upon the canons of twenty-first session, saith, "There is in the church no more power of changing the rites of the sacraments appointed by Christ, than there is power of changing his word and law. For as this his word contains a sign audible, so those rites do contain a visible sign of his divine will." Let us shut up all therefore with that most holy martyr Cyprian, in his sixty and third epistle to Cæcilius: "Verily it becometh us to obey and to do what Christ hath done and commanded to be done, when he himself saith in the gospel: *If ye do whatsoever I command you, henceforth I will not call you servants, but friends.* And that Christ alone ought to be heard, the Father also beareth witness from heaven, saying: *This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him.* Wherefore, if Christ alone be to be heard, we ought not to give ear to what another before us did think meet to be done, but what Christ did first do, who is before all: for neither ought we to follow the custom of men, but the truth of God, seeing God speaketh and saith by Isaiah the prophet: *Without cause they do worship me, teaching the commands and doctrines of men.* And again our Lord in the gospel repeateth the self-same thing, saying: *Ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may establish your own tradition.* Julius, the first Roman bishop of this name, in his epistle to the bishops through Egypt, and Paschal the Second, in his epistle to Pontius, abbot of Cluny, do check those who did give unto the people dipped bread for the perfecting of the communion, seeing that in the first celebration, and institution of the eucharist, Christ did give bread and wine

apart unto the apostles, and Paschal doth absolutely command that they should not depart from that custom in any thing, by a human and new institution, the which custom Christ did keep and commend. We may see the words of Julius in Gratian.[1] God grant that in like manner all that are called Christians, and either ignorantly, or simply by a human and new institution, have changed baptism (or retained the change of baptism), dipping, that is, appointed by Christ, into rhantism, that is, sprinkling, against the apostolical and evangelical discipline observed by our ancestors, by the space of a thousand and three hundred years in all places, now having seen the light of the verity clearly, may return unto the root and original of our Lord's tradition, neither may there be any other thing done by them henceforth, than what our Lord did first for us, and did command to be done by us in his gospel. See what we have noted above, chap. ii. 28.

*And he baptized him.* To wit, Philip immersed the eunuch into the water, according to Christ's command.

39. *And when they were come up out of the water.* As if he should say, But as soon as the eunuch had received of Philip baptism, or the sacred dipping.

*The Spirit of the Lord caught away Philip.* Some copies have in this place, "The Holy Spirit came upon the eunuch, but the angel of the Lord caught away Philip." As also Jerome hath cited in his Dialogue of the Orthodox, and Luciferian, and Grotius hath noted after Erasmus, and Beza. If we do follow that, it will be needful to acknowledge that without any laying on of hands, the eunuch did receive that extraordinary gift of the Holy Spirit which Cornelius, with his household, received also before baptism; below, ch. x. 44, 47. Men did believe of Elias's disappearing of old, that he was caught away by the Holy Spirit, and transported to some other place, 1 Kings xviii. 12; 2 Kings ii. 16. But if this be understood of an angel, the same happened to Philip, as the writer of the last addition unto Daniel, ch. xiv. 35, 38, believed to have happened to Habakkuk the prophet. But Philip was carried by the Spirit, or by an angel of the Lord, not out of the body, but in the body, as Paul speaks, 2 Cor. xii. 2. The eunuch seeing it, that he might be confirmed in the faith in Jesus Christ, by that miracle that was added unto the doctrine.

*And the eunuch saw him no more* The Christian religion is said

[1] De Consec. Hist. lib. ii. cap. *cum omne.*

to have been sown in Ethiopia by this eunuch, when he returned thither, which religion is in some measure now retained by the Abyssines, though mingled with errors and Jewish ceremonies. See what I have observed above, upon ver. 27, and what I have spoken concerning Ethiopia, upon Amos ix. 7.

*But he went.* Greek, γὰρ, "for." A reason is given why the eunuch did see Philip no more, to wit, because he travelled in the journey he had entered upon unto Ethiopia, rejoicing in the knowledge of the gospel, which he had attained unto by Philip's means, who was offered to him by a special providence of God; but now Philip was carried to another place, where there was need of his ministry.

40. *Was found.* That is, did appear, and was seen. Esth. viii. 5, *Who were found;* that is, were present. Exod. xxxv. 23, *With whom were found;* that is, were, or did appear. Mal. ii. 6, *And iniquity was not found in his lips;* 1 Pet. ii. 22, *Neither was guile found in his mouth;* that is, it was not. We have the verb *find*, for *to see*, Gen. iv. 13, 14, and elsewhere, in many places. "And, therefore," says Grotius, "מָצָא is translated by ἰδεῖν, to see." Jer. xxiii. 11; Lam. ii. 9; Matt. i. 18, *She was found with child*, that is, she appeared great with child.

*At Azotus.* Greek, εἰς, with the accusative, for ἐν, with the ablative, as above, ver. 23. Azotus, Heb. אַשְׁדּוֹד, was first subdued by Joshua, Josh. xi. 15, afterward it was one of the cities of the five provinces of the Philistines, famous for the temple of Dagon, whereof there is mention made, 1 Sam. v. 4, and by the death of Judas Maccabæus, who died about it, witness Josephus, Antiq. xii. 19, where it is falsely read Ἀζῷ for Ἀζώτου, as appears from 1 Mac. ix. 15; afterward Jonathan, the brother of Judas Maccabæus, took it, and burnt it with the temple of Dagon, 1 Mac. x. 84; Josephus, Antiq. xiii. 8. Tartan, general to Sargon, king of the Assyrians, took it of old, whom the Hebrews do expound to be Sennacherib, Isa. xx. 1. It was a very strong, fortified city, for it sustained the siege of Psammetichus, king of Egypt, by the space of twenty-nine years, by whom, at length, it was taken, as Herodotus writes, book ii., where he calls it a great city of Syria, because under Syria was comprehended Palestina, Judæa, Phœnicia, and Idumæa. It was famous, also, by the Arabian merchandise, whose market town it was, as Mela doth report;[1]

[1] Lib. i. cap. 10.

also Ptolemy, in his fifth book of Geography, ch. 16, and Pliny, Hist. Nat. v. ch. 14, have made mention of it. The women of this city are called, Neh. xiii. 23, אַשְׁדּוֹדִיּוֹת, Azotides, whom the Jews took for wives, and their sons did speak the language of Ashdod, as is manifest out of the same chapter, ver. 24. Azotus is reported to be distant from Gaza, (concerning which, above, ver. 26,) forty miles.

*And passing through*, &c. As if he should say, Having gone from Azotus to Cæsarea of Palestina, he did preach the gospel in all towns through which he went, even unto the end of his undertaken journey. This Cæsarea was at first called the Tower of Strato, it was magnificently repaired by Herod the Great, adorned with porches and temples; it was called by the same Herod, Cæsarea, in honour of Augustus Cæsar, as Josephus witnesses, Antiq. xv. 13. It was perfected the tenth year after it was begun, as the same Josephus tells us, Antiq. xvi. 9. Eusebius Pamphilius owed his birth to this city, and was afterward bishop of the same. In like manner Acacius, (who lived in the time of the sophister Libanius,) whose life we have in Eunapius Sardinius, and Procopius the rhetorician and historian, secretary of Belisarius captain of Justinian the emperor, and fellow companion of all his wars, of which he wrote the history. There was also another Cæsarea, different from this, toward Paneas, which, in Matt. xvi. 13, and Josephus, Antiq. xx. 8, is called Cæsarea Philippi, it is called by Ptolemy, in his fifth book, ch. 15, Cæsarea Panias, which King Agrippa the younger, when he did enlarge its territories, he changed its name, and in honour of Nero, called it Neronias, as Josephus doth write in the place even now cited. See our literal explication, Matt. xvi. 13.

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## CHAPTER IX.

1. *But Saul.* Like a bloody wolf. See what is spoken above, ch. viii. 13.

*Breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples.* A Greek phrase. That is, From the bottom of his heart breathing out cruelty against the disciples of Christ. So Cicero said, "Catiline, raging with boldness, breathing out wickedness, wickedly contriving the ruin of his country."

*Went unto the high priest.* That is, to the prince of the highest Sanhedrim, who perhaps, as yet, was the same Annas, of whom above, ch. iv. 6.

2. *And desired of him.* As also of other senators of that great Sanhedrim, as may be seen below, ver. 14, and ch. xxii. 5; xxvi. 12.

*Letters.* That is, letters from the senate.

*To Damascus.* דַּמֶּשֶׂק, or, as it is read, 1 Chron. xviii. 5, דַּרְמֶשֶׂק, Damascus, or, Darmascus, a most famous city of old, the head and royal seat of Syria, surnamed Damascena, as the most eloquent of the prophets, Isaiah vii. 8, witnesseth. It was situated below Mount Hermon, from whence flowed two rivers, Amana or Abana, and Parpar or Parphar, which Stephanus Byzantius calls Bardinis; the rest of the Greeks seem to call it Chrysorrhoas. Amana ran through the midst of the city, but Parpar did glide without the city, as Benjamin Tudelensis witnesseth in his Itinerary. There is also mention made of these two rivers, 2 Kings v. 12. See our literal explanation upon Amos i. 5. The builder of Damascus lieth in the grave of antiquity, notwithstanding that Josephus said,[1] that Uz, the son of Aram, and grandson of Shem built it. Jerome also, in his questions upon Genesis, where he enumerates the posterity of Shem, speaks as if he were of the same opinion. But a little after, speaking of Eliezer of Damascus, Abraham's servant, he saith there: "They say, that by this man, Damascus was both built and named." The same in the beginning of his seventh book upon Isaiah: "We read first the name of Damascus in Genesis, who before Isaac was born in Abraham's house, and was esteemed his heir, if Sarah had not had a son by the promise. It is expounded either a kiss of blood, or a drinker of blood, or the blood of hair cloth." "But if," saith the same author, upon Ezek. xxvii., "Damascus be interpreted a drinker of blood, and that tradition of the Hebrews be true, that the field in which the parricide Cain slew his brother Abel, was in Damascus, whence the place was marked with this name; then Paul with just cause went to Damascus after the slaughter of Stephen, the first martyr for Christ, that he might bring the believers in Christ bound to Jerusalem;" that, to wit, he in the same place might imitate the deeds of Cain towards Abel's followers. Damascus bred a good many famous men, among which, Nicolaus Damascenus, a Peripa-

[1] Ant. lib. i. cap. 7, toward the end.

tetic philosopher is the chief, who among other things did write a universal history of eighty books according to Suidas, a hundred and twenty-four according to Josephus, a hundred and forty-four according to Athenæus,[1] of which a few fragments are remaining. He was very familiar with Herod the Great, also very much beloved of Augustus Cæsar, so that after him he called either dates *nicolai*, as it is in Athenæus; Plutarch, *symposiacōn;* Pliny, Isiodore in his Glosses, *adhelmus;* or a kind of cake, according to Serenus Sammonicus, Hesychius, Milesius, Photius, and Suidas.[2] Joannes Damascenus, was of this city, who of a Jew became a Christian, in the year of our Lord 461; and another John, surnamed Manzur, whom Suidas extols to the skies, the Greeks being very prodigal in their own praise. "Although indeed," saith Vossius,[3] "Damascenus was a most learned man, and of great fame, yet in many things he was over credulous. His histories, related in his sermons, show this. Baronius doth truly acknowledge that his writings are of very uncertain credit, and that he abounds with many fictions; which opinion of his Casuabon confirms,[4] where he remarked many gross errors. In others of his writings he does not appear judicious; as, for example's sake, when he tells us of Falconillæs' soul, that she, by the prayers of St. Thecla, the first martyr, was delivered from the punishments of hell, although she died in the heathen's errors and idolatry. Likewise where he saith, that the soul of the Emperor Trajan was exempted from infernal punishments, by the prayers of Gregory the Great. Both which you may read in Damascenus, in his oration of those who died in the faith." This man was a great defender of images against the emperor Leo Isaurus, and his son Constantine, the fifth of that name, surnamed Copronymus; in a synod of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops, convocated by the same Constantine, held at Constantinople, A.D. 754, which also was called the seventh œcumenic synod, he with Germanus and George, sometimes patriarchs of Constantinople, was condemned as an idolater and worshipper of wood and images, as appears from the acts of that synod, which are inserted in the sixth acts of the second synod of Nice. Amongst his own he was called Chrysorrhoas, for his eloquence. He died A.D. 760. The Damacene prunes are also famous, which were wont to be carried

[1] Lib. vi. p. 249.

[2] Lib. xiv. Lib. viii. q. 4. Lib. xiii. cap. 4. Lib. de Virgin. and Cœl. Rhodigin, lib. vi. cap. 5.

[3] De Hist. Græcis, lib. ii. cap. 24.

[4] Exercit. 13, adver. Baron. sect. 38.

from the city Damascus to Rome, together with small figs called *cottana*, of which Juvenal, Satyr. iii. 85. By the way, we may observe, that this kind of small figs was so called, as Hesychius witnesseth, κόττανα, from the Hebrew word, קטון, "little." Hence, Martial saith elegantly:[1] "These *cottana*, which have been sent to thee in a round turned pannier, if they were bigger, they would be figs." This name *cottana*, among the Cretians, signified also a virgin, as witnesseth the same Hesychius; in the forecited place, which is deduced from the same root, קטנה, "little," to wit, "girl." If you desire to know more of this most ancient city, you may consult the Itinerary of Benjamin Tudelensis, and Hoffman's Universal Lexicon.

*To the synagogues.* How great a multitude of Jews was at Damascus, may be gathered from what Josephus saith:[2] that under Nero ten thousand Jews unarmed, being by chance gathered in the public baths, were there oppressed, and slain by the inhabitants of Damascus. It is very probable that many of the Jews converted to Christ, did, to avoid the persecution stirred up at Jerusalem, fly to Damascus; therefore, Paul not being content to have vexed them at Jerusalem, he willingly undertook the pains to prosecute them thither. For the Governor of Damascus, under Aretas, the king of Arabia the Stony and Damascus, was a great favourer and abettor of the persecutor of Christ's disciples, as appears from 2 Cor. xi. 32.

*That if he found any*, &c. As much as to say, that a licence and liberty might be given him to bring all such as he found professors of the Christian religion, without difference of sex, bound as malefactors to Jerusalem. "The Romans," saith Grotius, "allowed the Sanhedrim the privilege of taking, and beating, not only over the Jews of Palestine, but also without Palestine, where there were synagogues that willingly acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrim in matters pertaining to religion."

*Of this way.* That is, of this sect and institution, as below, ch. xix. 9, 23; xxii. 4; xxiv. 14.

3. *There shined round about him a light from heaven.* Like lightning brighter than the sun, as may be seen below, ch. xxii. 6; xxvi. 13.

4. *And he fell to the earth.* Because he was struck, and as it

[1] Lib. xiii. Epigram 28.

[2] De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 25.

were blasted, with the brightness of that light sent to him from heaven.

*He heard a voice.* To wit, descend from heaven with that light.

*Saying.* To wit, in a Hebrew dialect, as Paul himself saith below, ch. xxvi. 14.

*Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* Augustine saith elegantly, as his manner is:[1] "The Head being to ascend into heaven, he commended his members upon earth, and departed. Now you do not find Christ speaking upon earth. You find him speaking but in heaven, and from heaven itself. Why? Because his members were trod upon on earth. Therefore he said from above to Saul the persecutor, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* I ascended into heaven, nevertheless I lie upon earth, as yet. I sit here at the right hand of the Father; there I am hungry, thirsty, and a stranger, as yet." Believers are the mystical body of Christ, and his mystical members; hence whatever is done to them, Christ takes it as done to himself. See Matt. xxv. 40, 45; Luke x. 16.

5. *Who art thou, Lord?* As much as to say, Whose voice do I hear?

*And the Lord said.* As much as to say, Christ, who was in heaven, and spake from heaven itself, answered.

*I am Jesus,* &c. As much as to say, You hear the voice of that Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest, while you pour out your rage and storms of your wrath upon my servants.

*It is hard.* That is, it is a very troublesome and vain labour. "If thou beatest the pricks with thy fists, thou hurtest thy hands," says Plautus.[2]

*To kick against the pricks.* The Greek and Roman writers frequently use this proverb against such as attempt a thing that will happen ill to them. For if oxen being thrust and galled with the goad, while they draw the plough or cart, should kick, while they would hurt the goad, they do but hurt themselves, because as the scholiast upon Pindarus, in the end of his second Pythia, saith, "They are more sorely stricken," and beating their heel against the sharp goad, they are pricked again with its point. Therefore, by this proverbial phrase the Lord Jesus declares that Saul's wrestling against him was to his own great hurt, so that if he desisted not from applying himself to ruin the Christians, it would come to pass that he should die a sad death.

[1] Tract. 10 in Epist. Joannis.

[2] In Trucul. act. iv. sc. 2, ver. 55.

6. *And he trembling and astonished,* &c. As much as to say, But Saul being terrified with the brightness of the heavenly light, and the voice which came from heaven, puts off his wolf-like fierceness, and puts on a sheep-like disposition, and also freely and willingly gives himself to do the commands of the great Shepherd of souls, whom he lately despised. For the Lord Jesus sends him to the city of Damascus, that he might there be taught of him what he himself would have him do, to whom he should commit that charge from heaven.

7. *And the men which journeyed with him.* That is, they who were Paul's companions in his journey to Damascus.

*Stood speechless.* That is, being astonished at the strangeness of this admirable thing, they stood unmoved, or, that I may use Virgil's phrase, "they stuck immoveable to the ground." To *stand,* here denotes not a posture of the body, but a mere staying, and is opposed to going forward, not to lying prostrate, seeing below, ch. xxvi. 14, that Paul's companions fell upon the earth. So Gen. xix. 17: *Neither stay thou in all the plain,* that is, do not tarry nor delay. Lev. xiii. 37: *If the scall be at a stay,* that is, spread no farther.

*Hearing a voice.* To wit, sent from heaven, which beat upon their ears, although, as it is said below, ch. xxii. 9, they understood not the meaning and signification of the words; either because they were not skilful in the Hebrew dialect, wherein Christ spake to Saul, as may be seen below, ch. xxvi. 14, or, because they indeed heard the sound of the voice, but, in the meantime, did not exactly take up the words of that sound. "They heard," saith famous Lightfoot, "קוֹל, 'a voice,' but they heard not דָּבָר, a 'word.'" The like happened, John xii. 29. Therefore "to hear," below, ch. xxii. 9, is put for "to understand," as Gen. xi. 7; xlii. 23; Deut. xxviii. 49; 2 Kings xviii. 26; Isaiah xxxvi. 11; Jer. v. 15; 1 Cor. xiv. 2, 21.

*But seeing no man.* Although they lifted up their eyes to heaven, whence the voice came, that they might see who spake to Saul. "This," saith Beza, "is the force of the word θεωρεῖν in this place. For otherwise it were no wonder that they saw none, who being struck with fear, durst not lift up their eyes." Saul only saw Him who spake to him, as Dan. x. 7.

8. *And Saul arose from the earth.* The Greek hath it, "He was raised up," as Daniel was, Dan. viii. 18.

*And when his eyes were opened, he saw no man.* That is, his eye-

lids, which were shut, being separated, he saw nothing at all, because his eyes were dazzled with the great brightness of that heavenly light which shone round about him, ver. 3, as appears from the verse immediately following, and ver. 12, 17, 18, and below, ch. xxii. 11.

*But they led him by the hand.* As blind men are usually led. So Saul, who intended to lead the disciples of Christ bound from Damascus to Jerusalem, he himself is led, as it were, bound to Damascus.

9. *And he was three days without sight.* It is probable that in these three days wherein he was deprived of his bodily sight, the Lord Jesus did make known to him the doctrine of the gospel by internal visions, that he might truly say, that he did not receive, nor learn the gospel from any mortal man, but by Jesus Christ, who sits at the right hand of the Father, revealing it to him, Gal. i. 12.

*And neither did eat nor drink.* As the Jews of old, for three days. Esth. iv. 16. This he did, partly to give an outward testimony of his inward repentance for his former doings, partly to be excited to pray with fervency. For Tertullian saith well:[1] "We are much more powerful in spirit, and lively in heart for spiritual things while fasting, then when that dwelling-house of the inner man is stuffed with food, and overwhelmed with wine." The Jews were forbidden to drink upon that day wherein they fasted: so that it was accounted a breach of their fast, if they should swallow a drop of wine or water. They allowed one to wash his mouth, and wipe it, provided he did spit it out again. As may be seen in שלחן ערוך, in the Treatise of a Fast. They except from this concession, that fast which they keep upon the day of pardon, which they call *Jom Kippur*, and upon the ninth day of the fifth month, which they call *Ab;* upon these days they think it not lawful to wash the mouth.

10. *And there was a certain disciple.* Œcumenius calls this Ananias a deacon, and thinks him to have been one of the seventy disciples who adhered to Jesus Christ, while he was conversant upon earth, next to the apostles. Augustine will have him a presbyter. Dorotheus writes, that afterward he was made bishop of Damascus.

[1] Adv. Psych.

*In a vision.* Divinely excited. See what we have said above, ch. ii. 17.

*Behold, I am here, Lord.* A Hebraism, that is, I am ready to receive, and do thy commands.

11. *Go into the street which is called Straight.* That is, into that street of Damascus, which is called Straight, the Greeks call it *Euthia*, perhaps, because it was plainer, and straighter than any other street of that city.

*Of Tarsus.* That is, born in Tarsus, in that most famous city of Cilicia. See below, ch. xxi. 39; xxii. 3.

*For behold he prayeth.* Luke shows that Saul, during his three days' fast, was continually taken up in praying.

12. *And he hath seen a vision.* To wit, Saul, with the eyes of his mind. They are the words of Luke, telling that Saul saw Ananias laying his hands upon him at that very time, wherein the Lord spake to Ananias concerning Saul. "It is a vision," saith Macrobius, "when one seeth that which falls out in the same manner that it appeared to him." Suetonius, in the life of Augustus: "M. Cicero, having pursued C. Cæsar into the capitol, by chance told his former night's dream to his intimates, that a child of a comely countenance being let down from heaven in a golden chain, stood at the door of the capitol, and that Jupiter gave him a scourge; afterward having on a sudden seen Augustus, whom, as yet being unknown to the most part of them, his uncle Cæsar had called to the sacrifice, he affirmed it to be him, whose image appeared to him in his sleep." In the same place a little before, of Q. Catulus: "And the next day having met Augustus, being otherwise unknown to him, beheld him not without admiration, and said he was most like the boy of which he dreamed." Thus Ovid says: "As I dreamed to see men by order, such do I perceive and see by order." Apuleius saith,[1] "I presently perceived one of the holy priests, beside the mark of his foot, also in the rest of his habit and carriage agreeing exactly with a night image, whom afterwards I knew to be called Asinus Marcellus." Which places, though taken out of the writings of heathens, do most fitly illustrate this narration. For although Luke mentions only his name, and the laying on of hands, yet it is probable that Saul did see Ananias, as if he did view him with his eyes, to wit,

[1] Asin. Aurei. lib. xi.

his countenance, stature, and all the rest of his complexion: and therefore when he recovered afterwards his sight, he knew them to agree perfectly with his vision. See what we have said above, ch. ii. 17.

*And putting his hands on him*, &c. See what is noted above, viii. 17, and below, ver. 17.

13. *How much evil he hath done to thy saints.* The Christians are frequently so called, partly, because by the very profession of Christ's doctrine, and of their faith in him, they are selected from the common sort of unbelievers to be God's peculiar people, whom God himself, by the merits and intercession of Christ, appointed to endow with a heavenly inheritance; partly, because by their professed holiness of life, they are eminent beyond all other mortals, if they be not only Christians in name, but really such.

14. *And here*, &c. As much as to say, And (omitting his other villainies) he now cometh with power to bind all such as have given up their names to thee.

*From the chief priests.* That is, from the princes of the Sanhedrim. For it is a synecdoche, whereby the whole great Sanhedrim is designed by its noblest part.

*That call on thy name.* To call on Christ, or the name of Christ, is to give up his name to Christ, and to profess himself his disciple. So below, ver. 12, and 1 Cor. i. 2, *To name the name of Christ*, is put in the same sense, Rom. xv. 20; 2 Tim. ii. 19.

15. *He is a chosen vessel unto me.* A Hebraism. That is, a most choice instrument, "a vessel for God's use," saith Rabbi Israel. "Neither," saith Grotius,[1] "did Polybius, speaking of Damocles, use the word, σκεῦος, a vessel, in another sense; for this man was a most profitable vessel for service, and most fit for business." Compare 2 Tim. ii. 20, 21.

*To bear my name.* That is, that he might be a publisher of my glory.

*Before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel.* As much as to say, that by his preaching, my name may be famous among the nations, yea, and among their kings, as well as among the Jews. This refers to these places, Isa. lxix. 6; Jer. i. 10.

16. *For I will show unto him*, &c. As much as to say, I will foreshow him how many things he must undergo for preaching my name; to wit, popular hatred, the rage of the Gentiles, prisons,

[1] Ad Psal. li.

stripes, hunger, thirst, shipwreck, and a cruel death; and yet he will preach my name, and willingly suffer what he did to others for my name's sake.

17. *He entered into the house.* To wit, into Judas's, where Saul lodged, as above said, ver. 11.

*And putting his hands on him.* Putting on of hands is a visible sign of prayer. Whence below, xxviii. 8; Jas. v. 14; health restored by a miracle is attributed jointly to both.

*The Lord,* &c. As much as to say, Christ sent me, who am but a common disciple, not an apostle, to interpret unto you his will, that by his grace you may receive the sight which you lost, being dazzled with the brightness of the heavenly light; which shall be unto you a sign of an inward vision that you shall receive from Christ himself, through the abundant communication of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, without any human help, as soon as you shall recover your bodily sight.

18. *As it had been scales.* Which, when Saul's eyes were dazzled with the heavenly light, were congealed, and hardened of the humours which fell from his brain.

*And he arose, and was baptized.* After Christ's institution, by Ananias's advice, as may be seen below, xxii. 16.

19. *And when he had received meat, he was strengthened.* He did not refresh his body, though spent with three days' fasting, until he had abundantly satisfied his soul, enlivened through faith, by receiving baptism.

*Certain days.* For as Paul himself writes, Gal. i. 17, he in a short time went out of Damascus (which then was under the dominion of the Arabians) unto Arabia, which is the first nation wherein Paul preached the gospel, being like Moses in this, who had his first station in Arabia, after he had left Egypt. So the prophecy, Isa. lxii. 16, is mystically fulfilled.

*With the disciples which were at Damascus.* That is, he joined himself with Christ's followers; there were a good many such at Damascus, since the time of that dispersion, of which above, ch. viii. 3.

20. *And straightway,* &c. As much as to say, without any delay he taught in the assemblies of the Jews at Damascus, that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah or Christ, promised in the law and the prophets, by weighty and solid arguments, which he learned from no man, but from Christ himself. Compare ver. 22; Gal. i. 15, 16.

21. *That he is the Son of God.* He saith presently, ver. 22, *That this is very Christ.* It seems this surname was commonly given to the Messiah. For Nathaniel saith, John i. 49, *Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art the king of Israel*, to wit, out of the second Psalm, which the ancient Hebrews, in the abstruse sense, interpreted of the Messiah. Therefore, where Peter in Matthew, xvi. 16, calls him *Christ the Son of the living God*, Mark and Luke satisfied themselves with the name Christ. And no wonder, seeing, as Origen saith excellently, "What was divine in that man Jesus whom we understand, the very same was the only begotten Son of God."

*Is not this*, &c. As much as to say, Is Saul also among the prophets? 1 Sam. x. 11.

*That destroyed all them that called upon this name in Jerusalem.* That is, raged with great cruelty against all Christ's disciples at Jerusalem. "The Greek word," saith Grotius, "which is rendered, 'destroyed,' signifieth to 'vex.' Paul useth the same word in this history," Gal. i. 13, 23.

*And came hither.* To wit, to Damascus.

22. *But Saul increased the more in strength.* To wit, in knowledge and liberty of speaking. Whence in some copies is added, "in speech."

*And confounded the Jews.* As much as to say, And being thus strengthened by the Holy Ghost, he confuted, reproved and convinced the Jews.

*Proving.* Greek, συμβιβάζων: supply, αὐτοὺς, "them," that is, "teaching them," as the Arabian turns it: "teaching them for certain," as the Ethiopic renders it. It answers to the Hebrew word, חָבַן, which is rendered "to instruct, to cause to understand," Isa. xl. 14; Dan. ix. 22; and the word, הוֹדַע, that is rendered, "to make known," Exod. xviii. 16; Deut. iv. 9; Isa. lx. 13; also הוֹרָה, "to teach," Exod. iv. 12, 15; Lev. x. 11; Psa. xxxii. 10. Συμβιβάζειν, is properly to join things by art, that by an indissoluble tie they may stick together. But he who teacheth any other, allures him to himself, and by persuading and convincing him, does, as it were, knit and glue him to himself. Hence, in Hesychius, συμβίβασις is interpreted "persuasion, doctrine, faith;" συμβιβάτο, "let him teach;" συμβιβασθέντες, "those that have been taught." Hither belongeth that of Paul, 1 Cor. ii. 16, *Who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him?* Greek, συμβιβάσει

αὐτὸν, that is, as Lud. de Dieu interprets it, "that he may thus convince him by his reasons, as to knit him, and, as it were, glue him to himself."

23. *And after that many days were fulfilled.* By those *many days* are to be understood the three years which Paul spent in Arabia, whither, as we observed above, ver. 19, out of Gal. i. 17, he was gone soon after his conversion, although Luke, who was not with him, does not make mention of this journey. "Paul," saith Capellus, Gal. i. 17, "denies that he came to Jerusalem to the apostles, immediately after his conversion, but affirms that he went straight from Damascus to Arabia, and from thence returned to Damascus. Lastly, that after three years he came to Jerusalem. These three years must be begun nowhere but at Paul's conversion, that by this Paul might testify that he came not to Jerusalem, until the end of three years after his conversion, to them which were apostles before him. This being granted, it must needs be that Paul spent not those three years in Damascus, but in Arabia. For if a great part of them was spent at Damascus, seeing that Damascus was distant from Jerusalem but a very few days' journey, and that there was great commerce betwixt the Damascenes and the Jews at Jerusalem, how could it be, when Paul came from Damascus to Jerusalem, that all the believers did avoid him, not knowing that he was converted to the faith of Christ? Hence, then, it seems a strong argument may be drawn, that Paul, immediately after his conversion, went from Damascus to Arabia, and that he spent those three years there, after which time, when he came to Damascus, and immediately had snares laid for him by the Jews, that being let down in the night-time by the wall in a basket, he came to Jerusalem; and that at first the faithful fled from him, because he spent all the time since his conversion in Arabia, among that people who had little or no commerce with those of Jerusalem. So that thus they might be ignorant of his conversion, which could not so easily be, if Paul had spent those three years, or the most part of them, at Damascus."

*The Jews took counsel to kill him.* By a judgment of zeal; of which we spake above, ch. vii. 57.

24. *And they watched the gates.* The Jews, to wit, of the city, that he might not escape and be gone. See how soon that which Christ foretold above, ver. 16, is fulfilled.

25. *Let him down by the wall.* As Rahab of old did the spies:

she let them down by a cord through the window, Josh. ii. 15. So also David was let down through a window, 1 Sam. xix. 12. Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. 4, 7, saith excellently, "What hazards must be undergone, and what shunned by him, who neither wisheth for nor feareth death, Christ hath left to be judged by God's glory, and the use of men." "Although a Christian fly, he flieth not for fear, but obeying his Master's command, Matt. x. 23, and keeping himself pure for the salvation of others, to whom he may be useful," says Origen against Celsus.

*Let him down by the wall in a basket.* With cords, as Jeremiah, Jer. xxxviii. 6.

26. *And when Saul was come to Jerusalem.* Paul the apostle going to Damascus was converted to the knowledge of the heavenly truth, and faith in Jesus Christ. "This year," saith Camerarius, "is put the first of his apostolic office, and it falls in the thirty-fifth year of Christ, and the twentieth of Tiberius's reign. The second year he went to Arabia, and from thence having come to Damascus, he fell into danger, whence he was delivered, being *let down by a wall in a basket.* This year is now Paul's third year, and of Christ the thirty-seventh, and that time falls in with the end of Tiberius's reign. Upon the thirty-eighth year of Christ, and the first of Caius Cæsar, and his own fourth year, he came to Jerusalem to see Peter." See Gal. i. 17, 18.

*He essayed to join himself to the disciples.* That is, he endeavoured to become acquainted with them, and converse with them, as believers do with one another, above, ch. v. 13; and below, ch. x. 28.

27. *But Barnabas.* Of whom above, ch. iv. 36.

*Brought him to the apostles.* To wit, which were at Jerusalem; to Peter, to see whom he mainly came thither, and to James the Lord's brother, Gal. i. 15, 19.

*And declared.* To wit, Barnabas.

*How he had preached boldly at Damascus in the name of Jesus.* That is, openly and publicly preached Jesus and his doctrine.

28. *And he was with them.* That is, with Peter and James.

*Coming in and going out.* That is, executing his apostolical office. See of this manner of speaking above, ch. i. 21.

29. *And he spake boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus.* As much as to say, he strongly maintained the cause of Christ.

*And disputed against the Grecians.* Who they are that are here

called Grecians, Hellenists, we have explained above, ch. vi. 1, and it is no wonder that Paul, as being of Tarsus, did dispute with them peculiarly, and by themselves, and that with the greater desire, because in that controversy raised by the very same men against Stephen, they found none more for their faction than this same Paul. "Him also," saith Beza, "they slandered, that when he could not obtain marriage of the high priest's daughter, being moved with anger, he embraced the Christian religion. Many such like fables doth that murdering spirit invent this day against the faithful servants of God, both alive and dead." Ebion the heresiarch certainly, as Epiphanius relates, Hær. 30, slandereth Paul; that being a Greek, and his father also being a Greek, he should have gone up to Jerusalem, and that having tarried there a short while, he fell in love with the high priest's daughter, and hoping to enjoy her in marriage, was circumcised, and embraced the Jewish religion: but that his hope being frustrated, he was enraged with anger and wrath against the law. The very simplicity of the truth, wherewith the Holy Spirit has again and again sealed the history of Paul in the holy scriptures, refuteth enough the gross calumny of Ebion against him.

*But they went about to slay him.* Inhuman and cruel hypocrisy and superstition, when they find themselves unable to resist the truth, they, like ravenous beasts, with blind and precipitous violence run on to persecute it.

30. *They brought him.* Who was forewarned by a vision that he should leave Jerusalem, as may be seen below, ch. xxii. 17, 18. The Syriac adds, "In the night."

*To Cæsurea.* To wit, Philippi, situated about Mount Lebanon, at the meeting together of Jor and Dan, where Jordan hath its beginning. See what we have noted concerning this city above, ch. viii. 4; Matt. xvi. 14.

*And sent him forth to Tarsus.* A most famous city of Cilicia, where Saul himself was born, as may be seen below, ch. xxi. 39, xxii. 4. Of this city Strabo saith, "Tarsus is situated in a plain; it was built by the Argivi, who with Triptolemus wandered, seeking for Io. The river Cydnus passeth through it to the very place where young champions exercise their strength. Its springs not being far distant from it, and its channel running through a huge valley, whence presently the river falls into the city; the river is cold and sharp, whereby it cures both men and cattle that

are troubled with the gout, or thickness of sinews. They of Tarsus were so addicted to the study of philosophy, and that discipline which they call *encyclia*, that they outstripped Athens, Alexandria, and any other place that can be named, where there were schools and exercises of philosophers and of learning." Tarsus brought forth men eminent for learning, among others Hermogenes, who wrote with great praise of the art of rhetoric, whose work is yet extant. Stephanus Byzantius saith[1] that Tarsus was built by Sardanapalus the last king of the Assyrians. Others, in Dio Chrysostomus,[2] say it was built by heroes, or giants. Ammianus Marcellinus saith[3] that Perseus, the son of Jupiter, and Danaes were the builders of Tarsus, of which judgment was Solinus, and Lucan, who therefore calls it Persea.

31. *Then had the churches rest.* To wit, the heat of persecution being assuaged, when the violent and furious rage of the church's enemies, which was stirred up at the sight of Saul, was laid. There is no war contrary to the church's peace, but persecution.

*And were edified.* That is, and were confirmed, as Paul useth the word, 1 Cor. i. 10.

*Walking in the fear of the Lord.* A Hebraism, that is, most reverently worshipping the Lord. The like construction is in 1 Mac. vi. 23, 59.

32. *Passed throughout all quarters.* That is, went about from one place to another, encouraging the brethren.

*Which dwelt at Lydda.* Lydda, which was afterwards called Diospolis, is a city of the tribe of Ephraim, not far from the Mediterranean Sea, upon the confines of the tribe of Dan. It is also called לוד in the Hebrew text, 1 Chron. viii. 12. This city, as Josephus relates,[4] its inhabitants being gone up to Jerusalem, to the feast of tabernacles, was burnt by Cestus. Benjamin in his Itinerary saith, that Lydda in his time was called סגורס, now it is commonly called St. George.

33. *Named Eneas.* Eneas, or as the poets pronounce it Aineias, is the Greek interpretation of the Jewish name Hillel.

34. *Arise, and make thy bed.* He is not commanded to rise and walk, but he himself (not another, as was usual) who for eight years' space could not move one of his members, is commanded to rise, make up, smooth, and fit his bed for lying in, which was disordered, uneven, and troublesome to lie upon, as it useth to be by

[1] Lib. xiv. [2] Cap. 41. [3] Lib. iv. [4] Bell. Jud. lib. iv. cap. 23.

the tossings of sick people; this was a sure argument that strength was restored to his members.

35. *Saron.* Saron, or Sarona, or Saronas, is the name of a region beyond Jordan, upon the borders of the tribes of Dan and Ephraim, upon the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, from Joppa, even to Cæsarea of Palestine, rising below Lydda, of which region, 1 Chron. xxvii. 29, and Isaiah xxxiii. 9. See our literal explanation on Cant. ii. 1. The metropolis of this region was called Lesharon, or Lasharon, which belonged to Saron. Whence among the kings conquered by Joshua, Josh. xii. 18, there is, *The king of Lasharon.* The Vulgate Latin, Pagninus, and the English interpreter, judged rightly that the letter *lamed* did belong to the denomination of the city, as also in the Judaic map, לְשָׁרוֹן is a royal city, upon a hill called the Hill of Saron, in the tribe of Ephraim. Luke seems here to call this place *the Saron*, by an emphasis, for there is another city called Saron, beyond Jordan, in the tribe of Gad, upon the river Arnon, of which, 1 Chron. v. 16.

36. *Tabitha, which by interpretation is called Dorcas.* That is, whose proper Syrian name Tabitha, from the Hebrew צְבִי, a roe, was by the Greeks expressed by their proper name Dorcas. "She was called Dorcas," saith Grotius, "among the Greeks, even as Thomas, Didymus: Cephas, Peter:" see below, ver. 39.

*Full of good works, and alms-deeds which she did.* A Hebrew phrase. That is, marvellously given to every praise-worthy work, chiefly to offices of charity, by which our neighbours are helped, and the poor's wants supplied.

37. *Whom, when they had washed.* The custom of washing the bodies of the dead, was used by Greeks, Latins, and Hebrews. Ælian writes of the Illyrian Dardans, "That they were only washed thrice in their whole life, to wit, after they are born, when they are married, and when they die."[1] In Euripides, Creon king of the Thebans calls Jocasta to wash the body of her son. Misenus the trumpeter is washed, and anointed, before he is buried, in Virgil, Æn. vi. ver. 218, 219. Where Servius cites out of Ennius: "A good woman washed and anointed the body of Tarquinius." Maimonides, in his Abridgment Talmudic, called יד חזקה, book 4, of the fourth part, ch. iv., of Mourning and Mourners. "It is," saith he, "the custom in Israel, about the dead and their burial, that when any is dead, they shut his eyes,

[1] Var. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 1.

and if he hath his mouth open, it must be shut, tying a ligature about his jaws, that it open not again, the place at which he voids his excrements is stopped, but this after the body is washed. Then he is anointed with ointments made up of divers kinds of perfumes, and his head being shaved, the body is rolled up in white linen, prepared for the purpose, which are not of great value, that an equality may be kept betwixt the rich and the poor. Also the face of the dead, before he be put in the coffin, is covered with a handkerchief, the price of which must not exceed the fourth part of a shekel," which fourth part is equal to an Attic *drachma*, and to the Roman *denary;* and is equivalent to sevenpence half-penny of the now English money. "Being then put into the coffin," saith Maimonides further, "he is carried upon men's shoulders, even to the burying place, and there before the body be buried, there are some things read, which have been written by their ancestors for this purpose, whereby divine justice is set forth, and the sins of men exaggerated, for which they deserved death, and God is entreated that he may exercise his justice, so as not forget himself to be merciful. Then the corpse, together with the bier, upon which it lay upon its back, being put in a cave, is covered. Lastly, they go to the mourners, and something is recited by them for their comfort. Which being ended, every one goes to his business, neither doth there any difference appear betwixt the rich and the poor, the noble and the ignoble, neither in the burial of the dead nor in the comfort of the living."

38. *And forasmuch as Lydda was nigh unto Joppa.* There are said to be six miles betwixt Joppa and Lydda. See what we have said of Joppa in our literal explanation, Jonah i. 3.

39. *Shewing the coats and garments.* That is, woven works, the monuments of her hands, as Virgil speaks. The words in the Greek signify coats and cloaks.

*Which Dorcas made while she was with them.* So it is in the Greek, but the Vulgate interpreter takes the words, as if it were said, "which she made for them." So also Cyprian, in his book of alms and works, doth take them. "Tabitha," saith he, "being very much given to the doing of good works and alms-deeds, when she was sick and dead, Peter is called to her lifeless corpse; and when according to his apostolical humanity he came, the widows stood about him weeping, and requesting, showing the cloaks, and the coats, and all the garments which they had taken

before, neither did they intercede for the dead with their own words, but with her works. Peter knew that what was thus asked, might be obtained; and that Christ's assistance would not be wanting to praying widows, when he himself was clothed in the person of those widows. When therefore he prayed upon his knees, and this fit advocate for the poor and widows had presented to God the prayers addressed to him, having turned about to the body that lay already washed upon a table, *Tabitha,* saith he, *rise in the name of Jesus Christ.* Neither did He, who said in his gospel that he would give whatever was asked in his name, fail Peter, but brought present help. Death therefore is suspended, and her spirit restored; and to the wonder and astonishment of all, the revived body is restored to the light of the world; so powerful were the deserts of charity, such was the efficacy of good works. She who gave supplies to the labouring widows merited, that is, obtained, to be restored to life by the prayer of the widows." The ancient ladies used to make woven garments with their own hands, as Servius hath noted upon Æneid xi. 74. See 1 Sam. ii. 19; Prov. xxxi. 13; Tobit ii. 11, &c.

40. *But Peter put them all forth.* That is, commanded them to go forth, that, being solitary and retired, he might pray with greater freedom.

*And kneeled down and prayed.* That all the parts of him might be employed in the worship of God, and that the outward exercise of the body, might help the weakness of the mind. "It is our part," saith Calvin, "as often as we kneel, that the inward submission of our heart answer the ceremony, that it may not be vain and deceitful."

*Tabitha, arise.* This speaking to the dead body, doth more clearly hold out the power of God in raising the dead, than if in the third person it should be said, Let this body be enlivened, and revive again. Therefore Ezekiel, holding out the deliverance of the people under the type of the resurrection, ch. xxxvii. 4, *Dry bones* saith he, *hear the word of the Lord.* And Christ, John v. 25, *The dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that shall hear shall live.* That was the real voice of Christ, which, being sent out at Peter's mouth, restored her spirit to Tabitha's body. The circumstances which follow, are put to confirm the truth of the miracle.

42. *Believed,* &c. Now the fruit of the miracle appears manifold.

For God comforted the poor; a pious matron is restored unto the church, in whose death there was a great loss, and many are called to the faith. For though Peter was the minister of so great a miracle, yet he keeps not men to himself, but directs them to Christ.

43. *With one Simon a tanner.* It was a custom, even among the learnedest of the Jews, to learn some trade, so that when it was requisite, they might sustain themselves, and not burden others. So Rabbi Jose was a skinner, Rabbi Jochanan a shoemaker, Rabbi Juda a baker, Rabbi Meir a scrivener. Josephus saith,[1] of Asinæus and Asilæus, Jews in Babylon, "Their mothers set them to learn the weavers' trade, which is not esteemed indecent to those nations, where even men are makers of yarn." So the apostles were fishers after Christ's resurrection. Paul, who was trained up in sacred and profane learning at Tarsus and at Jerusalem, made tents, as well as Aquila, born in Pontus; below, ch. xviii. 3.

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## CHAPTER X.

1. *There was in Cesarea.* Which, in the time of the Romans, was the head city of Palestine, as we learn from Tacitus, lib. viii. Cornelius the centurion, who is spoken of here, was made bishop of this city by Peter, as Isidore saith in his Chronicle, or rather Lucas Tudensis in his additions to it.

*Cornelius.* This name shows him to be a Roman, or at least of Italian extraction, and in him began to be fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah, ch. ii. 4, 11.

*Centurion of the band, which is called the Italian band.* That is, of the Italian legion. "The Italian legion," saith Grotius, "is on an ancient stone, which Lipsius on Tacitus, Hist. ii. mentions, and Tacitus himself oftentimes."

2. *A devout man, and one that feared God.* That is, a worshipper of the true God, according to that which reason and the law of Moses did teach him to be most agreeable to inward godliness. Such are called "holy amongst the nations" by the Talmudists; "devout Greeks," below, ch. vii. 4.

[1] Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 12,

*With all his house.* Cornelius did govern his family in the fear of the Lord, contemning the fear of danger, which might thence follow, for the Jewish religion was very odious in those days: neither was it lawful for any Roman to embrace any strange religion as they called it. "Wherefore," saith Calvin, very well, "although the sincere profession of the gospel is much at this day decried, yet that fearfulness is too criminal, if, on the account of that unjust hatred, any one should not dare dedicate his family, by a holy institution, to God's worship."

*Giving much alms to the poor.* That is, To all poor Jews, whom he loved the rather for that they worshipped the one true God, and with open bowels did bestow what God's goodness had afforded him.

*And praying to God alway.* That is, Assiduous in pouring forth prayers to the one true God, to which the daily benefits of God do invite us and stir us up.

3. *He saw in a vision evidently.* Not in dreams but waking, with corporeal eyes, not ravished in spirit without himself, as it happened to Peter after, ver. 10, and ch. xi. 5.

*About the ninth hour of the day.* That is, about the hour of evening prayer and sacrifice. See our notes above, ch. iii. 1.

*An angel of God.* Out of God's goodness, an angel and an apostle are sent to the centurion, who had rightly made use of the heavenly gifts bestowed on him, that he might be enriched with the full light of the gospel.

4. *What is it, Lord?* As if he should say, Command what thou wilt, Lord, I will obey thy commands.

*Are come up for a memorial before God.* That is, thy alms and thy prayers have been pleasing to God. The phrase is taken from the legal incense. "For," saith Grotius, "that is properly called אַזְכָּרָה, in Greek *μνημόσυνον*, 'a memorial,' Leviticus and elsewhere. And the smoke of the incense is said to ascend, Rev. viii. 4. But this incense was a type of prayers, Rev. v. 8; viii. 3. Prayer, say the ancients, is carried up by two wings, fasting and the works of mercy."

5. *And now.* That is, now therefore. The angel shows him the apostle, and the apostle shows him Christ.

6. *He shall tell thee what thou oughtest to do.* That is, as it is expounded, ch. xi. 14: *Who shall speak words to thee, in which thou and all thy family shall be saved.* As if he should say, he

will instruct thee in the knowledge of Christ (which is the only way to salvation), that thou, and thy whole house, may be saved. God uses no other way, but the instrument of preaching, to instil into men the knowledge of the gospel. "This is God's ordinary way which he hath established, and we may not expect another," most truly saith (and proves it, from Rom. x. 14) my dearest wife's uncle, the Rev. Samuel Gardner, Doctor of Divinity, one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary, in his grave and learned sermon on the dignity and duty of the ministers of the gospel, printed in 1672.

7. *A soldier, fearing God.* All the domestics of Cornelius feared the Lord, as is said before, ver. 2, but all the soldiers which were under his command, were not godly and religious. We have a like παραλληλισμὸς of soldiers and domestics, Matt. viii. 9.

*Of them that waited on him.* That is, they waited before the doors to receive his commands. Ovid, speaking of a lover and a soldier, saith,

"This tends his mistress's, but that his captain's, doors."

8. *When he had declared all these things to them.* Cornelius explained all things to his soldiers and servants, the more to encourage them to perform a command, which they saw was more God's than man's. "He doubted not," saith Calvin, "to trust those with this great secret, whom he had before trained honestly up."

9. *Peter went up to the house-top.* Greek, "to the roof of the house." The Jews built the roofs of their houses flat, not spire-wise. Jerome, in his epistle to Sunia and Fretela, says, "that in the eastern provinces, that is called δῶμα, which the Latins call *tectum*. For, in Palestine and Egypt, or in those places where the holy bible was writ or interpreted, their houses are not ridged but flat roofed, which at Rome they call leads or balconies, that is, flat roofs supported by beams placed across." The Vulgate translation uses this word for a house, Prov. xxi. 9; xxv. 24. Anselm, on Matthew, fol. 45: "In Palestine they used to make their roofs flat, not coped. Even so the temple of Solomon was made flat above, and in the circuit of the gallery there were grates, lest any one should unawares fall down: and the doctors had there their seats, that they might from thence speak to the people."

*To pray.* To wit, secretly, and without interruption. Suetonius

says of Augustus, "If at any time he desired to do anything in secret, and without interruption, he had an apartment above for that purpose," &c.

*About the sixth hour.* That is, as the famous Drusius interprets it, "The time of prayer, which they call the prayer of sacrifice, or of oblation; which began at half an hour past six, and lasted till half an hour past nine. It was also the hour of dining, therefore in the book, whose title is *Principium Sapientiæ*, it is called the time of refreshment. Before this prayer they tasted not of anything, and it was of great esteem amongst the ancients." See what is said above, ch. ii. 15, iii. 1.

10. *Would have eaten.* Greek, "tasted;" that is, eaten. "A metonyme of the designed effect," saith Piscator; "for we taste meats for this reason, that, if they please us, we may eat them." From hence we may gather, that the Jews were wont to dine at mid-day, (which with them was the sixth hour,) and Josephus in his own life, says that this was the hour of their dinner on their sabbath. See before, ch. ii. 15.

*He fell into a trance.* That is, he was entranced, or without himself, that he minded not what was done about him, neither had he any sense of any outward thing, but was wholly intent upon his internal ideas. "Ἐξίστασθαι in this place is," saith Price, (as saith Apuleius in his Apology,) "to be astonished even to the forgetfulness of things present, and the memory being by little and little removed from corporeal things, is made intent upon that nature which is immortal and divine." Augustine says of his mother, Confess. ix. 5, she suffered a defection of mind, and for a time was estranged from noticing things present.

11. *And he saw heaven opened.* That is, heaven seemed to him to be divided, as it were with a wide opening; and that way it opened, a covering, like a great sheet, did descend to him bound at four corners, hanging from heaven down to the earth. "But," saith Grotius, "that sheet seemed to hang from heaven to signify our liberty indulged from heaven." See what have said before, ch. vii. 56.

*A certain vessel, as it had been a sheet.* Greek, σκεῦός τι ὡς ὀθόνην. "Although I am not ignorant," saith the most famous Heinsius, "how large signification the בְּלִי of the Hebrews and the *Vas* of the Romans hath, yet I had rather in this place call it *involucrum*, a cloak, or something like it; σκεῦος, ὡς ὀθόνην, a

cloak, as it were a sheet, especially since ὀθόνη is used by the Greeks for a cloak. Hesychius, the most learned of interpreters, ὀθόναι, every thing that serveth to cover. It may be he alludes to the בְּלִי of the Hebrew shepherds, which was either a cloak, or a satchel, in which they used to put their meat and cups, out of which they drank, and their other necessaries. Such a one is that of Zech. xi. 15, σκεῦος ποιμένος ἀπείρου, the vessel of a foolish shepherd. Although there the Greeks render vessels in the plural number."

*Knit at the four corners, and let down to the earth.* That is, being bound at the four corners to hang from heaven to earth.

12. *Wherein were.* Not in reality, but in appearance, as says Cyril of Alexandria, lib. ix. against Julian.

*All.* That is, all sorts.

*Four-footed beasts of the earth, and creeping things.* Greek, "Four-footed beasts, and wild beasts, and creeping things." The word בְּהֵמוֹת, four-footed beasts, in the Vulgate Latin edition is taken in as large a sense here as amongst the naturalists. But in the Greek text it only comprehends domestic creatures, and which are wont to be kept for the common use of men, as camels, horses, asses, dogs, oxen, sheep, hogs, and others of that kind: and therefore is added, *and wild beasts.* The Hebrew noun בְּהֵמָה is taken four ways: first, for any brute creature, as when it is only opposed to man, as Ps. lxxiii. 22. Whence it is, that the serpent is also reckoned amongst the בְּהֵמוֹת, Gen. iii. 14. Secondly, for any four-footed beast, somewhat big, which brings forth young ones alive, when it is opposed to birds, reptiles, and whatsoever liveth under the water. But wheresoever בְּהֵמָה and חַיָּה are opposed, as Gen. i. 25, then בְּהֵמָה signifies beasts of burden, flocks, or any domestic cattle, and חַיָּה wild cattle, whose other name וִיז Ps. l. 11, lxxx. 14, seems to be taken from their motion. Because the Hebrew וִיז and Arabic *hazaza*, signifies "to move," or, "move one's self." For the tame and gentle animals have their pastures ascertained by their owners, and are fed at home: on the contrary, the wild cattle wander about here and there for their food, and (as the philosopher says) like shepherds, are forced from place to place for their food. But it appears from 1 Sam. xvii. 44; Isa. xviii. 6; Jer. xxvii. 33, that wild beasts are also often comprehended under בְּהֵמוֹת. Moreover in Deut. xiv. 4, 5, stags, roes, buffaloes, &c., are reckoned amongst the species בְּהֵמוֹת which the

law alloweth to be eaten. Lastly, in Job xl. 10, the noun בְּהֵמוֹת, a sea-horse, is of a plural termination, but singular sense.

*Creeping things.* A creeping creature, or reptile is called רֶמֶשׂ, "from treading the ground," and שֶׁרֶץ, from plenty, and זְחַל from the slowness of its motion. The noun reptiles, Gen. ix. 3, and in other places is often taken for anything that treads. Sometimes it is opposed to four-footed beasts and birds, and so it includes fishes, as here, and Lev. xi. 46; Rom. i. 23. For a water-animal in the Hebrew phrase is called חַיָּה רֹמֶשֶׂת בַּמַּיִם, "a creature creeping in the waters." For although שָׂחָה, "to swim," is proper to water-creatures, whence they are called νηκτὰ, "swimmers," Wisd. xix. 18, yet the scripture says they creep in the waters, but never says they swim." "Everything that swims," saith Ambrose,[1] "has the figure, or nature, of a creeping thing. For although, when they have plunged themselves into the bottom, they seem to cleave the water, yet when they swim on the top, their whole body creeps, and is drawn over the uppermost parts of the water. Also amphibious creatures, which have feet and the use of going, yet when they are on the top of the waters, they do not walk, but swim; neither use they the sole of the foot for treading, but as an oar for creeping. Lastly, in scripture every creature is said to be a reptile, which is neither a four-footed creature, somewhat big, nor a bird, nor a fish. So Moses places amongst reptiles the small four-footed creatures, as mice and moles, Lev. xi. 29, or all that are without blood, or creep upon their bellies, as worms, whether they fly, as, besides some locusts, flies, butterflies, &c., whether four-footed as locusts, or have many feet, as the worm *scolopendra*, Lev. xi. 42.

*Fowls of the air.* That is, birds. "A bird," saith Bochartus, "is a two-footed creature, winged and feathered. It differs much from a four-footed creature, having neither hairs, lips, teeth, horns, nor fore-feet, but it hath נֹצָה, 'feathers' for hairs, and מוֹקֵר, a 'beak' for lips and teeth, כְּנָפִים, 'wings' for the fore-feet, and for horns some of them have כִּרְבֻּלָה 'a comb.' Also birds want brows, eye-brows, nostrils, and ears. The owl and bustard have feathers for ears, the rest have holes. Inwardly they have neither reins nor bladder, and therefore their urine and dung are excerned at one passage. What in cattle is the קִבָּה, 'the maw,' Deut. xviii. 3, that in birds is מָרְאָה, 'a crop,' Lev. i. 16. There also נוֹצָה, as some will

[1] Hexaem, lib. v. cap. 1.

have it, is the belly of a bird, which the Hebrews in other places call בֶּרֶשׁ, from Jer. li. 34.

13. *And there came a voice unto him.* To wit, from heaven; by which voice God purified those things which were before unclean, and abrogated the law which concerned the choice of living creatures, that he might withal inform him that no sort of people is forsaken of God.

*Kill, and eat.* That is, kill all these, and without making any difference, eat of them all. As God, by this voice from heaven, did show that he gave the Jews converted to Christ, the liberty of eating of all sorts of meats; so it also signified that there was no reason to abstain from communion with strangers, after that through God's assistance, by their faith in Christ, they were purged from their idolatry, and evil manners, and had wholly devoted themselves to piety. For the pale, or the common wall of the ceremonial law, which forbade a closer communion betwixt the Jews and Gentiles, being removed, there was no reason that souls joined by holiness to Christ and to God, should be any longer separated from one another.

14. *Not so,* &c. Ezekiel, being commanded to taste an unclean thing, ch. iv. 14, gave a like answer. Daniel and his companions, Dan. i. 8, 12, chose rather to feed on pulse alone, than be defiled by the king's meat. Eleazer, 2 Macc. vi. 18, though they would have constrained him to eat swine's flesh, by forcing it into his mouth, chose rather to endure the greatest extremities, than in this respect obey the king. "Do not (says he in Josephus) esteem this a small sin, to eat defiled meat; for the case is the same, whether thou transgress in great or small matters, for by both the law is alike despised." Seven brothers, with their mother, imitating Eleazer's constancy, having, for the same cause, suffered very much, ended their lives in martyrdom. These things are described, 2 Macc. vii., and in Josephus's book of the Maccabees.

*Common and unclean.* That is, profane or impure. For when God had chosen the Jews for his own people, he prescribed them a form of living, which should distinguish them from the profane gentiles. Therefore whatsoever was in use among the gentiles against the rule of the law, was called common, or unclean; for nothing was thought sanctified or pure, but what God had ordained for the use of his people.

*What God hath cleansed do not thou call common.* As much as

to say, Now when God has abolished and abrogated his laws concerning unclean meats, do not thou, out of a foolish scruple, abstain from any sort of meat, as if they were profane or impure. That this distinction of beasts into clean and unclean (used even before the flood, Gen. vii. 2) is by Christ taken away, is evident, not only by this voice to Peter, uttered from heaven, but from Matt. xv. 11; Rom. xiv. 14, &c.; 1 Cor. x. 25—27; Col. ii. 16, 17, 20, 21; 1 Tim. iv. 4; Tit. i. 5. Therefore if any one does yet use this distinction of meats, as besides the Jews, the Arabians, and Mahometans do, he limits himself by an idle scruple, nor uses that liberty which Christ by his death has procured us. The verb חָמָא, which is here translated κοινοῦν, is properly "to pollute, improperly to esteem, or declare a thing polluted," as it is after expounded, ver. 28, κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον λέγειν, "to call a thing common or unclean."

16. *This was done thrice.* To signify the immutableness of the divine purpose, which was to be thoroughly imprinted in his mind.

*And straight the vessel was received up into heaven.* The sheet let down from heaven, represents the church culled by Heaven from among the Jews and Gentiles, made clean by faith, which in its spiritual birth, as it were, descends from heaven, Rev. iii. 12; xxi. 2. And as this sheet was taken up into heaven, so are they to return to heaven.

17. *Now while Peter doubted in himself what this vision, which he had seen, should mean.* That is, while Peter was considering with himself what this vision sent him from heaven should signify.

19. *The Spirit said unto him.* That is, the Spirit commanded him. אָמַר, "he said," oftentimes with the Hebrews, but always with the Arabians, is as much as "to bid, to command." Such is that, Luke xii. 13, *Speak to my brother, that he divide the inheritance with me;* that is, command my brother to divide the inheritance betwixt us.

20. *Doubting nothing.* To go thither, where these men fetch thee, although he that sends for thee be not a Jew.

*For I have sent them.* The Spirit is said to do that which he commanded by the angel before, ver. 5. "Hence," saith Calvin, "we are warned that the consciences of men cannot be assured that they do that which they do safely otherwise, than as being taught by the word of God, they propose to themselves to do nothing without his advice or command."

21. *But Peter going down to the men.* To wit, as is supplied in the Greek text, who were sent to him from Cornelius.

22. *Of good report among all the nation of the Jews.* That is, not only recommended by the praises of this or the other man, but of the whole Jewish nation. Solinus of Scipio Nasica: "He was adjudged a good man, not by a private testimony, but by the attestation of the whole senate."

*To hear words.* That is, commands, or what he ought to do, as before, ver. 6, the angel spoke. So דְּבָרִים "words," seventy interpreters call ἐντολὰς, "commands," Deut. xvii. 19; Jer. xix. 15, &c.

23. *Some of the brethren.* Peter prudently takes six of the brethren in his company, that they might be witnesses of what he did. See after, ch. xi. 12.

24. *But on the morrow.* That is, after Peter went from the city of Joppa.

*Having called*, &c. Cornelius, like Rahab of Jericho, Josh. ii. 12, 13, studies not to keep the benefit of faith to himself, but desired that all his relations and kinsfolks might be made partakers of the same grace with him, as who, he knew, might be comprehended under the name of his family.

*His near friends.* Vulgate, *necessariis amicis.* Gellius 13, Noct. Att. 3: "Those who are conjoined by the law of affinity, and familiarity, are called *necessarii festi.*" "*Necessarii*," as saith Gallus Elius, "are such who are either kinsfolks, or related by marriages, on whom, above others, friendly kindnesses are bestowed." Nonius calls *necessarii* "allies," "Seeing that," says he, "*necessitas* is affinity, hence those that are allied by marriage, are called *necessarii.*" But that not only allies, but kinsfolks are comprised under this name, is sufficiently manifest from this place of Valerius Maximus, lib. ii. c. 1. "Our ancestors did celebrate a solemn feast, and called it *charistia*, at which none were present but allies and kinsfolks; that so, if any quarrel were betwixt those very near friends called *necessarii*, it might at this sacred feast be quite quashed by friendly peace-makers." Marcellus does distinguish *necessarii* from friends and neighbours, as if they were bound together by a nearer tie of amity, lib. 4. Epist. Fam. to Cicero. "Amidst the great scarcity of friends, neighbours and intimates (*ac necessariorum*) who would sincerely have favoured my safety, I was very sensible of your great kindness and goodwill towards me."

25. *And it came to pass that as Peter was coming in.* Greek, "But as it happened that Peter entered." That is, when Peter was just now about to enter the house of Cornelius. "For," saith the most famous Beza, "these things were not acted openly, but at Cornelius's house, and that even at the threshold of his door, as appears from ver. 27, 28.

26. *But Peter,* &c. Peter does not admit of a religious reverence to be paid him as God's ambassador, as was in times past given to the prophets; because the Man Jesus Christ, the only Mediator betwixt God and men, is alone possessed of that embassy, and that authority joined to it; all others besides, in the matters of religion, are not lords or masters, but fellow servants and disciples. See Rev. xix. 10; xxii. 8, 9.

*I myself also am a man.* That is, an earthly man, a minister of that divine and heavenly Man, Christ Jesus, and thy fellow servant.

27. *And as he talked with him.* From the threshold of the house where he met him, into the house itself.

28. *How that it is an unlawful thing.* That is, it is thought an unlawful thing.

*To keep company, or come unto one of another nation.* Seeing that the Jews could not altogether avoid converse and commerce with strangers, they ordered the matter so, that they neither went to their houses, nor ate with them. On this account it was that Peter (ver. 21, 22) first speaks before the doors to the men sent by Cornelius, neither brought them into the house, until he was assured they were those of whom he had been warned by God; and, ch. xi. 3, Peter is accused by the Jews, that he had entered the houses of men uncircumcised, and eaten with them. And hence is that in Justin the historian about the Jews: "Because they remember they were driven from Egypt for fear of infection, lest they should for the same reason be hated by the natives, they cautiously avoided communicating with strangers: which at first happening for this reason, became by degrees a matter of discipline and religion." And Apollonius Molo says, "That they do not frequent the company of those who follow a course of life different from the Jews." "Which," saith most famous Selden, "Josephus plainly asserts to be true, whilst he largely defends the same thing from some of the Greek customs about strangers."

*But God hath shewed me that I should not call any man common*

*or unclean.* That is, that for the future no man should be reputed unclean, for being uncircumcised.

29. *Without doubting I came.* Greek, "I came without gainsaying." Calvin says excellently: "This is the holy silence of faith, when without remonstrating with God, we quietly undertake what he commands, banishing far from us what contrary arguments may be suggested to us."

30. *Four days ago to this hour.* In the Greek is added, "I was fasting." The most learned Ludovicus de Dieu thinks that the present hour is meant, and that in the morning of that day. "For," saith he, "seeing that Joppa is nine miles, or a day's journey, from Cæsarea, Peter set forth of Joppa on the day before, and the day after in the morning entered Cæsarea, and discoursed with Cornelius. 'It is four days to that very hour,' saith Cornelius, 'since I betook myself to fasting:' for I translate ἤμην νηστεύων, 'I was fasting,' not, 'I fasted.'"

*At the ninth hour I was praying.* Greek, "And at the ninth hour," to wit, of that day, on which I betook myself to fasting, 'praying.'

*And behold.* When I was very earnest at prayer, and my mind was free from all disturbances, which things are wont to make us more obnoxious to phantasms and visions.

*A man.* That is, an angel in the shape of a man. So Moses promiscuously sometimes calls them men, sometimes angels, whom Abraham saw in human shape.

*In bright clothing.* "A bright garment," saith Calvin, "was a mark of celestial glory, and as it were a badge of that Divine majesty, with which an angel ought to shine. The evangelists tell us that Christ's garments had such a brightness, when he showed his glory to the three disciples in the mount. And they tell the same of the angels, when they were sent to attest Christ's resurrection. For as hitherto God has designed to suit our infirmities, and commanded his angels to come down in our fleshly shape; so he allows them some rays of his glory, to make the commands he sends by them reverenced and believed.

31. *Heard.* See our notes on ver. 4.

33. *Thou hast well done that thou art come.* That is, thou hast done very commendably in coming. See a like phrase of praising, 2 Pet. i. 19.

*In thy sight.* Ἐνώπιόν σου, so the Syriac and Arabian reads it, whereas the vulgar Greek editions have it, ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, "in

the sight of God." That is, having God before our eyes, whom it is not lawful to mock by dissimulation.

*To hear all things*, &c. Cornelius prudently distinguishes betwixt God and man, for he makes God the author of the commandments, but allows man no more but the ministry and embassy. "Thou shalt find us," saith he, "attentive and obedient disciples to all those things God has commanded us by thee: so that he alone shall have the command, thou shalt be only his minister: he alone shall speak, but from thy mouth." And God prescribes this to all his servants, in the person of Ezekiel, Ezek. xxxiii. 7: *And thou, O son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel: therefore thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me.*

34. *But Peter opening his mouth.* It is an emphatical phrase, which is wont to be used, when one, after a long silence, begins to speak, as Job. iii. 1; and of any matter of singular moment, as Psa. lxxviii. 2; Prov. viii. 6; Matt. v. 2; xiii. 35; and that with an eager vehemence, with an ardour and emotion both of mind and voice, as Judg. xi. 35; Job xxxiii. 2; Psa. xlix. 4. Thus the apostle would have the Ephesians by prayer to entreat God, that utterance might be given him, that he might open his mouth, Eph. vi. 19, where the words ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματος, by way of explication, are expounded in the following phrase, ἐν παῤῥησίᾳ, with boldness.

*Of a truth I perceive.* That is, what before, being prejudiced, I did not understand. "'Επ' ἀληθείας καταλαμβάνομαι," saith Heinsius, "he may say, who being really persuaded, is forced to change his opinion. Peter was persuaded that it was unlawful for a Jew to converse with Gentiles; although the Lord in that vision, which is mentioned ver. 11, and afterwards, endeavoured to make him forsake this opinion. Now, being by Cornelius's example, more fully convinced that that was true which was enigmatically by a vision signified to him, he says that he is ἐπ' ἀληθείας καταλαμβάνεσθαι, which is, 'conquered by truth,' or 'compelled by the truth to change his opinion.'"

*God is no respecter of persons.* That is, there is no man whom God respects for those prerogatives, which may be common as well to the bad as good. "It is to be observed," saith Estius, on Rom. ii. 11, "that this phrase, by which any one is said to be a respecter of persons, which indeed is peculiar to the holy writ, is derived

from the Hebrews, by whom they are said to take, or accept a man's countenance, or to look upon a man's countenance, who, for some quality they see or know in him, as for his power, riches, nobility, kinship, do so reverence and love him, that for his sake they deviate from truth, justice, and right. Hence is that reviling of the judges, Psa. lxxxii. 2: *How long will ye judge unjustly, and accept the persons of the wicked?* Hence the Pharisees and the Herodians, deceitfully endeavouring to entrap Christ, said, (Matt. xii. 16; Mark xii. 14,) *We know that thou regardest not the persons of men, but teachest the way of God in truth.* For this reason justice is painted blind, because it respects not the faces of men. But because the Greek word *πρόσωπον*, the compound of which, *προσωπολημψία*, 'respecting of persons,' signifies both the face and person, from thence it happens that the Latin interpreters sometimes translate it, 'to respect the face," sometimes, 'to respect the person,' when as the Hebrew word פנים properly does only signify 'faces.' Whence also the Syriac translates it, 'the respecting of faces,' here, and James ii." Thus far Estius.

35. *But in every nation*, &c. Therefore there was no need that foreigners should follow the legal rites of the people of Israel, to obtain grace with God. That was only requisite to make them be partakers of the land of Canaan and its temporal blessings. But as to the spirituals, it was always true, which Peter here saith, *In all nations, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him;* although through prejudice he had not understood this before. For he speaks of the uncircumcised Gentiles, who did not keep the law of Moses, such as was Cornelius the centurion. For this reason the prophets, when they reprehend the wickedness of idolatrous people, and denounce the judgments of God against them, they never accuse them for omitting circumcision, or keeping of the sabbath, or violating any such like ceremonies, neither do they advise them to keep them: but only remember their sins against the law of nature. For that covenant did oblige no others besides the Israelites, with whom it was made. Of this, see Isaiah, from ch. xiii. to ch. xxii., and Ezek. from ch. xxv. to ch. xxxiii. Also Obadiah, Jonah, and Nahum. And moreover, when other people were called by the Gospel to the knowledge of the true God, God would not oppress them with the burden of the ceremonial law, as after, ch. xv.

*He that feareth him.* That is, who fears nothing more than that

he should commit or omit any thing by which he should alienate God from him, and make him less propitious and favourable to him.

*And worketh righteousness.* That is, and liveth purely and incorruptly.

*He is accepted with him.* From the favourableness of the acceptor, not from the worth of the deed or doer. "This," saith Austin, "is not occasioned by the weight of man's merit, but by the order of the divine counsel. Hence Paul, 2 Thess. i. 5, does not say the faithful are worthy of the kingdom of God, for which they suffer, but are esteemed worthy, καταξιοῦσθαι, to wit, out of the grace and mercy of God, who will have them reputed such. Neither was Christ's mind otherwise, Rev. iii. 4, although he simply, and without any restriction, calls the faithful worthy to walk with him in white, because he esteemed them so by grace.

36. *The word which God sent,* &c. Greek, τὸν λόγον ὃν ἀπέστειλε, which also is in Hebrew אֶת־הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח, "This is the word which he sent:" that is, which he signified by a messenger. The particle אֶת, which forms the accusative case, in such like constructions, is as much as the pronoun זֶה, with a verb substantive understood, and is to be rendered by a nominative case. Examples make this appear: Hag. ii. 5. אֶת־הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר כָּרַתִּי אִתְּכֶם, Seventy, verbatim, for זֶה הַדָּבָר, *This is the word which I have covenanted with you.* Zech. vii. 7, הֲלֹוא אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר קָרָא יְהוָה, for הֲלֹא אֵלֶּה, *Are not those the words which the Lord hath cried?* In ch. viii. 17, כִּי אֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה for כִּי הֵמָּה כָּל אֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר שָׂנֵאתִי, *For these are all those things which I hate.* 2 Kings ix. 18, אֲנִי וְאַתָּה אֶת רֹכְבִים, for הֵמָּה הָרֹכְבִים, *Thou and I are those who rode on horseback.* So in this place τὸν λόγον ὃν ἀπέστειλε, is the same as οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὃν ἀπέστειλε, "Which," saith Ludovicus de Dieu, "the Rabbins' most usual way of speaking confirms; who, when they would say, οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὃν ἀπέστειλε, say אותו הדבר אשר שלח, which is word by word, λόγον ὃν ἀπέστειλε, *the word which he sent you.* אותו, properly signifies 'him,' but is used by them for 'that is.' So אותם, is properly 'them,' and is used by the Rabbins for 'they are.' The Syriac translation did well understand the Hebraism of this place, which translates it, 'For this is the word which he sent.'"

*Declaring peace by Jesus Christ.* That is, when he had foretold the future peace and the reconciliation of God with men by Jesus Christ. "Peter," saith Lud. de Dieu, "seems to have in view

that saying of God in Isa. lvi. 1, *Thus saith the Lord, Keep ye judgment, and do justice, for my salvation is near to come, and my righteousness to be revealed.* The peace or salvation which was at hand by Jesus Christ, is there declared, but at the same time the word is sent, that is, the command to the children of Israel, that they should work justice. And so the children of Israel themselves are taught, that those only are truly accepted of God, and even all those, who study righteousness. Because there straight is added, *Blessed is the man that doth this, and the son of man that layeth hold on it,* whosoever he be, whether Jew or Gentile, without any respect of persons. And so he truly says, that that which he had said in the 35th verse is the self-same speech which God had long before sent to the children of Israel, when he declared peace by Jesus Christ, who was to come."

*He is Lord of all.* That is, neither is Christ the Lord of one, but of all nations. Moses was the minister of the law, and that to the Jews alone: but Christ is the power of God to give salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first and then to the Greek, Rom. i. 16. Hither pertains what Paul says, Rom. iii. 29, *Is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles,* &c., and Eph. ii. 14: *For he is our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us,* &c. Hence Luke ii. 14; at Christ's birth the angels declare peace on earth to men; at his resurrection all power both in heaven and earth is given him, Matt. xxviii. 18; and a little before his departure he commands his disciples that they should preach the gospel to every creature, Mark xvi. 15.

37. *You know,* &c. As much as to say, you have heard by fame and report, that there is a rumour spread over all Judea, which first began in Galilee, since that John preached baptism, thereby to stir people's minds to the expectation of Christ.

*For beginning.* The causal particle is wanting in the Greek text. And, indeed, deservedly, for it is referred to *verbum,* "the word," which here is put for the fame or report of Jesus, which report is said to have begun in Galilee.

38. *Jesus of Galilee, how God anointed him.* The particle ὡς, *how,* is transposed, as Rom. xii. 3, and the relative, *αὐτὸν, him,* is redundant after the manner of the Hebrews. "But as for the word anointing," saith Beza, "it is derived from the custom of the Jews, whose kings, prophets, and priests used to be anointed.

Thence it came to pass that they were said to be anointed by God, on whom he had bestowed gifts and virtues." But here is allusion made to the place of Isa. lxi. 1, cited Luke iv. 18, which also David Kimchi, by a mystical sense, refers to the Messiah.

*With the Holy Ghost.* That is, with the gifts of the Holy Ghost.

*And with power.* That is, power of preaching the gospel with profit and success.

*Who went about,* &c. That is, in three years' time he travelled over all Judea, that no corner of it should want his good deeds.

*Oppressed of the devil.* That is, troubled with desperate diseases. "All diseases," saith Calvin, "are as so many ferulas which God chastises us withal; but when God, out of his fatherly indulgence, deals mildlier with us, then he is said to smite us with his hand; but in his heavier punishments he makes use of Satan, the minister of his wrath, and, as it were, his executioner. And this distinction is to be diligently kept; for it were an absurd thing to say, a man were possessed by the devil, who is only troubled with a fever, or any other common distemper; but the loss of our understanding, raging madness, and other prodigious maladies, are fitly and properly attributed to Satan; for which reason, the scripture calls those men 'possessed with the devil' who fall suddenly mad, and are hurried with such folly, that they almost seem to be turned into beasts."

*For God was with him.* That is, because God loved him specially, and always heard him, Matt. iii. 17; Job xi. 42.

*And we.* To wit, the apostles.

*Are witnesses.* Eye-witnesses.

40. *And shewed him openly.* That is, openly showed him, being arisen from the dead.

41. *Not to all the people.* Who had most cruelly slain him, or delivered him to be slain.

*But unto witnesses chosen before of God.* That is, first designed by God through Christ. Luke here uses the verb χειροτονεῖν, which properly signifies, to choose with hands lift up, for, in general, to chose; which also Grotius observes to be done by Josephus and Philo.

*Who did eat and drink with him.* That is who lived with him in the most friendly and familiar manner.

*After he rose from the dead.* These words are to be joined with the end of the foregoing verse, as Camero well observes.

42. *And he commanded*, &c. Lest any one should think, that though indeed those things were revealed to the apostles, which in their time were fit to be known, but yet that there were other things which God would reserve for future ages, we must observe that our Lord Jesus, who is here said to command the apostles to preach to all people that he was appointed by God to be the judge of the quick and the dead, did foretell, Matt. xxiv. 14, that the gospel, by which he should judge the world, should be preached all over the whole earth, that it might be for a testimony to all nations, and that then the end should come. Which thing also these words of Paul seem to allude to, that God shall judge the secrets of men according to the gospel by Jesus Christ, Rom. ii. 16, not therefore by any more perfect doctrine or revelation.

*Ordained by God to be the judge of the quick and the dead.* A judge, according to the Hebrew custom, does in this place denote such a judge, who at the same time has the dominion and chief power over them to whom he is appointed judge. From whence, Rom. xiv. 9, Christ is said for this end to be dead, and live again, that he might have the chief dominion conjoined with the chief power, as well over the souls of the dead, as over both the bodies and souls of the living. *For this,* saith he, *Christ died and rose again, that he might have dominion over both the living and the dead.*

43. *To him give all the prophets witness.* Isa. liii. 4 — 6; lix. 20; Jer. xxxi. 34; Dan. ix. 24; Mich. vii. 18, 19; Zech. xiii. 1; Mal. iii. 17.

*Remission.* That is, that by the help of Christ alone, all, whether Jews or Gentiles, may obtain remission of sins, who with a sincere mind do embrace Christ, as the only Saviour appointed by God for them who live according to his doctrine.

44. *The Holy Ghost fell on all.* That is, the gifts of the Holy Spirit were poured out upon all. From whence Peter, below, ver. 47, and ch. xi. 17, concludes that the uncircumcised nations are to be initiated into Christ, and into the church of God by baptism; seeing that God, by the pouring out of spiritual gifts upon them, had made it evident that they were to be received by him through faith only, without any observation of the Mosaical law. The same argument Paul uses, Gal. iii. 2, 5.

45. *Of the circumcision which believed.* That is, six Jews believing in Christ, whom Peter had brought with him. Henceforwards now Luke begins to distinguish the circumcised believers from the uncircumcised, as Paul used to do, calling the former Jews, the other Greeks, as Luke himself below, ch. xix., xx.

46. *Speaking with tongues.* That is, with divers, and those strange ones.

48. *And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord.* That is, he commanded them, that professing faith in Christ himself, they should be baptized according to his institution.

*Then,* &c. That Peter condescended to this request of Cornelius, and those that were with him, appears from the chapter following, ver. 3. Thus, being made a sojourner and guest of the Gentiles, he made it evident that a Jew might lawfully do that, which before he thought a sin, that is, eat with Gentiles that feared God. In like manner, he eats with the Gentiles at Antioch, and after their manner eating all sorts of food, which for that he had left off afterwards, because of the coming of the brethren of Jerusalem, he was therefore rebuked by Paul before all the congregation of the faithful, Gal. ii. 11, &c.

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## CHAPTER XI.

1. *And brethren.* That is, the rest of the faithful.

*The Gentiles.* Uncircumcised.

*Contended,* &c. Those who of Jews were made Christians, chid Peter, not for that he had preached the word of God to Gentiles; for no law or ancient tradition forbade to teach the way of salvation to all who desired to know, and be admitted into it; but for that he had conversed and sojourned with them for some days. See our notes on ch. x. 28.

3. *Wherefore,* &c. The word *wherefore* here, does not denote an interrogation, but the subject of reproof.

4. *But Peter beginning.* That is, being about civilly, as brothers ought to do, to excuse it.

*Expounded to them in order.* That is, related the whole order of what was done with truth and sincerity, as Apuleius in his Apology words it. Moreover, the relation is the same which we had in

the foregoing chapter, and in the same words; where if any thing in it need explaining, the reader may have recourse.

12. *We entered into the man's house.* That is, into his house, for entering into which you chid me.

15. *But when I began to speak.* As if he should say, whilst I was earnestly discoursing with them, and they believed me. See what we said, ch. i. 1.

*As on us.* Apostles and other believing Jews.

16. *How that he said.* That is, what he said, to wit, when he gave us the command concerning the promise of the Father to be expected at Jerusalem, and about our staying there, until we were endued with power from on high; as you may see, ch. i. 5, compared with Luke xxiv. 49.

*John,* &c. See our notes on ch. i. 5.

17. *If, therefore,* &c. Peter says he cannot deny a brotherly communion with the Gentiles, on whom the pouring out of the gifts of the Holy Ghost doth manifest them to be adopted God's children.

18. *They held their peace.* That is, they complained no further, knowing the will of God.

*Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life.* As if he should say, Even God by his Spirit hath circumcised the hearts of those uncircumcised Gentiles, who believe in Christ, without carnal circumcision, as saith Moses, Deut. xxx. 6, and of hearts of stone has made them hearts of flesh, as Ezekiel, ch. xi. 19, saith; that so, being reformed and regenerated, they might obtain eternal life.

19. *And they which were,* &c. Now Luke returns to the context of the former history. He had hinted before, ch. viii. 1, 4, that after Stephen's death, when the rage of the wicked increased, all of them being terrified fled hither and thither: insomuch that only the apostles stayed at Jerusalem. When by this means the body of the church was rent, it happened that by the dispersion of those that fled, the gospel was spread amongst far distant countries, which before was enclosed, as it were in a barn, within the walls of one city. And so it came to pass, that the name of Christ passing over seas and mountains, became known to the remotest parts of the world. And thus, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, ch. x. 22: *The consumption hath overflown in righteousness.* See our notes, ch. viii. 1.

*From the tribulation.* That is, from the persecution.

*Under Stephen.* Greek, ἐπὶ Στεφάνῳ, "upon Stephen," that is, as Erasmus and Beza rightly translate it, "for Stephen." In which sense we say in Latin, *super hac re doleo*, that is, "for this thing." "So," saith Ludovicus De Dieu, "ἐπὶ, with a dative case, properly signifies "upon," as also "for," Luke i. 29; διεταράχθη ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ, she was troubled *upon*, that is, *for*, or *at his saying*." Hence we learn, that if the constancy of one man stir up cruelty in the minds of wicked men, the blame of the whole misfortune is unjustly laid on him: neither does Luke mark it as any disgrace to Stephen, when he relates that on his account the church was more than usually persecuted; but rather a great commendation, that as a valiant leader, he had by his own example animated the rest to fight courageously.

*As far as Phenice.* Phenicia joins with Syria, and is neighbour to Galilee, and its chief cities were Tyre, Sidon, and Berith. The palm trees of this country were most commendable, which the Greeks call Φοίνιξ, "Phœnix," from whence it is probable the country derived its name. Here the verses of Sidonius Apollinaris to Cæs. Jul. Val. Majorianus, deserve to be inserted:—

> "Each country doth its proper wares supply:
> Chaldea spikenard, the Indies ivory,
> Assyria gems, th' Arabia's frankincense,
> Sera of wools has store, and sends from thence;
> Athos has honey, and Phœnicia palms," &c.

*And Cyprus.* See what we have spoken of this country, ch. iv. 36.

*And Antioch.* The most famous city of Syria, standing in that part which borders on Cilicia.

*Preaching the word of God to none but to the Jews only.* Being afraid lest, should they preach the gospel to strangers, they should cast children's bread to dogs.

20. *Men of Cyprus and Cyrene.* That is, inhabitants there, but of Jewish extraction, and educated in the Jewish religion. See our notes, ch. ii. 5, 10.

*Spake unto the Grecians.* By a singular impulse of God. "These Grecians," saith Calvin, "are not called Ἕλληνες, but Ἑλληνισταὶ. And therefore many think they were of Jewish extraction, though natives of Greece, which thought I do not

approve of. For those Jews of whom he spoke a little before, since they were partly Cyprians, must needs be reckoned amongst them; because the Jews make Cyprus a part of Greece. And Luke distinguishes them from those whom he afterwards calls Ἑλληνισταὶ. Moreover, having said that the word was preached to none but to the Jews, and noted those, who being banished their country, lived in Cyprus and Phenicia: as it were correcting this exception, he says that the Grecians were taught by some of these. Certainly that antithesis makes us expound it as meant of the Gentiles. For Luke shows, that some few did more freely disperse the gospel, because they were not ignorant of the calling of the Gentiles, since that Christ had commanded, Mark xvi. 15, that from the time of his resurrection, the gospel should be promiscuously preached to the whole world." And the most learned Grotius says, that we should not in this place read Ἑλληνιστὰς, as it is in the vulgar Greek copies, but Ἕλληνας, as it is in the Alexandrine copy in England, and as the Syriac, Latin, and Arabic read it. "Besides," saith he, "from the time of the Grecian, that is, the Macedonian empire, the Jews, from the prevailing part, called all the uncircumcised Ἕλληνες. So is that word used, 2 Mac. iv. 36. And hence Ἑλληνικὸς χαρακτὴρ, 2 Mac. iv. 10, Ἑλληνικαὶ δόξαι, 2 Mac. iv. 15; τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ, 2 Mac. vi. 9, 11, 24, *strange customs, or the customs of the Gentiles.* And in Paul often."

*Preaching the Lord Jesus.* The whole sum of the gospel is comprehended in Christ, who reconciles us to the Father, and begets us again by his Spirit, that Satan being overthrown, the kingdom of God may be raised up in us. See our notes, ch. viii. 12.

21. *And the hand,* &c. That is, and God was present with the *men of Cyprus and Cyrene,* preaching the gospel to the Greeks or Gentiles, and helped them, so that many of the Grecians were stirred up, and persuaded to believe in Christ.

22. *Tidings came,* &c. That is, as soon as the fame of the conversion of these Grecians or Gentiles came to the ears of the church at Jerusalem, which had learnt from Peter that God by evident signs had testified that, together with the Jews, the Gentiles should by their guidance be called to partake of Christ's grace, the members of that church sent Barnabas, a Cyprian, that he might make a further improvement of the rudiments of faith

at Antioch, and give form to the building begun, that the church might rightly be established there.

23. *Had seen the grace of God.* That is, that the Gentiles, by the free breathing of the divine Spirit, were sincerely converted to Christ.

*With purpose of heart.* That is, with firm love.

*To abide in the Lord.* That is, to cleave to Christ, and be tied to his justice.

24. *Full of the Holy Ghost, and of faith.* That is, most plentifully furnished and adorned with the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, and above all with a lively faith.

*And much people was added,* &c. Now when the number of the believing Gentiles was greater, Luke says they increased by Barnabas's persuasion. "Thus," saith Calvin, "doth the building of the church go forward, when with mutual consent they help one another, and what is begun by one is candidly approved of by the others."

25. *Departed,* &c. Barnabas was not afraid, so that Christ should be promoted by the prosperous success of the gospel, though Paul's coming should detract something from them.

26. *Christians.* John of Antioch, in his Chronologica, says that the name Christian began to be used at Antioch, when Evodius was bishop there. His words are, as Selden translates them: "About the beginning of the reign of Claudius Cæsar, ten years after the ascension of our Lord and God Jesus Christ, Evodius, after St. Peter the apostle, was created bishop of Antioch, a city of Syria the great, where he also was made patriarch. And in his time they were called Christians, their bishop Evodius living with them, and giving them that name. For Christians before were called Nazareans and Galileans." Evodius, according to Jerome, was created bishop by Peter, in the third year of Claudius Augustus, and of the common Christian account, 44. It is certain that about the beginning of Claudius' reign, the believers in Christ were called Christians, as others are wont to be from him whose doctrine they follow; who otherwise were called disciples, brethren, and believers, and in contempt Nazaræans and Galileans, as from the very words about Claudius, which next follow, may be gathered. But this name, not derived from Christ after the Greek, but Latin form, is by some, both of the ancients and moderns, said to be that new name, by which the prophet

Isaiah prophesied that God's servants should be called, ch. lxv. 15. "But," saith Selden, "though this name had its beginning thus in that place, nevertheless its use does not seem to be so frequent amongst the apostles themselves, or in their language for some years following. For besides that place wherein it is recorded in the Acts, that the disciples were first called Christians at Antioch, it only occurs in these following. King Agrippa to Paul, *Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.* And Peter unto the scattered Jews, *But if any suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed.* Neither is there any mention of the Christian name in any other of the apostles' epistles, much less are all they to whom they are directed called Christians. But they almost always greet them by the names of saints, believers, or churches, with the addition either of the place, or of Jesus Christ, or of God, or the like, or plainly call them Jews, as in each epistle of James and Peter. Therefore for seven years or thereabouts, after Christ's ascension, as before, none was of those that believed, who were afterwards called Christians, besides Jews by birth, or those who were received of them by the entire right of proselyteship."

27. *But in those days.* That is, in the same year in which the believers in Christ, whether Jews and circumcised, or of the uncircumcised Gentiles, began to be called Christians.

*Came.* Greek, κατῆλθον, came down.

*Prophets.* That is, some of those that believed in Christ, who were next to the apostles, and by God's special revelation of some particular mysteries relating to the edification of the church, did foretell things to come. Such as these are also mentioned afterwards, ch. xiii. 1. 1 Cor. xii. 28; xiv. 32; Eph. iv. 11.

29. *And there stood up.* That is, begun some sort of action, as before, ch. v. 17; Exod. xxxii. 1; Deut. xxxii. 38; Ezra x. 6, &c.

*One of them.* That is, of the prophets, who came to Antioch from Jerusalem.

*Named Agabus.* From the Hebrew חֲגָבָה, "Hagaba," mentioned, Esdras ii. 45, or חֲגָב, "Hagab," in ver. 46, which next follows in the same chapter of Ezra.

*Signified by the Spirit.* That is, by the divine breathing of the Spirit.

*That there should be a great dearth throughout all the world.* This universal famine, foretold by Agabus, began in the fourth year of Claudius Cæsar, in which Herod Agrippa died; before his death,

as appears by the Chronicle of Eusebius, and by Orosius, lib. vii. c. 6. This famine, still raging in Judea, Helena, queen of the Adjabens, in the confines of Assyria and Mesopotamia, converted to the true worship of God by a certain Jew, did, by plenty of provisions bought in Egypt, abundantly supply the Jews in their wants, as appears by Josephus, Antiq. xx. 2, 3. Another particular famine at Rome, in the second year of Claudius, preceded this universal one, of which, Dion Cassius, lib. 20. But another happened in the eleventh year of the same Claudius: of which speak Tacitus, lib. xii. c. 43, Suetonius in Claudius, c. 18, and Orosius in the lately mentioned place.

29. *But the disciples.* That is, the Christians who lived out of Judea, and more especially the Antiochians.

*As any one was able.* That is, according to the plenty every one had.

*Every one purposed.* That is, decreed and determined.

*To send ministry.* That is, alms, or, as the English version hath it, relief. So the word διακονία, "ministry," is used for alms, 2 Cor. viii. 4; ix. 1, 2; διακονεῖν, "to minister," Heb. vi. 10, who relieve the poor.

*To the brethren which dwelt in Judea.* That is, to the Christians in Judea, especially to those who dwelt in Jerusalem, who had impoverished themselves by selling their possessions, and bestowing the money to public uses, as you may see, ch. ii. 45; iv. 34. And therefore Paul recommends them sometimes to the Achaians, and sometimes to the Macedonians.

30. *Which also they did.* That is, they brought this good purpose to effect.

*Sending.* To wit, what was gathered.

*To the elders.* Greek, πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. This is the first mention of elders or presbyters in the church. "By the Jews," saith Grotius, "not only those are called זְקֵנִים, 'seniors,' who were chief in the public judgments, but also who presided in every synagogue. The second law in the book of Theodosius about the Jews, translates 'presbyters:' in another law they are called 'the fathers of the synagogue.' But the whole government of the churches of Christ is conformed to the example of the Jewish synagogue. Even also amongst the Grecians, Dionysius Halicarnassus, in his second book, saith, 'The ancients were wont to call their nobles and old men, presbyters.'"

*By the hands of Paul and Barnabas.* For *by*, the Hebrews say בְּיַד, "by the hand." There is mention of this ministry being fulfilled after, ch. xii. 25. From whence it appears that Paul omitted this journey, because it did not belong to his purpose, when he tells the journeys to Jerusalem by him undertaken, Gal. i. 18; ii. 1.

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## CHAPTER XII.

1. *About that time.* That is, in which the famine foretold by Agabus began, Paul and Barnabas came to Jerusalem, to convey the contribution to the impoverished brethren, as appears by the conclusion of the foregoing chapter, as also by the end of this.

*Herod the king.* The grand-child of Herod the Great, by his son Aristobulus, surnamed Agrippa, as the Syriac translation here calls him: on whom Caius Caligula Cæsar bestowed the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, with the title of king, and afterwards the tetrarchy of Galilee, which Caligula took from Herod Antipas: to these Claudius Cæsar added Judæa and Samaria; so that he possessed his grandfather's whole kingdom, which had been divided into tetrarchies by Augustus; Jos. Antiq. xix. 4. This Agrippa, in the second year of the empire of Caius Caligula, as he passed through Alexandria, whose citizens bearing an inveterate hatred against the Jews, were much grieved that any of that nation should be honoured with the title of king, was played upon, and scoffed at in the place of exercise, by the satires of their poets. And a certain madman, named Carabas, was brought into the place of exercise, who night and day used to wander naked through the streets, and so placed, that he might be seen by all. Then they put a paper crown upon his head, and a straw mat upon his body instead of a robe: for a sceptre one gave him into his hand a piece of a reed taken off the ground. Having thus adorned him with royal robes, and (as stage-players use) transformed him into a king, the young men with poles on their shoulders waited on him as his guard: then some came to pay their respects to him, others desired him to confirm their privileges, others advised with him about the public good. After this, all the bystanders shouted, calling him aloud Marin; which name in the

Syriac language signifies Lord. Philo against Flaccus relates these things. And thus the king of the Jews was derided by others, just as about five years before, they had mocked at the royal dignity of their true Lord Jesus Christ.

*Stretched forth his hands.* A Hebraism. That is, he undertook. See Gen. iii. 22; Deut. xii. 7; Luke ix. 62.

*To vex certain of the church.* Because they oppugned the rites and ceremonies of his forefathers, of which Josephus saith he was a religious observer, Antiq. lib. xix. c. 7.

2. *And he killed James.* The elder, the son of Zebedee. And so he was the first apostle that was baptized with that baptism of blood, of which Christ speaks, Matt. xx. 23. But Clemens Alexandrinus adds, from an ancient tradition, lib. vii. Hypotyposeôn apud Euseb. ii., Hist. Eccl. viii., and Suidas, in the word Ἡρώδης, that that very man who had accused James, when he saw how boldly this apostle gave testimony for Christ, did ingenuously confess that he also was a Christian. And as they were both going to the place of execution, he on the way desired pardon of James; and James, after having paused a while, answered, *Peace be to thee,* and kissed him; and so they both ended their lives by the stroke of the axe.

*With the sword.* חַרִיגָה, "killing with the sword," or "beheading," was a sort of criminal punishment of the four kinds of death by which the Jews made the guilty suffer, as we have noted upon Matt. xx. 19; Sanhedrim, fol. 3, B: "If those who seduce people to a strange worship, are but few, they are stoned, and their goods are not confiscated; but if they be many, they die by the sword, and their goods are confiscated." James, indeed, was but one. "But," saith the most famous Lightfoot, "Herod knew Peter, and a great many more, who in his judgment did persuade the people to an irreligious worship, and he acts with James, as he intended to act with the rest."

3. *But because he saw it pleased the Jews.* To wit, the death of James.

4. *To bring him forth to the people.* That is, to expose and deliver him to the punishment of a public death.

5. *By the church.* That is, by the Christians assembled from house to house, as appears from ver. 2, 12.

*For him.* That is, for his deliverance.

6. *Bound with two chains.* Whereas, otherwise the criminal

had only one chain tied to his right hand, which was also tied to the left hand of the soldier, who had the charge of guarding him, as may be seen in Pliny, lib. x. Ep. 30; Seneca, Ep. 5.; et lib. de Tranquil. cap. x. Augustine also seems to hint the same thing upon the 118th Psalm: "Two are bound and sent to the judge, a thief, and one bound with him, one of them a wicked person and the other innocent, both of them tied with one chain, but yet far enough from one another." For the chain was of such a length as did not hinder their convenient passing along, "and that there should be no pain, and no danger of the prisoners escaping," as the Theodosian Codex phrases it.

*And the keepers before the door kept the prison.* Here is described the diligent efforts of Peter's enemies to keep him securely, that so the power of God in delivering him, might be more manifest.

7. *A light shined.* At the approach of the angel, as Luke ii. 9.

*On the apartment.* That is, in that part of the prison, in which Peter was chained, which the Syriac translation calls בֵּיתָא, the house.

*And smiting Peter's side.* As they do, who have a mind to rouse any one.

*Quickly.* That is, without delay.

8. *Gird thyself.* That is, gird thy coat on, as the custom was, Jer. xiii. 1. Peter had lain down in his coat.

*Bind on thy sandals.* Dion translates *caligas*, στρατιωτικὰ ὑποδήματα, "soldiers' shoes." These sort of shoes were mostly used by the Jews, which the Greek text calls σανδάλια; they cover the soles of the feet, and seem to be the same with the shoes called *dusty*, because, that by reason of their shortness, they did not keep out the dust.

*Cast thy garment about thee.* That is, thy outward garment, as those do who are going abroad.

9. *He wist not*, &c. As if he should say, he believed all this to be but a dream, because so unlooked for a deliverance did exceed all belief. For when those things happen we most wish for, we can scarcely believe them to have happened; see Gen. xlv. 26; Job xxix. 24; Psa. cxxvi. 1. So when Flaminius, by a herald declared the Grecians free-men, and only liable to their own laws: "When the people," saith Livy, lib. 33, "heard the herald's voice, their joy was great, as not to be bounded. They could scarce believe that what they heard was real. Being amazed, they gazed at one another, and not trusting their own ears, they fancied all but a

dream, each of them asking his fellow what his thoughts of it were."

10. *But passing by the first and the second watch.* The prison in which Peter was, if we may believe Adrichomius, was in the court which encompassed Herod's palace about, (for it was Herod's, not the city's prison,) where the king's soldiers kept guard. Betwixt the gate of this prison and the iron gate of Jerusalem, there were divers entries, which the French call *corps de garde*, where used to be centries. And therefore the Ethiopic version is the best, "And when they had passed the first and second entry."

*Which opened to them of its own accord.* That is said to be done, αὐτομάτως, "freely," or of its own accord, which is done without human care or labour, Lev. xxv. 5; 2 Kings xix. 29; Wisd. xvii. 6; Mark iv. 28; so the kingdom of Christ is called a stone cut without hands, Dan. ii. 34. That is, fashioned without the labour or industry of man. And Homer calls him αὐτοδίδακτος, "self-taught," whom God hath taught.

*And going out, they passed through one street.* Or, one broad way within the city.

*And forthwith the angel departed from him.* Leaving the rest to Peter's industry, now he was placed in safety.

11. *Peter coming to himself.* His amazement being shaken off.

*Now I know,* &c. That is, now I perceive that my deliverance has happened in reality, not in vision; and that by the help of an angel sent from heaven by the Lord, lest I should be slain by Herod, as the enemies of the Christian religion, the Jews, desired.

12. *And considering.* That is, deliberating with himself what he should do.

*He came to the house of Mary.* This matron seems to have been a widow, because the house was called hers, without mentioning her husband. Hereby also it appears that whereas, ch. iv. 34, it is said, that as many as had houses sold them, those houses are to be excepted in which they dwelt and met together, as also is shown before, ch. ii. 46.

*Whose surname was Mark.* This John Mark, the son of Mary, seems to be called Barnabas's sister's son, Col. iv. 10. Betwixt this man and Paul, there happened a little coldness, ch. xv. 39. But they were soon reconciled, as good men use to be, and then a strict friendship succeeded this coldness. Hence it is that Paul, Col. iv. 11, numbers him with Jesus Justus alone, of the circum-

cised, among his helpers, and 2 Tim. iv. 11, desires Timothy to bring him along with him to Rome, as one that would be very useful to him.

*Where many were gathered together.* For seeing that the believers, of whom there was already a great number, could not meet together all in one body, they divided themselves into divers congregations in several houses to pray to God for Peter; see ver. 17. From hence it appears, that when necessity and the rage of persecutors force us to it, holy meetings, though in the night, are not unlawful; for that this meeting was held in the night is plain from ver. 6, 18.

13. *The door of the gate.* Hebrew פֶּתַח־הַשָּׁעַר. Judg. xviii. 16, 17; Ezek. xl. 11. "That is called," saith Kimchi in his Book of Roots, "פֶּתַח, which is without the doors of the gate. For all that which is within and without, as also the doors, and outward threshold, is called שַׁעַר, inasmuch as it is joined to the door post, and upper threshold. But that is called "פֶּתַח, which is always open, and though the doors be shut, is always left open."

*A damsel came to see.* Greek, ὑπακοῦσαι, "to hearken," that is, to spy who it was that knocked at the door so late at night. "She came," saith Grotius, "that she might know by his voice who he was, lest she should rashly let any one in."

*Named Rhoda.* Hebrew, כַּחֲבַצֶּלֶת, "a rose." Many women's names are derived from flowers, herbs, and trees, as שׁוֹשַׁנָּה, Susanna, from a lily, הֲדַסָּה, Hadassa, from a myrtle. The Greek name Rhode, Ῥόδη, is also mentioned in the fragments of Menander.

15. *It is his angel.* That is, a messenger sent from him. So John the Baptist is called an angel, that is, a messenger, Matt. xi. 10. The disciples of John sent to Christ angels, messengers, Luke vii. 24. The disciples of Christ sent into a village of the Samaritans, Luke ix. 52. The spies sent by Joshua, whom Rahab entertained, James ii. 25. This is the simple interpretation of the Greek noun ἄγγελος; neither have we any reason to think that the believers understood it here otherwise, since they had never heard that heavenly angels needed to knock at the door to obtain entrance; and they knew it did not agree with the nature of spirits, who with their subtleness can penetrate the most solid bodies. Therefore they thought that the damsel, out of her earnest desire of Peter's deliverance, which all the godly had, had understood the messenger discoursing of Peter, as if he had said, that himself was Peter.

16. *They were astonished.* That is, they were struck with an unlooked for joy.

17. *But he beckoning unto them with his hand to hold their peace.* That is, desiring silence by the beckoning of his hand, as afterwards, ch. xiii. 16; xix. 33; xxi. 40. Quintilian speaking of the hands, saith, "They are either held up or down, according as we consent or deny."

*How the Lord had brought him out.* Peter does not give the honour of his deliverance out of Herod's prison to the angel, but to the Lord of angels, who made use of the angel in it.

*Tell ye to James.* An eminent servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ, peculiarly selected, together with John and me, to preach the gospel to the Jews, Gal. ii. 9, and who, some believe, governed then the church at Jerusalem.

*And to the brethren.* That is, and to the rest of them who live in the strict brotherly fellowship of Christ's disciples. So also in other places, by *brethren* are meant Christians, as before, ch. ii. 30; x. 23; xi. 1, 12; James i. 2, 9, &c. But Peter would have this deliverance told to all the Christians living in Jerusalem, that so he might free them from their trouble about him, and they render thanks to God.

*And going out, he went out into another place.* Out of Jerusalem, as it seems. Some say he went towards Antioch, and then by long journeys came to Rome. But Lactantius has recorded in his golden book of the Deaths of the Persecutors, that Peter came not to Rome till the reign of Nero, twenty-five years after Christ's ascension into heaven. Moreover Damascus, to whom is ascribed the Book of the Popes inserted in the first tome of the Councils, says that Peter came to Rome in Nero's time. Therefore what Petavius writes:[1] "The acts of the rest of the apostles (besides Peter and Paul) not being treated of with any faithfulness or credit worthy of a history, remain in obscurity." This also may deservedly be said of both Peter's bishopries of Antioch and Rome, of this being extended to twenty-five years, of Peter's acts at Rome, of the popedom there erected, of his contention with Simon Magus, which began there, and of a successor appointed by him.

*Amongst the soldiers.* That is, those who guarded Peter.

*What was become of Peter.* That is, what had happened to Peter, that they could not see him in the prison.

[1] Ration. temp. p. i, lib. v. cap. 7.

*Examining the keepers.* That is, causing a judicial process to be made about the keepers.

*He commanded them to be brought out.* That is, to be haled out to punishment. Pliny, lib. x. Ep. to Trajan, speaking of the Christians, saith, "When they again confessed, and that I had the third time questioned them with threats of punishment, seeing them obstinate, I commanded them to be brought out," that is, to be put to death. And this is a common phrase amongst the ancients, as may be seen in Seneca de Ira very often, in Suetonius in his Caligula, &c. He that translated the Canons of Petrus Alexandrinus into Latin, for ἀπαχθῆναι, "to be brought away," reads ἀπαγθῆναι, having translated it "to be choked," that is, to be strangled.

*And going down from Judæa to Cæsarea.* Which before was called Strato's Tower, of which before, ch. viii. 40. Josephus likewise makes mention of this journey, Antiq. xix. 7.

*He there abode.* In the Greek there is an ellipsis of the adverb ἐκεῖ, "there," as also afterwards, ch. xiv. 3.

20. *But he was displeased.* Greek, θυμομαχῶν, "revolving war in his mind." The Cardinal Baronius was of opinion that Herod was angry with the people of Tyre and Sidon, two maritime cities of Phœnicia, situate near the borders of this kingdom, because they received Peter in his flight. But this is uncertain, as Tirinus has well noted. See what we have said of Tyre and Sidon, Matt. xi. 20.

*They came with one accord.* That is, the ambassadors, by the common appointment of both nations, came to Herod.

*Who was of the king's bedchamber.* That is, who had the office of the king's chamberlain.

*Desired peace,* &c. That is, they, by their prayers, endeavoured to reconcile the king's mind unto them, because their country could not be nourished, or subsist without the assistance of Judæa, Galilee, and other countries under the power and command of Herod.

*From him.* Greek, "from the royal," viz., country, that is, from the country subject to king Herod.

21. *And upon a set day.* That is, on a day appointed for this, to wit, the second day of those plays which he exhibited in honour of Claudius Cæsar. So Josephus, Antiq. ix. 7, "Arrayed in royal apparel," as Josephus in the same place saith, "clothed

with a garment all over wrought with silver of admirable workmanship, which reflecting the beams of the sun, shined so bright, that all those that beheld him were seized with reverence and fear."

*Sat upon his throne.* Greek, "tribunal." Βῆμα, in this place is a certain sort of high seat placed in the theatre, whence Josephus, in the lately cited place, saith, "He came into the theatre." "Every place," saith Grotius, "that is raised higher than the rest, is by the Greeks called βῆμα, and by the Syrians בִּימָא, which word the Syriac translation here uses."

*Made an oration to them.* To wit, to the ambassadors of Tyre and Sidon, that for the future he might keep those people under.

22. *But the people gave a shout.* Foolishly flattering him.

*The voice of a god, and not of man.* Josephus thus expresses the meaning of this flattering acclamation: "Presently," saith he, "these pernicious flatterers shouting, salute him as a god, praying that he would be propitious to them; that they had hitherto reverenced him as a man, but that now they did acknowledge and confess that there was something in him more excellent than mortal frailty can attain unto."

23. *And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him.* With a grievous pain about his heart and entrails, as appears from Josephus, Antiq. xix. 7, whose words are these: "Not long after he, looking upwards, perceived an owl perched upon a cord, which he thought was ἄγγελον, a messenger of his misfortune; whereas formerly he had denounced unto him his felicity, and conceived thereupon a most hearty and inward grief; and suddenly he was seized with a terrible griping in his belly, which began with very great vehemency." For when long ago Herod being bound by the command of Tiberius, leaned on a tree, on which an owl sat, a certain German foretold that, the face of affairs changing, he should be shortly raised up to the highest dignity. "But yet remember," saith he in Josephus, Antiq. xviii. 8, "that whensoever thou shalt see this bird again, thou shalt die within five days after." Therefore, Agrippa, being near his death, called the same owl ἄγγελον, "the messenger of evil," whereas, before, it was the messenger of good. Yet Eusebius hath described the mentioned place of Josephus, Antiq. xix. 7, about Agrippa going to die, without mentioning the owl, as if Josephus meant the angel,

by whom Herod is here said to be smitten, which is no small oversight.

*The angel of the Lord.* In inflicting evil, God makes use of the ministry of angels, Exod. xii. 23; 2 Sam. xxiv. 17; 2 Kings xix. 35.

*Because he gave not God the glory.* That is, because he had neither reproved nor rejected these impious flatterers, as may be seen in Josephus, Antiq. xix. 7. God did not punish Herod presently for James's death and the ill treatment of other Christians, because in those actions he might have some pretence of ignorance and inconsiderate zeal: but for his sinning against the majesty of the Deity, in not hindering those impious flatterers.

*Eaten of worms.* In a very ancient Greek manuscript of Beza, is added, ἔτι ζῶν, "as yet alive." Josephus saith that Herod was tormented with the gripes for five days together without intermission. Luke tells the cause of those gripes, by the worms gnawing his entrails to pieces, that being alive he might be sensible he was not a god. Hence it was, that looking upon his friends: "Behold," saith he, Joseph. Antiq. xix. 7, "I, whom you esteem a god, am commanded to leave this life, fatal necessity refuting your lie; and I, whom you have styled immortal, am by death snatched away. But the will of the celestial Deity must be endured. Neither have I lived obscurely, but in such felicity as all may proclaim me blessed." So we read of Antiochus Epiphanes, when he was about to die, 2 Mac. ix. &c. "So that worms in abundance came out of the body of this wicked man, and while he was yet living, his flesh dropped off amidst his aches and torments, so that the stench of his rottenness was poison to his whole army. So that he who but a while before conceited himself as high as the stars, could not now be carried because of his intolerable filthy smell. Then it was that he began to abate his haughty pride, being smitten by a hidden wound, and admonished by a divine rod to come to know himself, since that his torments every moment grew greater and greater. And when even he himself could not endure his own stink, he spoke thus: It is but just that we should be subject to God, and a mortal man should not in his proud thoughts equalize himself to him." Josephus writes, that Herod the Great, a little before his death, was troubled with crawling worms about his rotten privy members, Antiq. xvii. 8. In the Melpomene of Herodotus, Pheretima, the queen of the Cyrenians,

though living, swarmed with worms. In the Bœotics of Pausanias, Cassander the son of Antipater, "his skin was filled with water, and from all parts of his body, yet alive, worms broke out." In the Pseudomantes of Lucian, the imposter Alexander died as the son of Podalirius, "his foot being putrefied up to the groin, and swarming with worms." Eusebius, Hist. viii. 16, says, that out of the Emperor Galerius Maximianus's bowels came out infinite quantities of worms, which caused a deadly smell. "Dioclesian," saith Cedrenus, "before he died, had his tongue putrefied, and great heaps of worms came out of his jaws." "His body," saith Eutychius Alexandrianus, of the same emperor, "was so full of worms, that it dropped them on the ground, and his tongue, with his jaws, were consumed, and so he died." Concerning Julian, uncle of Julian the Apostate, whose privy members rotted off, Sozomenus saith, lib. v. cap. 8, "And there the putrefied flesh was turned into worms, and the malignity of his distemper was above the physician's art." Nestorius also, if we may believe Evagrius, lib. i. cap. 1, "having his tongue eaten out with worms, passed out of the miseries of this life, to suffer more grievous punishments, inflicted on him by God's just judgments, and those to last to all eternity." Like to this, is that which Baronius (out of Surius), A.D. 698, relates of Dodon, who had slain Lambert the bishop of Tongres. "All Dodon's bowels of a sudden putrefied, and he voided them out of his mouth, stinking strangely. At length his body being corrupted by a consumption and by worms, stank so intolerably, that it was thrown into the Meuse."

*He gave up the ghost.* In the fifty-fourth year of his age, the seventh of his reign, and the fourth year of Claudius Cæsar, the fifth day after those vehement gripes, which the Lord by his angel inflicted on him, because he had not left God's honour untouched, as Peter before, ch. x. 26. And Paul and Barnabas hereafter, ch. xiv. 14, 15. The children which Herod Agrippa left, were one son named Agrippa, about seventeen years of age, who at that time was educated at Rome by Claudius; but he had three daughters, of which Berenice was seventeen years old, and married to her uncle Herod, king of Chalcis in Syria. The other two were then virgins; Mariamne, aged ten years, and betrothed by her father to Julius Archelaus, the son of Chalcias; and Drusilla, six years old, and betrothed to Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, the king of Comagena, Josephus, Antiq. xix. 7.

24. *But the word of God grew and multiplied.* That is, This enemy of the servants of Christ being dead in this manner, the preachers of the gospel gathered new strength, and every day more and more were converted to the faith.

25. *When they had fulfilled their ministry.* That is, When by a supply of money sent them by the Antiochians, as before, ch. xi. 29, 30, they had relieved the necessities of the brethren dwelling at Jerusalem.

*And taken John with them, whose surname was Mark.* The son of that matron, which is described by him before, ver. 12.

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## CHAPTER XIII.

1. *Prophets.* Who being by inspiration made privy to hidden things, did also foretell things to come, to know which the church was concerned.

*And teachers.* Who did find out, and interpret the meaning of the word of God, which was not obvious to every one.

*With Herod the tetrarch.* Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, is simply called Herod the tetrarch, Matt. xiv. 1; Luke ix. 7.

2. *And they ministered.* That is, Publicly discharged their office. This office seems to have been that of prophesying and teaching, for in the verse immediately preceding, they are called prophets and teachers. So Cardinal Cajetan understood it. Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Œcumenius render the word λειτουργούντων, "ministering," by κηρυττόντων, "preaching;" but the Syrian and Arabian interpret it προσευχομένων, "praying." For they restrained here the word λειτουργεῖν, to public prayers only, because of the fast mentioned next to it, to which, in the next following verse, prayer is joined. In the same sense, Erasmus renders "sacrificing," for prayers, and the praises of God are esteemed as sacrifices, Heb. xiii. 15. "There is none," saith Beza, "that is indifferently versed in the Greek tongue, who knows not that λειτουργεῖν is mainly said of public offices. Hence Paul himself, Rom. xiii., calls magistrates sometimes τοῦ θεοῦ διακόνους, and sometimes λειτουργούς."

*And fasted.* Fasting is acceptable to God, when it is for a

good end, to wit, to tame the body, that the mind may be the fitter for works of piety. See our literal explanation, Matt. vi. 16.

*The Holy Ghost said.* To wit, to the prophets of the church of Antioch, and by them to the whole church.

*Separate me,* &c. The Holy Ghost bids to separate Barnabas and Saul, not to the Lord, but to himself; whereby is meant that the Lord and the Holy Ghost hath the same virtue and power; which, if he were less than the Lord, he would have said, Separate Saul and Barnabas to the Lord, or to God. He commands them to be separated to him for that to which he himself called them. He therefore constituted them ministers to himself, he calls them his own servants. But as we cannot be men's servants in such things as concern religion and conscience, so neither can we be the servants of angels: for the same reason which Paul adduces, 1 Cor. vii. 23: *Ye are bought with a price, be ye not the servants of men,* militates against both these services. The servant of men there is opposed to the servant of Christ, who subjects his whole self, soul and body, to him; for he redeemed us, and addicted us to his service, by the price of his own blood. He who thus is the servant of Christ, cannot in the same sense be the servant of men; he is therefore bound by Christ for his servant. So for the same reason he cannot be the servant of angels, who are our fellow servants. Therefore the Holy Ghost, who so bound Paul and Barnabas to his own service, is not an angel, nor a company of angels, but Lord of all, "who hath the same worship and glory with the Father and the Son," as the fathers of the second œcumenic council at Constantinople say in the symbol of that council.

*For the work,* &c. That work which they ought to do for the Holy Ghost is described in this chapter and the next, unto the 26th verse, where they are said to have fulfilled that work. They were sent by the Holy Ghost to preach the gospel, and bring many to the obedience of the faith. This work is peculiarly the work of the Holy Ghost, who is the author, and useth to be called the worker of faith, which yet is the gift of God, Eph. ii. 8; therefore the Holy Spirit is God, which worketh and produceth that faith in the saints, and so the whole work of regeneration, by the superabundant riches of his grace.

*I have called.* That is, appointed.

3. *And when,* &c. As much as to say, Having prayed and

fasted, they blessed Saul and Barnabas, separated by the Holy Ghost, in the name of God and Christ, by the solemn rite of imposition of hands, and then bade them farewell. "The laying on of hands," saith famous Heidegger, "upon Paul and Barnabas, by the rest of the teachers of the church of Antioch, does not properly belong to their ordination. For Paul was not called of men, neither by men, Gal. i. 1, 2. It was therefore a token not of their deputation to the ministry, but merely of the church's great desire that Paul and Barnabas should succeed in their ministry."

*They sent them away.* That is, they bade them farewell. See Matt. xiv. 15, 22, 23; xv. 23.

4. *So they.* To wit, Saul and Barnabas.

*Being sent forth by the Holy Ghost.* That is, Having taken journey by the command of the Holy Ghost.

*Departed into Seleucia.* A neighbouring city to Antioch, built, and so called by Seleucus Nicanor, king of Syria.

*And from thence they sailed to Cyprus.* An island in the Mediterranean Sea, adjoining to Syria, the country of Barnabas. See above, ch. iv. 36.

5. *And when they were at Salamis.* The metropolis of Cyprus, built by Teucris, the son of Telamon, and by him so called from the name of his country. This city was afterwards called Constantia, or Constantina, then Nova Justinopolis, or Justinianopolis; and this day it is called Famaugusta.

*They preached the word of God.* To wit, that great gospel of Jesus Christ.

*In the synagogues of the Jews.* Which were many in Cyprus. The author of the Hebrew places of the Acts, under the name of Jerome: "Salamis, a city in the isle of Cyprus, now called Constantia, which the Jews in the time of Trajan defaced, having killed all the inhabitants." The same saith Jerome, in Eusebius's Chronicle about Trajan's time.

*They had,* &c. As much as to say, and John surnamed Mark, of whom above, ch. xii. 12, was their helper in preaching the gospel.

6. *And when they had gone through the isle.* To wit, Cyprus, whose metropolis, Salamis, toward the east, was famous among the nations for the temples of Jupiter.

*Unto Paphos.* A city of the same isle of Cyprus, toward the

West, famous for the Temple of Venus, to see which Vespasian longed, Tacitus saith.[1]

*A false prophet.* That is, falsely boasting himself to be a prophet.

*Whose name was Barjesus.* Greek Βαρϊησοῦς. Seeing this wicked man is said to have been a Jew, the etymology of this word must be taken from the Hebrew tongue. It is therefore the conjecture of the most famous Ludovicus de Dieu, that this impostor's name was בר ישועה, Βαρϊησοῦα, and with a very small alteration Βαρϊησοῦς, which the Arabian hath literally expressed out of the Greek, באר יאסוס, "the son of health;" because he professed the art of procuring health and soundness. So in the Syriac he is called בר שומא, "the son of ulcers;" that is, a physician that professed to cure ulcers; for שומא, signifies only such a tumour as is incident to ulcers and old sores.

7. *Which was with the deputy.* The word ἀνθύπατος, properly signifieth a proconsul, or the vicar of the Roman consul, who governed the province as a deputy. But seeing that he, who governed Cyprus, was not proconsul, but vice-prætor, here is a catachresis, or abuse of the word. "But," saith Grotius, "it is no wonder that the Greeks, being great flatterers, gave the most honourable title to the governors of their provinces. The name of president is general, which may be here used in the Latin."

8. *Elymas.* There are many derivations and significations of this name. "To us it seems," saith Ludovicus de Dieu, "that Ελύμας is a Hebrew or Chaldaic name, חלומא, 'a healer, or a curer,' from חלם, 'to cure,' in which sense it is taken, not only among the Hebrews, but also frequently among the Syrians; nor doth it differ from בר ישועה, 'the son of health,' and בר שומא, 'the son of boils,' of which above, ver. 6. Neither is it unusual to render the letter ח of a most hard aspiration by *e*, such are חנוך, Ἐνώχ, חוה, Εὔα, &c., nor to change the letter א into 'as,' such as תאמא, Θωμᾶς, ברנבא, Βαρναβᾶς, בראבא, Βαραββᾶς."

*Sorcerer.* Or magician. The Persian name magi, and magician, for sorcery and sorcerers, not evil in themselves, are applied by an abuse to marvellous but wicked arts, wrought by the help of devils, and to those that are given to such arts. See our literal explication on Matt. ii. 1.

[1] Hist. lib. ii. cap. 2.

*For so is his name by interpretation.* Which in ver. 6, is Barjesus; therefore Elymas is not the Arabic name עלים rendered "sorcerer," and which agrees to all such as are given to magic, seeing the Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic translation do not begin the word Elymas with ע *ain*, but with א *aleph;* but it is an interpretation of this sorcerer Barjesus's name, as the text saith, and the Syrian interpreter confirms. See what we have just now cited of Ludovicus de Dieu.

*Seeking*, &c. That is, with great study and endeavour he turned aside Sergius Paulus, the vice-prætor, from receiving the faith of Christ.

9. *Then Saul, who also is called Paul.* He hath a twofold name for his twofold relation, his Hebrew name Saul, because he was an Hebrew by birth; his Roman name Paul, because he had the freedom of a Roman. "Under the same notion," saith famous Lightfoot, "Silas is also called Silvanus, for he also was a Roman, as may be gathered from Acts xvi. 37. The same upon 1 Cor. i. 1. It was common," saith he, "for them in the Jewish nation to be called among the Jews by a Jewish name, but by another name among the ethnics, or by the same name translated into the ethnic language: as Thomas among the Jews, was Didymus among the Greeks, and perhaps Silas among the Jews, was Tertius among the Romans, Rom. xvi. 22, that is, from שלוש, and Jason, Secundus. Compare Rom. xvi. 21, with Acts xix. 4, or by some other different name: as he whom Luke calls Herod, Acts xii. 1, is by Josephus called Agrippa; and John is also called Mark, Acts xii. 12. Hence that gloss upon Maimonides in Gerushin, c. 3: 'Perhaps he hath two names, to wit, a Jewish name, and that by which they who are not Jews called him;' and that of the Jerusolymitan Talmud, in the treatise called Gittin, folio xliii. 2: 'The Israelites without the land of Israel have the same names with the Gentiles.' Yea, hear what they say in the same treatise, folio xlv. 3, of the Jews also living in the land of Israel: 'Perhaps one of them hath two wives, one living in Judea, the other in Galilee. And perhaps also he hath two names, one in Judea, another in Galilee: if he subscribe his name by which he is called in Judea, to send her who is in Galilee away, or subscribe his name, by which he is called in Galilee, to put her away, that is, in Judea, it is no divorce.' It is no wonder, therefore, if Saul, who was born out of the land of Israel, and was a Roman, should

have a Roman name, together with his Jewish name. And it is worth observation, that he being now made the apostle of the Gentiles, does always call himself by his Gentile, never by his Jewish name; and that Luke writing his Acts doth call him Saul, while the scene of the history was among the Jews, but Paul, while among the Gentiles."

*Filled with the Holy Ghost.* As much as to say, finding himself full of a prophetic spirit, that he might foretell God's vengeance against Elymas.

10. *Subtilty.* The Greek word ῥᾳδιουργία, signifieth "easiness of doing," from the word ῥᾴδιον, "easy," and ἐργάζομαι, "I work:" and so it is taken here by Erasmus for "craftiness," but by others for "a ready boldness for any wickedness."

*Thou child of the devil.* As much as to say, Thou who resemblest and imitatest the perverse inclinations and wicked temper of the devil, even as if thou hadst been born of him. See John viii. 39—41, 44.

*Enemy of all righteousness.* As much as to say, who art contrary to all just and righteous things.

*Wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?* As much as to say, Wilt thou always with thy blasphemous cavils traduce the righteous doctrine which came from God, full of equity and goodness, as deformed, vicious, and full of unrighteousness? Paul seems to allude to Hos. xiv. 10, where see our literal explication.

11. *And now.* That is, and now therefore, as above, ch. x. 5.

*Behold.* Besides your expectation.

*The hand of the Lord is upon thee.* That is, the terrible hand of a revenging God is lifted up against thee to give thee a terrible blow.

*And thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun.* The same thing expressed with a double phrase, beats the more strongly upon the ears of the hearers, and demonstrates the efficacy of him that speaketh.

*For a season.* Defined and limited.

*And immediately.* As much as to say, Paul had scarcely foretold the imminent stroke of God upon Elymas, when the prediction took effect.

12. *Then,* &c. As much as to say, When Sergius Paulus saw the doctrine of the gospel preached by Paul, confirmed by the

suden blindness of Elymas, its great opposer, he believed the gospel, being struck with admiration, that this doctrine of Christ was joined with such marvellous virtue.

13. *Now when Paul and his company.* That is, his companions. "When," saith Calvin, "he saith that Paul's companions loosed from Paphos, he in the first place means Paul himself, then the rest, excepting one. Thus by observing that one's delicateness, he praised others, who with unwearied constancy followed Paul."

*They came to Perga in Pamphylia.* Perga was one of the most famous cities of Pamphylia, which the Temple of Diana, called by Cicero, "Verrina Sexta,"—"The most holy, and most ancient," did beautify. To this temple, as Strabo tells us, lib. 14, there was a sacred gathering every year. Appollonius Pergeus (whose four books of Cones are extant in Greek and Latin, as Andreas Quenstedt saith, De Patriis Illust. Vir., whence he was called by the men of that age, the great geometrician) owes his birth to this city. Of Pamphylia we have spoken above, ch. ii. 10.

*John.* Mentioned above, ver. 5.

*Departing from them.* Perhaps shunning the pains and the danger of the rest of the journey. See below, ch. xv. 38.

*Came to Jerusalem.* To his mother.

14. *They came to Antioch in Pisidia.* Which was called the Cæsarean Colony, as Pliny saith, Nat. Hist., lib. 5, ch. 27. "He added," saith Beza, "the name of Pisidia to distinguish this Antioch from that other in Syria, from whence they went." Pisidia was to the north of Pamphylia, and it had Lycaonia upon the east, which of old was a part of Pisidia; upon the west, Phrygia Pacatiana, being situated between these two provinces; it was formerly governed by a president, then by a prætor under Justinian; Nov. 24.

*And went into the synagogue.* That is, into the meeting place of the Jews.

*On the sabbath day.* The evangelists in Greek use to call the sabbath day *sabbata*, in the plural, according to the custom of the Septuagint. See their translation, Exod. xx. 10.

*And sat down.* To wit, to hear something taken out of the law and prophets read, as was usual to be read in the synagogues, according to the most ancient Jewish custom, as may be seen below, ver. 27, and ch. xv. 21.

15. *And after the reading of the law.* The reason why the five

books of Moses only are called the law, are given by the author of חל כת עולם, because these books of Moses were given to all ages. But the prophets' sermons are דברי הקבלה, because they received every prophecy from the Holy Ghost, according to the exigence of the time, or of any fact. "Which reason," saith Ludovicus de Dieu, "is not altogether to be despised." But the five books of Moses, being divided into fifty-four sections, which they call פרשיות, are read yearly by the Jews in their synagogues. They begin the reading of them the next sabbath after the Feast of Tabernacles, and thenceforward they read one section every sabbath-day, except two, whereon they join two lesser sections, to be read together at once, that so, in a year's time, all may be read over, and may be finished the ninth day of the feast of Tabernacles, which, therefore, the Jews call שמחת תורה, "the gladness of the law." There are some that do not read over the whole law but once in three years: "but this is not the custom," saith Maimonides; in summa Talmudica tract. de precibus, &c., Benedict. sacerdotum, cap. 13.

*And the prophets.* Every sabbath day the Jews read a section taken out of the prophets in their synagogues, answering to the lesson read out of the Pentateuch. And they call it the Dismission, because the prophetical section being read, the people are dismissed. "Antiochus Epiphanes," saith Elias in his Thisbi, "did by an edict forbid the Israelites the reading of the law. What did the Israelites do? They took one section out of the prophets, whose matter was like the things which were treated of in that section of the law which was assigned for that sabbath. As for example, upon that sabbath whereon that section בראשית, should be read, they read out of the prophecy of Isaiah, ch. xlii. 5, *Thus saith the Lord, the Lord that created the heavens*, &c.; but when the section of Noah, Gen. vi. 1, was to be read, they substituted a section answering to it out of Isa. liv. 9, *For this is as the waters of Noah unto me.*" And so also of the rest of the sections. But now, though this decree of Antiochus be void, yet that custom of reading sections taken out of the prophets, accommodated to the sections of the Pentateuch, is not taken away; for even to this day they read such sections as these of the prophets, after the section of the law.

*The rulers of the synagogues sent unto them.* That is, they who did administer, and oversee the affairs of the synagogue. Grotius

upon Matt. ix. 18: "It is to be observed," saith he, "that men of known goodness were set over the Jewish synagogue, who were called in the Chaldaic language פרנסים, that is, 'pastors,' which word is also frequently read in Benjamin's Itinerary. Or also רבים, 'masters,' as the Syrian put it in Mark, or כשישים, which signifies 'gatherers,' or 'arbitrators,' which is read in the Syrian in the Acts. The Hellenists called them ἀρχισυναγώγους, 'rulers of the synagogue,' as we are taught from Acts xiii. 13, where mention is made of many rulers of the synagogue in one and the same society. But there was one eminent among them, preferred to the rest for learning, whose proper office it was to expound the law, and to recite the words of the public prayers, as Justin against Trypho teacheth us. Him the Hebrews call ממנח, 'the chief,' or also, ראש הקהל, in Syriac ריש כנושתא, 'the prince of the synagogue,' and by excellency, 'archisynagogus,' Luke xiii. 14. Philo calls him ὁ προεδρος, 'the *præses*,' sometimes also ὁ πρεσβύτατος, 'the eldest,' to whom he attributes the office of explaining the things that were obscure in their books, and of debating the matters, and of reciting before the people the words of the hymn they were to sing.

*Ye men and brethren.* Hence it appears that such as seemed able to preach were extraordinarily invited to it, at least that it was usual to suffer others to do it besides the ordinary rabbins is plain by Christ's example, Luke iv. 15, 17.

16. *Then Paul stood up.* That he might be the better heard by the congregation.

*And beckoning with his hand.* See what we have said above, ch. xii. 17.

*Men of Israel.* That is, ye posterity of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, or Israel, who by your birth are reckoned the Lord's people.

*And ye that fear God.* As much as to say, And ye who of the Gentiles have embraced the worship of the living God.

*Give ear.* Devoutly and religiously.

17. *The God of this people of Israel.* Of the people descended of Jacob, who was called, whence also all his posterity are called, Israel.

*Chose our fathers.* Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, peculiarly to be his servants and friends.

*And exalted the people.* That is, he blessed the people, which came of them with great increase, Exod. i. 7: a metaphor taken from buildings which are finished to the top.

*When they dwelt as strangers in the land of Egypt.* As much as to say, When the people were oppressed by the Egyptians in whose land they dwelt.

*And with an high arm.* That is, with his great power signally exerted. It is a metaphor taken from men, who, when they are to do anything with force, especially to smite one, they use to lift their arm high.

*Brought he them.* Lying under a bitter slavery.

*Out of it.* To wit, Egypt, when they could hardly bear longer their most heavy bondage in it.

18. *And about the time of forty years.* It is said *about*, because there seems one year to be wanting of the complete forty years

*Suffered he their manners*, &c. That is, He destroyed not that perverse and obstinate people, while they were in the wilderness, betwixt Egypt and Canaan, which was promised to their fathers.

19. *And when he had destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan.* God, Gen. xv. 19—21, promised unto Abraham ten nations, the Kenites, the Kenizites, the Kadmonites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, and the Rephaims, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites. But Paul numbers seven nations only here, which the Israelites by divine assistance overthrew, nor is there any mention of the Kinites, or the Kenites, nor of the Kinizites, or Kenezites, nor of the Cedmonites, or Cadmonites, in the distribution of the land, and the preceding war. See Deut. vii. 1; Josh. iii. 10; xxiv. 11; sometimes six only are mentioned, as Exod. iii. 8, 17; Judg. iii. 5; Neh. ix. 8, where, besides the Kenites, the Kenezites, and the Cadmonites, in the two first places the Girgashites, and in the third place Rephaim, or the Hivites, are passed over in silence. Rabbi Solomon Jarchi, upon the forecited place in Genesis, saith: "There are ten nations mentioned here, but he gave them but seven. And the other three, to wit, the Edomites, the Moabites, and the Ammonites, who are the Kenites, Kenizites, and the Cadmonites, shall at last fall into the inheritance of the people, because it is said, Isa. xi. 14, *They shall lay their hands upon Edom and Moab, and the children of Ammon shall obey them.*" This is the common opinion of the Jews. Others understand by them the Arabians, Salmæans, Nuthæans; others, Damascus, Asia, and Spain; some also, Asia, Turkey, and Carthage. But all the Jews with one consent maintain that these three peoples are yet to be subjugated by the Messiah. They

also argue, that seeing they are not already overcome, the Messiah is not yet come. But passing by Jewish fables, who loving an earthly kingdom, do fancy dreams to themselves, it is very probable that the Kenites and Kenizites, in that interval of time betwixt Abraham and Moses, were either quite extinguished, or lost their name, or were little famous, and so counted among other nations; for Joshua mentions that nowhere, neither in the division of the land, nor in the account of the nations which he overcame. Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, in Hexæmero, writes indeed, that the Kenites did inhabit the Mounts Lebanon and Amanus, but whence he drew this is uncertain. After the time of Joshua, mention is made of the Kenites, 1 Sam. xxvii. 10; xxx. 29. But that they are the same with these, whom God, speaking to Abraham in the forecited place, Gen. xv., mentions, is not certain. As to the Cadmonites, they were the same with the Hivites. They are called קַדְמֹנִים, "east countrymen," because they dwelt upon Mount Hermon, verging towards the east parts of the land of Canaan. They seem after Abraham's time to have been reckoned with them whom God, speaking to Abraham himself, called Rephaims, as may be gathered from Josh xii. 4, 5. "It is credible," saith Masius, upon Josh iii. 10, "that in a most populous country many different kindreds dwelt; and that the same kindreds were not always called by the same names is certain: for they who in the covenant with Abraham are called Rephaims, seem now by Joshua to be called Hivites."

*In the land of Canaan.* This most famous country in Asia the greater was inhabited by Chanaan the son of Cham, and divided among his eleven sons and their posterity; most of them retained their names in Moses' times. It is commonly called by Christians, the Holy Land, namely, because they reverence, with Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, the ground whereon of old the footsteps of our Saviour were imprinted, Euseb. lib. iii., de Vita Constant. Magn. 42. Its borders are, toward the east the river Jordan; toward the west, Egypt and the great sea, which is called the Mediterranean; toward the south, the desert of Arabia; toward the north, Mount Lebanon.

*He divided their land to them by lot.* By Joshua their captain, the successor of Moses, with Eleazar the high priest, Josh. xiii. 7, and xiv. 1, 2.

20. *About,* &c. We find the number of four hundred and fifty

years constantly kept in the Greek, Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic books; but the place and order of the number is various and different in the different editions. "For in the ancient Vulgate Latin translation," saith the reverend Usher, archbishop of Armagh, Chron. Sac. p. 1, cap. 12, "they are thus rendered: 'He divided their land to them by lot, about four hundred and fifty years after, and afterwards he gave them judges;' even as Joannes Mariana testifieth he found it written in some Greek manuscripts, to wit, in the manuscripts of Petrus Taxardus, marquess of Velesio, which are greatly suspected to have been designedly both here and otherwhere conformed to the Vulgate Latin translation. But the Alexandrian copy, which we have in England, written in great letters, and of far greater antiquity than those cited by Mariana, reads it thus, 'He divided their land to them by lot in about four hundred and fifty years, and after that he gave them judges.' The very same thing is also found in those divers readings which Robert Stephen added to the New Testament, which he printed in Greek at Paris, A.D. 1568. Also a certain Greek copy published at Paris, and cited by Beza in his annotations upon this place, agreeing with it, and another manuscript of the new college of Oxford, except only that this wants the pronoun 'their' after γῆν, *land:* in the other the pronoun 'them' is added after the verb 'he gave.' In all which it is manifest, that those four hundred and fifty years relate not to the continuance of the judges, but to the time of the division of the land. Moreover, some very learned men of our age, as Francis Junius relates, did think that this circumscription of times doth belong to the former part of this speech, even retaining the vulgar reading of the Greek copies; to wit, that as they think some fit participle must be understood, as if it were thus read: 'After the four hundred and fifty years were (ended) he gave judges.' By this means the beginning of this account will depend upon the first words of the apostle's speech, ver. 17, *The God of this people Israel chose our fathers.* But when God had promised to Abraham, as yet not having a son, that he would give the land of Canaan to his seed, Gen. xii. 7; Acts vii. 5, afterwards Ishmael, his first-born, being excluded, the choice of the fathers was made in Isaac, according to that, *In Isaac shall thy seed be called,* Gen. xi. 12. Further, from the birth of Isaac until the going of his posterity out of Egypt, there passed four hundred years and five, to which add forty-six years and a half, which were

betwixt that and the dividing of the land, they make up four hundred fifty-one years and a half, which Paul calls about four hundred and fifty years." Famous Ludovicus de Dieu saith somewhat otherwise. "I altogether agree with them," saith he, "who will not have reckoned here the years wherein the judges ruled; (for thus it seems impossible to make the four hundred and fifty agree with the four hundred and eighty years, which were from the coming out of Egypt to the beginning of the temple of Solomon, 1 Kings vi. 1;) but these which passed from the birth of Isaac till the time of the judges, as if it were written, And afterwards, about four hundred and fifty years, he gave judges: to tell, not how long the judges ruled, but when God gave them; to wit, after these things which were declared, ver. 17—19, which were acted in about four hundred and fifty years. The account agrees. For from Isaac to Jacob's birth are sixty years; thence to the going into Egypt a hundred and thirty; thence to the coming out of Egypt two hundred and ten; thence to the entering into the land of Canaan forty; thence to the dividing of the land seven years; which together make four hundred forty and seven years; that is, about four hundred and fifty, for there are only three wanting. For that in ver. 17, *God chose our fathers,* is rightly referred to the time of Isaac's birth, because that then God, who had already chosen Abraham of all the people of the earth, did of all Abraham's children choose Isaac, in whose family the covenant should stand, saying, *In Isaac shall thy seed be called.*"

*He gave unto them judges.* These judges among the Hebrews were directly like to the Roman *interreges,* and afterwards to the dictators; neither did they differ in any thing from the Hebrew kings, but that they had not a guard and royal pomp, and therefore exacted not taxes nor tributes; nevertheless, they were, as Josephus speaks, governors with a sovereign power, and therefore are called kings, Judg. ix. 16. They made Abimelech king, that is, judge. When Samson was dead, Judg. xviii. 1, *In those days there was no king in Israel,* that is, judge. And as the kings had power of killing without the Sanhedrim, as the Talmudic title סנהדרין, and 2 Sam. i. 15, and other places teach; so had also these judges, as appears from the examples of Gideon, Judg. viii. 16, 17, and Jepthah, Judg. xii. 6, which things are rightly observed by Abarbanel in the beginning of the book of the Judges. Josephus useth also to call those judges by the name of prophets, because

they were immediately given of God, and therefore endued with prophetical gifts.

*Until Samuel the prophet.* Who was the last of those judges.

21. *And afterward,* &c. As much as to say, But afterward, to wit, when Samuel had governed the commonwealth one and twenty years, they, after the example of other nations, asked a king, 1 Sam. viii. 5, 19; and at the importunate desire of the people, God gave them a king in his anger, Hos. xiii. 10, 11, Saul the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, but not of the tribe of Judah, for whom the sceptre seems to have been appointed of old, Gen. xlix. 10.

*By the space of forty years.* Seeing that Ishbosheth, when he succeeded his father Saul in the kingdom, was forty years of age, 2 Sam. ii. 10, we understand that Ishbosheth was born at the same time as Saul was first privately anointed, then publicly declared king before the people at Mizpeh, 1 Sam. x. 1, 24, 25. "Nor was it long after," as saith Usher in his annals upon the year of the world, two thousand nine hundred and nine, "as appears from 1 Sam. xii. 12, to wit, about a month after, as it is expressly in the seventy interpreters, and Josephus, Antiq. vi. 5, that Jabesh Gilead was besieged by Nahash, and by Saul delivered, having scattered the Ammonites. Whence at a meeting the whole people had at Gilgal, the kingdom was renewed to Saul, 1 Sam. xi. 14, 15; Samuel confirming his integrity in the execution of his office, complaining of the injuries done him, terrifying the people with thunder and rain in the time of wheat harvest, and then comforting them by proposing the mercy of God, 1 Sam. xii. 17, &c. Whence it appears that these things came to pass about the feast of Pentecost, and at the beginning of the third month, one and twenty years after the ark, which the Philistines had carried away, was restored at the same time of the harvest, 1 Sam. xi. 13. whereby we may gather, that as there were twenty years betwixt the bringing again of the ark and the subduing the Philistines, from 1 Sam. vii. 2, 13; so also that there passed a year betwixt the freeing of the Israelites' land from the Philistines, and Saul's being declared king, is gathered from these words, 1 Sam. xiii. 1, *Saul reigned one year, and when he had reigned two years over Israel.* Whereof a better sense cannot be given than that,—that one year was passed since the subduing of the Philistines by Samuel, when Saul began to reign; and that he reigned two years after, free

from the yoke of the Philistines. For in aftertimes Saul was by the Philistines stripped of his authority, and the people of Israel oppressed by them with a heavy and long bondage; which being at length removed, Saul is said to have taken the kingdom over Israel, that is, to have again recovered it, 1 Sam. xiv. 47. It is a proof that this oppression lasted many years, that it having begun eight years before David was born, yet before it was ended, Samuel named him to succeed in the kingdom of Saul, 1 Sam. xiii. 14: *The Lord hath sought him a man after his own heart, and the Lord hath commanded him to be a captain over his people.* For that the Israelites might be past all hopes of recovering their liberty, lest they might have weapons the Philistines carried away all the smiths from them; so that when the Israelites came to battle, among all them Saul and Jonathan only were found armed with sword and spear, 1 Sam. xiii. 19, 22." Daniel Brenius, in his friendly debate against the Jews, Quæst. 26: "How," saith he, "is that consistent, which is written, Acts xiii. 21, that Saul, who was the first king of Israel, reigned forty years when the scripture mentions only two years? *Answer.* These two years mentioned, 1 Sam. xiii. 1, may be so taken, as not to note the whole sum of Saul's administration, but that time of his government, until he chose these three thousand, which are mentioned there, ver. 2, otherwise if we will take it absolutely that the whole time of Saul's reign is described, ver. 1, then will arise this difficulty: to wit, how David—who began to reign at thirty years of age, 2 Sam. v. 4, and therefore, if Saul reigned two years only, appears manifestly to have been twenty-eight years of age, when Saul began to reign, and consequently when he killed Goliah,—is advised by Saul, 1 Sam. xvii. 33, not to fight with Goliah, because he was yet but a youth (likewise he is called a youth, ver. 42);—how, I say, is he called a youth, being in his nine and twentieth year? Not to speak of those many battles that are said to have been fought against so many people during Saul's reign, 1 Sam. xiv. 46, and in them the various conflicts betwixt David and the Philistines, 1 Sam. xviii. 25. Then afterward his flight, and his changing of his lurking places so often, because of Saul's manifold persecutions. Lastly, David's dwelling among the Philistines one year and four months, 1 Sam. xxvii. 7, compared with ch. xxix. 2, where Achish saith that David was with him these days or these years, that is, some days or some years, and other things are men-

tioned to have fallen out in Saul's reign, all which do abundantly demonstrate that there was more than two years' space betwixt Saul's reign and David's. And these things are thus far so debated, as if that place in Samuel were esteemed entire and incorrupt in the editions which are now extant. But now, indeed, we must know, that the Hebrew copies show this place to be imperfect, when betwixt the words *Schanah* and *Ben*, they leave a void place; for some of them have it thus written, *Ben—schana Schaoul.* It is probable the numerical note is wanting, which expressed the number of the years of Saul's age when he began to reign; for it is usual in these books of kings to insert the ages of the kings and the time of their reign, in the beginning of the history of their acts, as 2 Sam. ii. 10, where we read, thus written: *Ish-bosheth, Saul's son, was forty years old when he began to reign over Israel, and reigned two years.* Which same thing is done in David and other kings. Hence some Greek copies, supplying the number here, do write: *υἱὸς τριάκοντα ἐτῶν*, "son of thirty years." Seeing, therefore, that the beginning of the verse here is judged defective, what wonder is it that the like fault doth happen as to the number in the latter part of it, which defines the time of Saul's reign, and that therefore, the number expressed by the evangelists, who might as yet see the place entire, did differ so much from what is this day seen in our copies? Especially seeing that in the end of the sixth book of Josephus's Antiquities, Saul is said to have reigned eight years while Samuel lived, and two and twenty after his death; which is a token that of old there was another reading of this place extant, having the notes of the numbers, though not so much differing."

22. *And when he had removed him.* That is, Saul being rejected while yet alive, for a punishment of his disobedience, 1 Sam. xiii. 14, 15; xxviii. 16, 17.

*He raised up unto them David to be their king.* That is, that Jacob's prophecy, Gen. xlix. 10, might be made good, he promoted David, of the tribe of Judah, hitherto a mean and obscure man, to the kingly dignity, who upon Saul's death should succeed in the kingdom. See the forecited places, and Ps. lxxvii. 70, 71; cxiii. 7, 8.

*To whom he also gave testimony, and said.* 1 Sam. xiii. 14; Ps. lxxxviii., in the Hebrew lxxxix. 20, 21.

*I have found.* As much as to say, I have gotten such a man

as I would wish in the person of David, who, to wit, will do whatever I command him, whereas Saul, against my express command, spared the king of the Amalekites, and the fattest of the cattle. See 1 Sam. xv. 22, 28.

23. *Of this man's.* To wit, David's.

*Seed.* That is, posterity and offspring.

*According to his promise.* 2 Sam. vii. 12; 1 Chron. xxii. 10; Ps. lxxxix. 35—37; Isa. xi. 1, 2; Jer. xxiii. 5, 6; Micah v. 2.

*Raised unto Israel a Saviour, Jesus.* That is, he raised the promised Saviour to the people of Israel, which is Jesus, who *saves his people from their sins.* See Matt. i. 21. God of old raised saviours for Israel, Judg. iii. 9, 15, who delivered them from bodily bondage and earthly miseries; but he raised up Jesus to be the author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him, Heb. v. 9, to confer the causes, means, and ways of repentance, and to grant time and place, and to purchase for repenting sinners a remission of their sins, by his merits and prayers. See what we have said above, ch. v. 31.

24. *Preached,* &c. As much as to say, John as his forerunner had prepared his way, according to the prophecy of Mal. iii. 1, when Jesus was to enter forthwith upon his office, by the preaching of baptism, to testify repentance of sin, which not only includes the avoiding of evil, but the following of good, or works of piety.

*Before his coming.* The Greek hath it, "Before his entering." That is, before the Lord Jesus had entered upon his office. "So," saith Grotius, "lawyers say also, 'to enter upon the consulship.'"

*To all the people of Israel.* That is, publicly, so that many came to John to be baptized, Matt. iii. 5.

25. *And as John fulfilled his course.* That is, saith learned Heinsius, "when John was to execute his calling." This, Col. iv. 17, is called, *To fulfil the ministry that one received from the Lord;* Col. i. 25, *To fulfil the word of God;* Rom. xv. 19, *Fulfil the gospel of Christ.*

*Whom think ye that I am?* To wit, the Messiah, promised in the law and in the prophets? Paul related not the very words, but the sense which is in John i. 20.

*There cometh One after me.* That is, there is one to enter upon his office after me.

*Whose shoes of his feet I am not worthy to loose.* Petronius said, "To loose the strings of his shoes." The Baptist would express

the basest kind of service. Suetonius in his Vitellius: "He sought from Messalina for a very great office, that she would allow him to pull her shoes off her feet." See our literal explanation, Matt. iii. 11.

26. *Whosoever among you feareth God.* See what we have said above, ver. 16.

*To you is the word of this salvation sent.* As much as to say, we have a command from the Lord to preach to you who are of the stock of Abraham, or taken into his family as proselytes, this saving doctrine of Jesus the Saviour, to which John gave so honourable a testimony.

27. *For they.* This word *for* is in this place put for *but.*

*That dwell at Jerusalem, and their rulers.* That is, not only the common people at Jerusalem, but also the priests, scribes, and Pharisees, and the whole Sanhedrim.

*Because they knew him not.* To wit, to be the promised Messiah. See what we have said above, ch. iii. 17.

*Nor yet the voice of the prophets,* &c. As much as to say, Neither understanding the prophecies of the prophets, which used to be read every sabbath to them in the synagogues. See what we have noted above, ver. 15.

*Condemning.* Viz., to death, him, to wit, Jesus.

*Fulfilled.* That is, brought to pass; supply, "these voices of the prophets," whereby it was foretold that the Messiah should be by some despised, reproached, mocked, afflicted, pierced, and slain, as Isa. liii.; Dan. ix. 24, &c.

28. *And though they found no cause of death in him.* As much as to say, could find no true crime worthy of death in him who did well explain the law, and bestowed many favours upon the people.

*Yet desired they Pilate that he should be slain.* That is, they persuaded Pilate that he would adjudge him to death.

29. *And when they had fulfilled all,* &c. As much as to say, and when they had brought upon Christ all the punishments and reproaches which the prophets foretold the Messiah was to suffer, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, having taken him from the cross, laid him in a sepulchre, John xix. 38, 39.

30. *But God,* &c. As much as to say, The Jews at Jerusalem, and those who were chief among them, the priests, scribes, and Pharisees delivered Jesus to be put to death unjustly, but the

just God being against them, did bring him back from death to life.

31. *He.* To wit, Jesus, being raised from the dead.

*Was seen many days.* That is, forty days.

*Who are his witnesses to the people.* As much as to say, The eye-witnesses who are remaining, do, to this day, openly and publicly profess that Jesus Christ, being risen from the dead, did appear to them forty days.

32. *And we.* To wit, I and my companion Barnabas.

*Declare unto you,* &c. As much as to say, We now preach unto you the promise made to our fathers of the Messiah to come, because that God hath now fulfilled it to us who are their children. Time, therefore, persuades and presses us that what he hath fulfilled to us we should declare unto you.

*The promise which was made to the fathers.* To wit, Abraham, Gen. xxii. 18; Isaac, Gen. xxvi. 4; Judah, Gen. xlix. 10; David, 2 Sam. vii. 12; Isaiah xi. 1.

33. *God hath fulfilled.* That is, really performed.

*To us their children.* That is, To us who are their children.

*In that he hath raised up Jesus.* Gloriously, whom they had undeservedly put to a barbarous and ignominious death.

*My Son,* &c. Although these words in their literal meaning, do in some respect agree to David as to the figure, who is as it were begotten again of God, that he might be his son, when he was delivered from the snares of his enemies, 2 Sam. v. 12; xix. 22, the first-born, or chief among the kings of the earth, who are called the sons of God, Psa. lxxxii. 6, appointed of God, Psa. lxxxix. 27, 28; yet upon a far more honourable account were they fulfilled in the First-born from the dead, Col. i. 18, Rev. i. 5; in Christ, who was shadowed by David, and called by David's name, Jer. xxx. 9; Ezek. xxxiv. 23; Hos. iii. 5; seeing that, being risen from the dead, all power was given him in heaven and in earth, Matt. xxviii. 18. This Paul teacheth here, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, ch. v. 5. "These words," saith Camero, "are not to be so taken as that Christ after his resurrection had begun to be the Son of God, and to be begotten by him, but because that God did then most powerfully declare Christ by his resurrection to be his own Son. For this is the manner of scripture, that things be then said to be done or born, when they are manifested, and do appear, as when Solomon, Prov. xvii. 17, saith,

*A friend is born in a day of adversity;* that is, he then discovers himself, when our straights press us. For, although the Father, also, before the resurrection, gave testimony to him, yet because until his resurrection Christ was as it were encompassed with infirmities, and liable to death, his calling to the mediatory office was somewhat obscure until that day. But when, having laid aside his mortality, he gloriously rose again and ascended into heaven, then did he properly, as it were, openly declare unto all, that Christ is both his Son, and called to the priestly office. But God, until that very day, as he saw becoming his own wisdom, delayed to make this mystery known. Hence it is that Paul saith in this place, that God at last, after Christ's resurrection, said to him, *Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee.*" Justin, in his Colloquy with Trypho: "Saying he was born from thence, whereof it was to come to pass he should be born." From this place of Justin, and from Rabbi David Kimchi, it appears that the Jews of old looked upon the second Psalm as upon a prophecy concerning the Messiah.

34. *That,* &c. As much as to say, But that he raised Jesus from the dead, not to die again, as they which Elijah and Elisha raised did die, that he might be the eternal king of his people, whom he should make eternal partakers of glory with him; so he said in Isaiah the prophet, ch. lv. 3.

*I will give you the sure mercies of David.* The Seventy render in Isaiah the Hebrew word חֲסִדֵי, "the holies," but 2 Chron. vi. 42, they render it "mercies." Therefore holies and mercies are the same, in both are understood the free promises of God made to David. "For which," saith Ludovicus de Dieu, "he will not wonder that the Hellenists called them τὰ ὅσια, 'holies,' who knows when they would call God חָסִיד, 'bountiful,' they call him 'holy,' Ps. xvii. 28, and render the Hebrew word חֶסֶד, indifferently 'mercy' and 'righteousness;' and lest any should think that they mean any other thing by 'righteousness,' than they do by 'mercy,' they frequently render צְדָקָה, which properly denotes 'righteousness,' by 'mercy,' and 'alms,' as 'justice' is also frequently put by the Arabians for 'bounty;' therefore by the custom of the Hellenists, the 'holies,' the 'righteous,' and the 'mercies' are the same." Now, that by David, in the place of Isaiah cited here by Paul, is understood the Messiah, is well observed by the rabbins Kimchi and Abenezra. "Therefore," saith famous Lightfoot,

"the resurrection of Christ, as the apostle interprets it, is called τὰ ὅσια τοῦ Χριστοῦ πιστά. God also by the prophet, from whom these things are taken, promiseth a resurrection, and the benefits of the resurrection of Christ: he promised and foretold his death, ch. liii. But what mercies are to be expected by a dead Messiah, if he should be always dead? His benefits are weak and infirm, if death should put an end to them. Therefore he promiseth benefits and mercies which are firm, stable, and shall never end, which shall flow from his resurrection."

*Sure.* The Greek hath Πιστὰ, that is, according to Hesychius's interpretation, "firm," and stable. In that very sense this Greek word is used by the Hellenists, 1 Sam. xxv. 28; 1 Kings xi. 38, and πιστοῦν, for to "confirm" and "establish," 1 Chron. xvii. 14.

35. *Wherefore also in another psalm.* To wit, Ps. xvi. 10.

*He saith.* To wit, David himself by the Spirit of prophecy, concerning the promised Messiah which was to come of his seed, and to reign for ever, 2 Sam. vii. 13; 2 Chron. vi. 42, directing his speech to God.

*Thou shalt not suffer.* See what we have said above, ch. ii. 27. "Although," saith Curcellæus,[1] "I deny not but these things were in some respect fulfilled in David, as in the type, when God delivered him from the hands of his enemies, and suffered them not to take away his life, that he might afterwards rot in his grave; yet doth it far more eminently agree to Christ, who was but for a short time left in the grave, in which he felt no corruption, nor did he afterwards return any more unto it; when David, who, though he felt no corruption at that time when his enemies intended his death, yet afterward he, as all other men, yielded to the necessity of nature."

36. *After he had served his own generation by the will of God.* That is, in governing his people, and advancing religion in some measure.

*Fell asleep, and was laid unto his fathers.* That is, died, and was buried, even as his fathers were.

*And saw corruption.* That is, and his corpse rotted in the grave.

37. *Whom,* &c. As much as to say, But Jesus Christ was in so short a time restored from death to life, that his body laid in the sepulchre was no ways vitiated with rottenness.

38. *Through this man is preached unto you remission of sins.* As

[1] Rel. Christ. Institut. lib. v. cap. 3, n. 7.

much as to say, It is preached to you by me and Barnabas, that the penitents shall have a free pardon of their sins from God, being reconciled by this only Mediator betwixt God and man, the man Jesus Christ.

39. *And by him.* That is, by the merits and intercession of this man, to wit, Jesus Christ.

*All that believe are justified.* That is, whosoever shall by a lively faith adhere to Christ as to a teacher sent from heaven, the Redeemer and Mediator of men, shall by his merits and intercession, obtain pardon and remission of his sins from God.

*From all things,* &c. As much as to say, Seeing the law of Moses gives no hope of pardon, except of sins committed through infirmity or ignorance, but denounceth the punishment of death without mercy upon greater crimes, Numb. xv. 22, &c.; Heb. x. 28; but if any man repenting of his former life, will with a sincere faith embrace Christ, he shall through him be absolved from any sins whatsoever committed against the law of God.

*Be justified.* That is, purged and expiated, as Dan. viii. 14, or freed, as Rom. vi. 7.

*Beware,* &c. As much as to say, Therefore take heed, lest if ye embrace not the faith of Christ, the same happen to you which of old happened to your fathers, foretold by Habakkuk, in the book of the smaller prophets, to have your city and temple overthrown, and yourselves carried away, for your contempt of heavenly admonitions.

41. *Behold ye despisers.* The Hebrew original hath רְאוּ בַּגּוֹיִם, Hab. i. 5. Most interpreters render the word בַּגּוֹיִם, as a double diction, compounded of a preposition and a noun, "among the heathen." But the Seventy, whom the apostle seems to have followed here, as also the Syrian interpreter, taking it for one single diction, rendered it "despisers," "arrogant," "insolent." "בַּגּוֹיִם," saith incomparable Pocock,[1] "for a plural taken from the singular בַּגּוֹא, *bago,* termined like קַנּוֹא, *kano,* 'a zealot,' namely from the root בָּגָא, which though we do not find elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, (which is the only treasure of the pure and ancient Hebrew that remains among us) yet the use of the Arabic language, added to the authority of these interpreters, doth abundantly confirm me that it hath been used by the Hebrews of old." And a little after: "I believe," saith he, "it will trouble no man more,

[1] Not. Misc. ad portam Mosis, cap. 3.

that בַּגּוֹאִים, is not written with an א altogether latent and idle in the pronouncing, than to see if he will embrace the other reading, written בַּגּוֹיִם, not בַּגּוֹיִם, or otherwhere גּוֹיִם, not גּוֹיִם, or that the same letter, (to wit, א) should often be taken away in other words, where it is radical. The Masora notes that א is thirteen times wanting in the derivatives from that one verb בוא."

*And wonder and perish.* The Hebrew hath, Hab. i. 5, וְהִתְמַהְמְהוּ תְּמָהוּ. Rabbi Tanchum, in the forecited place of Pocock: "The repeating of the same verb in different conjugations," saith he, "is for confirmation' sake, and perhaps by one of the conjugations he meant admiration, by the other astonishment, confusion, such as admiration at some strange thing useth to beget. Therefore," addeth Pocock, "the simple word תָּמַהּ, seems to signify somewhat more than either הִתְמַהּ, among the Hebrews, or אתרמד, among the Syrians; neither is it seldom, I think, that among both the Hebrews and Arabians, increased conjugations signify somewhat less, though different, than the simple theme doth." The Greek hath: "And wonder, and disfigure," supply, as Grotius hath very well observed, "your faces," so that the sense is the same as Matt. vi. 16, "wax very pale," to wit, out of fear.

*For I work,* &c. As much as to say, For the work which I am to work in your time, shall be so great, that if any shall at this time foretel it, they will not easily believe him. This the prophet means of God's stirring up the Chaldeans, a fierce nation, to lay Judea waste for the sins of its inhabitants. But the apostle turns and accommodates these words to the Jews of his time for rejecting Jesus the Messiah sent from God, unless they repented and embraced him whom God hath exalted by faith, and says that they likewise shall be grievously punished by a powerful foreign nation.

42. *The Gentiles besought.* That is, such as among the Gentiles did Judaize, and did, therefore, frequent the Jewish assemblies, although they were uncircumcised, such was Cornelius, and at that time not a few; they, I say, besought Paul and Barnabas.

*That these words might be preached to them.* That is, that they might more fully explain what they said of the Messiah, and the benefits that were to be obtained by him.

43. *Now when the congregation was broken up.* That is, when the assembly being dismissed, every one went to their own houses.

*Religious proselytes.* That is, such as of other nations had come over to the Jewish religion.

*Who.* To wit, Paul and Barnabas.

*To continue in the grace of God.* That is, to persevere in the doctrine of the gospel about Jesus Christ. The doctrine of the gospel is by a metonymy called the grace of God, which is come unto men merely by the grace of God. See Heb. xii. 15; 1 Pet. v. 12.

44. *The word of God.* That is, the doctrine revealed from heaven, and preached by Paul and Barnabas, concerning the attaining eternal salvation through faith in Christ.

45. *The Jews.* Who were obstinately incredulous.

*The multitudes.* That is, the multitudes of men which gathered to hear Paul and Barnabas.

*They were filled with envy.* That is, they bursted with envy that foreigners converted to the Jewish religion, were made equal with them.

*And spake against those things which were spoken by Paul.* To wit, concerning Jesus Christ and his doctrine.

*Contradicting and blaspheming.* "There is," saith Ludovicus de Dieu, "a very emphatical Hebraism in this phrase, such as you have, 1 Sam. vi. 12, which the Seventy render, 'They went going and lowing:' that is, they went with a constant lowing; so they spake against contradicting and blaspheming. That is, with a constant blaspheming attending their contradicting."

46. *Waxed bold.* That is, fearless; nowise discouraged with the contradiction of their adversaries.

*It was necessary.* By Christ's command and example, Matt. x. 6; xv. 24; Luke xxiv. 47; and above, ch. i. 8.

*That the word of God should first have been spoken to you.* That is, that forgiveness of sins and eternal salvation to be obtained from God through the only Mediator betwixt God and man Jesus Christ, who is the Messiah promised in the law and the prophets, should first be preached to you.

*And judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life.* It is a phrase of Greek elegance, whereby the same is meant as if it were said, Ye contemn and despise eternal life, which is given to men by God, through Jesus Christ alone.

*Lo, we turn to the Gentiles.* As much as to say, The preaching of the gospel by our ministry shall be transferred from you who are unthankful, to foreign and uncircumcised nations, in hopes of better growth and fruit there.

47. *For so hath the Lord commanded us.* Above, ch. i. 8; Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15; Luke xxiv. 47; and that to this Saul or Paul there was a command given by Christ concerning his embassage, which he was to undertake for Christ to foreign nations, to preach to them the gospel, appears below, ch. xxii. 21; xxvi. 17, 18; Gal. i. 16; ii. 8.

*I have set,* &c. As much as to say, For what is spoken of Isaiah, as Christ's type in some measure, Isa. xlii. 6, is truly fulfilled in Christ the Lord, whom he did shadow. For the virtue of Christ shall in no case be restricted to the people of Israel only, but as the words of God found in Isaiah, his light will send forth its beams to the far ends of the earth, by the preaching of his disciples, for the salvation of such, who of any nation in any part of the earth shall believe in him.

48. *And when the Gentiles heard this.* Pisidians by birth, aliens from the people of Israel, that salvation was promised to them many ages before, by the coming of Christ.

*They were glad.* That it was at length fulfilled, which was foretold so many ages before.

*And glorified the word of the Lord.* That is, they praised the goodness of God, which shined forth in the gospel, preached to them by Paul and Barnabas.

*And as many as were ordained to eternal life.* That is, as many as were candidates of eternal life, as Mede excellently expounds it, Sermon iii. in Acts xvii. 4, or as many as were sincerely and honestly disposed to perform whatever God requires of men to give them eternal life. The verb τάττο, is used of an army, and placing of soldiers, of the registering them in order or rank. Hence the books that treat of ordering and drawing up an army are called tactics. And so may Luke's words be rendered here, as Mede excellently notes in the forecited place. "As many as had given up their names to eternal life, believed: or by an ellipsis of a participle, who were of the band and company of such as hoped, and earnestly endeavoured to attain eternal life; otherwise, as many as were in readiness for eternal life; finally, and most conveniently, if it be taken in a military sense, and not of destination or appointment, as many as were ordained to eternal life."

49. *The word of the Lord.* That is, the gospel of Christ preached by Paul and Barnabas at Antioch, the metropolis of Pisidia.

*Throughout all the region.* To wit, of Pisidia. So was spread the doctrine of Jesus Christ, opposed in vain by his enemies, he ruling in the midst of them, Psa. cx. 2.

50. *But the Jews.* Obstinately resisting the truth.

*Stirred up the devout.* That is, certain women of the Gentiles, who had submitted to the law of Moses.

*And honourable women.* Not of the common sort, but nobles.

*And the chief men of the city.* As much as to say, these malicious Jews having abused the blind zeal and imprudent simplicity of these matrons, by their means instigated the nobility, or chief men of Antioch, against Paul and Barnabas.

*And raised,* &c. As much as to say, And they brought the matter so far, that Paul and Barnabas themselves were with a strong hand borne down and afflicted, and at length expelled from the borders of Antioch in Pisidia.

51. *But they.* Paul, to wit, and Barnabas.

*Shook off the dust of their feet.* By this rite according to Christ's precept, Matt. x. 14; Luke ix. 5, 10, 11, they testified that they, having discharged their duty, were free from the punishment that was abiding the inhabitants of Antioch in Pisidia, for rejecting the doctrine of the gospel which was preached to them.

*Against them.* That is, for a testimony against them, as it is, Luke ix. 5.

*And came unto Iconium.* The metropolitan city of Lycaonia, situated at Mount Taurus, whereof, among others, the famous Amphilochius was bishop, who under Theodosius the Great was most vehement against heresies, and of an eminent authority, as it doth appear even by the third law, *De Fide Catholica.* Lycaonia of old, a part of Pisidia, hath Pisidia upon the west, Isauria upon the south, Cappadocia the second upon the east, and upon the north, *Galatia Secunda,* called also The Healthy.

52. *And the disciples,* &c. As much as to say, but such as at Antioch in Pisidia did believe in Christ by the preaching of Paul and Barnabas, were filled with joy, for the entrance which was opened for them to eternal life, and with the gifts of the Holy Ghost for the sealing of their faith.

## CHAPTER XIV.

1. *And it came to pass in Iconium.* Viz., the metropolis of Lycaonia.

*That they went both together.* Paul and Barnabas.

*Spake.* That is, preached the gospel.

*A great multitude both of the Jews, and also of Greeks.* Whosoever professed not the Jewish religion, were by the Jews called Greeks, since they lived under the Greek or Macedonian empire, dividing all the men of the world into Jews and Greeks, in respect of religion, not of country.

2. *Stirred up.* Or incensed, made them evil affected.

*The Gentiles.* That is, men professing another religion than the Jewish, whom Luke in the preceding verse calls Greeks, and likewise did oppose the Jews to them.

*Their minds.* That is, their wills, as Psalm xli. 3, in the Hebrew text.

*Against the brethren.* So are all believers in Christ called, because they have one Father in heaven, which is God, whose children they are after the spirit, to whom they have got access through Christ, and they themselves have one for another a reciprocal, brotherly love, though they be gathered out of divers nations.

3. *Abode they.* At Iconium.

*Speaking boldly,* &c. As much as to say, being encouraged by the Lord boldly to preach the gospel, whereby the great grace of God concerning the remission of sins, and the gift of eternal life to such as believe in Christ and repent, is declared; for the Lord himself approved the gospel preached by them, and did by signs and miracles, wrought by their ministry, vindicate it from reproach.

4. *With the apostles.* To wit, Paul and Barnabas.

5. *With their rulers.* That is, with their nobles.

*To stone them.* To wit, the apostles Paul and Barnabas.

6. *They were aware of it.* That is, Paul and Barnabas were aware of this conspiration against them.

*And fled.* According to Christ's precept, Matt. x. 23, lest they might rashly run themselves upon death.

*Unto Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia.* This place may be two ways interpreted: one way is, that he might tell that Lystra and Derbe are cities of Lycaonia; the other, that he might tell

that they fled to the cities of Lycaonia, and to Lystra, and to Derbe; "Which exposition," saith Drusius, "seems more true: for Lystra and Derbe are cities of Isauria, which although it be near Lycaonia, yet it is distinguished from it. Chrysostom writes, Hom. viii., in 2 Tim. iii. 11, that Timothy, Paul's disciple, was of Lystra." But Geisner, in an Authorless Author, that he was of Derbe.

*Round about.* To wit, Lystra and Derbe.

7. *And there they preached the gospel.* That is, they left not off their office of preaching the gospel which God had imposed upon them.

9. *The same heard Paul preach.* That is, preaching the gospel.

*Who.* Paul.

*And perceiving that he had faith to be healed.* That is, seeing the lame man stirred up by his preaching, and showing signs of hope that his inbred lameness should be healed.

10. *Said with a loud voice.* That he might be heard of all that were present.

11. *The gods,* &c. As much as to say, The gods are come to us in human shape. This the ethnics believed sometimes to have fallen out, as may frequently be seen in their poets.

12. *And they called Barnabas, Jupiter.* For Jupiter, in Ovid, Met. i., compasseth the earth in human shape.

*And Paul, Mercurius.* Whom Jupiter used to lead with him, as may be seen in Plautus's Amphitruo.

*Because he was the chief speaker.* As much as to say, Because it was his charge to speak. For Mercurius was esteemed as the god of eloquence, and the messenger of the gods; whence Claudian saith[1] of him: "That he is a god common to the gods of heaven and hell, who alone hath a right and power to enter both into heaven and into hell; and he maintains the communication between the princes of both kingdoms, heaven and hell."

13. *Then the priest of Jupiter, which was before their city.* It seems that the temple consecrated to Jupiter, stood near the gates of this city, in which temple the image of Jupiter was also seen, seeing Jupiter was accounted the governor and defender of this city. For the idolatrous nations used to dedicate almost every city to the peculiar care and chief tutelage of particular gods.

*Oxen and garlands.* Oxen and garlands are oxen crowned with garlands. Minutius, in his Octavius: "The beasts for sacrifices,

[1] Carm. 33, De Raptu Proserpinæ, ver. 89, 90, 91.

are fattened to be slain, the hosts are crowned to be tormented."

*Unto the gates.* That is, when he brought the oxen crowned with garlands to the gates of the city where Paul preached, and the lame man whom he restored did sit, or to the door of the house where Paul and Barnabas lodged. "For this was," saith Ludovicus de Dieu, "the fashion of their houses in all the eastern countries, that the first door being opened, which looked into the street, you presently come to another covered with a veil, which the Arabians call 'a covering,' lest he that enters, may see into the bed-chamber, where the master of the family stays."

*With the people.* That is, a great multitude of the common people following him.

14. *They rent their clothes.* Very many nations had this custom, to rend their garments in grief, or vehement anger: first, in great grief and sadness, as may be seen, Gen. xxxvii. 29, 34; Num. xiv. 6; Judg. xi. 35; 1 Sam. iv. 12; 2 Sam. i. 11, xiii. 19. Then, when they heard any, especially a Jew, blaspheme. Hence the learned among the Jews gather, that Rabshakeh, the king of Assyria's chamberlain, was a Jew, and apostatized to ethnicism, because king Hezekiah rent his clothes, when his blasphemous words were told him, 2 Kings xix. 1. So Caiaphas rent his garment, when he believed that by Christ's confession God was blasphemed, Matt. xxvi. 65. But they are mistaken, who conclude from Lev. x. 6: xxi. 10, that the high priest was altogether forbidden to rend his clothes. For the discourse there is concerning mourning over the dead, not of the public and universal mourning of the whole people: that in this case it was lawful for for him to rend his clothes, is evinced from the example of Jonathan the high priest, when he was overcome in battle, 1 Mac. xi. 71. But the most learned among the rabbins say, that the high priest used to rend his garment from the bottom of it, but the rest of the Jews from the top.

*Ran in among the people.* Earnestly and vehemently to deprecate their too great honour.

*Crying out.* That is, speaking with a loud voice.

15. *Men,* &c. As much as to say, Ye men of Lystra, why would you preposterously worship us mortal men instead of God? We are liable to infirmities of the same nature with you to whom we preach, that casting away all these feigned deities, with which the world hath hitherto been deluded, ye may turn to that living

God, who hath life in himself, and communicates the same to others.

*From these vanities.* That is, idols, which are without life, strength, and profit, and therefore are called vain, and vanities. See 1 Sam. xii. 21, xv. 23; 1 Kings xvi. 26; Isa. lvi. 3; Jer. ii. 6, x. 14, 15; xvi. 19; Amos ii. 4; Jonah ii. 8.

*Which made,* &c. The heathenish gods did not make heaven and earth, being all born since they were made. See Jer. x. 11.

16. *Who in times past.* That is, in former ages.

*Suffered all nations to walk in their own ways.* That is, suffered all nations to live after what manner they pleased, not giving them a law, as he did to the Israelites, to keep them thereby close to their duty and his worship, and seldom sent to other nations than the Israelites prophets to recall them from their errors.

17. *Nevertheless,* &c. As much as to say, yet God did not at any time let the nations want a testimony of his goodness. For the benefits which God by nature, his ordinary handmaid, confers upon men, do every moment reach their senses, and draw the attentive considerers to love and worship the bestower of them. For reason imprinted upon men's hearts, teacheth them that they ought to be thankful to such as are most beneficial and liberal to them, and to worship and honour God greatly for the benefits they daily receive and expect from him. But after what manner God is especially to be worshipped, the same reason with which all are endued, doth abundantly declare; to wit, that the best worship of God is a pious and honest life, with which he is better pleased than with any gifts, as Persius saith excellently, Sat. 2:—"Tell me, you priests, what profit do the gods receive of the gold that is consecrated to them in their temples? Even as little as Venus receives of the puppets that the maids being about to marry offer to her. Why don't we offer that to the gods which the vicious offspring of great Messala cannot offer out of all their great riches? To wit, an innocent life, conformable unto the divine and human laws, spotless thoughts of our minds, and a heart thoroughly honest and virtuous; grant that I bring to the altars of the gods true piety and a pure mind, and I shall please the gods with a very small sacrifice, even with a cake made of meal and salt."

*In that he did good.* Although the power and wisdom which shine forth in the works of God are sufficient to persuade his being, and that he must be loved, feared, and worshipped; yet the

despisers of that might seem to be excusable, had they not experienced God to be so beneficial to them. Therefore Paul in this place, omitting to mention God's power and wisdom, he is content to admonish the Lystrians of his great bounty, which they at all times have tasted, that they might know how much they were beholden to him upon that account.

*And gave us rain from heaven.* Whereby the earth is made fertile to bring forth fruit.

*And fruitful seasons.* Appointed for bringing forth certain fruits, as the spring, summer, and harvest.

*Filling our hearts with food and gladness.* Some read it in the Greek, *your hearts.* Calvin saith excellently: "To fill the heart with food is nothing else but to bestow food, which may satisfy the desires of men. By *gladness* Paul and Barnabas mean, that God according to his great favour, bestows more upon men than their necessities call for: as if it were said, that food is given to men, not only to repair their strength, but to rejoice their hearts."

18. *And with these sayings,* &c. As much as to say, Paul and Barnabas could scarcely with these sayings restrain the Lystrians from sacrificing to them.

19. *From Antioch.* To wit, the metropolis of Pisidia.

*Jews.* Obstinately unbelieving, who envied Paul and Barnabas.

*Who persuaded the people.* Some copies add, "Saying, that they tell no truth, but lie in everything."

*And having stoned Paul,* &c. As much as to say, Paul, because he was the chief speaker, was so violently assaulted with stones that he was thought dead. This stoning Paul doth mention, 2 Cor. xi. 25.

20. *Howbeit as the disciples stood round about him.* As much as to say, the Christians came to stand about his funeral, as Apuleius speaketh.

*He rose up, and came into the city.* That is, having recovered from the stupefaction which the many wounds he received by the stones had put him in, he raised up himself from the ground, where he lay for dead, and being by the marvellous virtue of Christ refreshed, strengthened, and, as it were, brought to life again, he returned to Lystra. Paul's words, 2 Cor. i. 8—10, do seem to relate to this.

21. *Had taught many.* The Greek hath it, "Had formed sufficient disciples," that is, when they had brought a fit number of auditors over to this, that they might receive the faith of Christ,

and become his disciples. In this sense the same active verb here used is put, Matt. xxviii. 19, and its passive, Matt. xxvii. 57.

*They returned again to Lystra.* Where a little before Paul was assaulted with stones.

*And to Iconium.* Whence above, ver. 5, 6, they fled for fear of danger.

*And Antioch.* Of Pisidia, whence they were expelled, above, ch. xiii. 50.

22. *Confirming.* Gregory the Great saith excellently, lib. xxxi., Mor. in Job xv, "Behold Paul was overwhelmed with stones, yet he is not removed from preaching the truth. He may be killed, but he cannot be overcome. He is cast out of the city as dead, but he is found another day within the city, an unhurt preacher of the gospel. O how strong is infirmity within this man! O how conquering his torment! O how masterly is his patience! By the repulse he is stirred up to dispute: by strokes he is raised up to preach the gospel: he is refreshed by his torment to drive away the wearisomeness of his labour."

*Through much tribulation,* &c. As much as to say, Whoever enters into the kingdom of God, or labours to live according to the gospel, stirreth up the world's hatred against himself, and therefore must lie in the way of many, yea, and grievous vexations. Which appeared in the Author of this way of living, even the Lord Jesus Christ himself, who foretold that the same should befall his followers, Matt. x. 17, 18; xxiii. 34; John xvi. 33; xvii. 14.

23. *And when they had ordained.* Greek, χειροτονήσαντες, when with "stretched out hands they had ordained," or chosen by votes. Χειροτονεῖν, properly signifieth "to choose with the hand stretched forth." When assemblies for choosing of magistrates were to be kept, they appointed one whom they thought the most fit for that dignity, and having produced him upon the theatre, his name was proclaimed by a crier, and it was said, "To whomsoever this seems good, or pleaseth, let him lift up his hand;" and then such as approved of the election, by lifting up their hands, testified that the man elected seemed to them a fit man to bear the office of a magistrate, but they who disapproved it kept in their hand; which party soever had the greater number, had the election decreed accordingly. Hence came that word χειροτονεῖν, and he who became magistrate by such suffrages was called χειροτονητὸς. This Elias the Cretian doth testify upon Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. 3; and Zonaras upon the Canons of the Apostles, teacheth us,

that first the word χειροτονία did signify the suffrages; but afterwards (the ancient rites being abolished), was used for consecration. In this sense the word χειροτονηθεὶς is taken, 2 Cor. viii. 19.

*Elders.* Famous Frederick Spanhemius in his Isagogick Epitome to the History of the New Testament: "The bishops," saith he, "which were ordained in every church, were so called from the care, τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, *of overseeing*, as the same are called πρεσβύτεροι, *elders*, from their age and gravity, ποιμένες, *pastors*, from their office of feeding, διδάσκαλοι, διάκονοι τοῦ λόγου, *doctors, ministers*, from their office of teaching and ministering to Christ, προστάται, ἡγούμενοι, *set over, governors*, from their right to govern." Compare below, ch. xv. 2, 4, 6, xx. 17, 28; Tit. i. 5, 7; 1 Thess. v. 12. Irenæus in his Epistle to Victor, bishop of Rome, in Eusebius, lib. v., Hist. Eccl., ch. 26: "The elders, who before Soter governed the church that you now govern, were, I say, Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, Telespore, Sixtus." Irenæus everywhere calls them elders whom others do frequently call bishops, and to whom he attributes the government of the church of Rome. Also Victor himself in an epistle under his name to an unknown Desiderius, bishop of Vienne in France, expresseth himself thus, "As thy fraternity hath been taught by the elders who did see the apostles in the flesh, and who governed the church until thy time."

*And had prayed with fasting.* See what we have said above, ch. xiii. 3.

*They commended them to the Lord.* To wit, to be protected.

24. *And after they had passed through Pisidia.* See what we have said above, ch. xiii. 14.

*They came to Pamphylia.* See our commentary above, ch. ii. 10.

25. *And when they had preached the word in Perga.* As much as to say, and when they had preached Christ's gospel in Perga, of which city see our notes, ch. xiii. 13.

*They went down into Attalia.* The city Attalia having its name from Attalus Philadelphus, its builder, is by Strabo mentioned among the cities of Pamphylia, Geog. lib. 14.

26. *And thence sailed to Antioch.* The metropolis of Syria.

*Whence they had been recommended to the grace of God,* &c. As much as to say, Whence having gone forth to preach the gospel, they were recommended to God by the prayers of the church, that he would put forth his grace to advance the labours of the apostle of the Gentiles, whom himself had appointed. See above, ch. xiii. 3.

27. *Had gathered the church together.* Of Christians dwelling at Antioch.

*They rehearsed.* Even as such who return from an ambassage use to give an account of what they have done.

*All that God had done with them.* An Hebraism, the meaning whereof is, all that God did to them. To wit, what grace he conferred upon them, how great help and strength was present with them, in converting men and working miracles.

28. *And there they abode long time.* To wit, at Antioch.

*With the disciples.* That is, Christians. See what we said above, ch. xi. 29.

## CHAPTER XV.

1. *And.* That is, then, at that time.

*Certain men.* Of the Jews professing Christianity, whose ringleader herein, Philastrius and Epiphanius say,[1] was Cerinthus, a disciple of Simon Magus and of Carpocrates.

*Which came down from Judea. Viz.*, to Antioch, the metropolis of Syria. These persons the apostle Paul, Gal. ii. 4, calls in the Greek text, "Irreptitious false brethren," that is, "False brethren brought in unawares, and who came in privily to spy out the liberty of the church."

*Taught the brethren.* To wit, those of the Gentiles which were converted to Christ.

*Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses.* That is, according to the rite prescribed by God to Abraham, which Moses describes, Gen. xvii. 10; and again commands, Lev. xii. 3. Some books here have it, "Except ye be circumcised and walk after the manner of Moses." So that other ceremonial laws of Moses might be understood to be added, to which they bind themselves, whoever they be that are circumcised, to obey the law of Moses. See Gal. v. 3.

*Ye cannot be saved.* That is, obtain eternal salvation.

2. *When therefore Paul and Barnabas.* Who had rightly instructed the Gentile converts in the doctrine of Christian liberty, and taught that they were not bound to circumcise themselves.

*Had no small dissension and disputation with them.* To wit, those rigid persons, who burning with too great a zeal for the ceremonial

[1] De Hæres. cap. 87. Hæres. 28.

Mosaical laws, contended that Christians were not freed by Christ from that too grievous yoke.

*They determined.* *Viz.*, the Christians of Antioch.

*That Paul and Barnabas.* Who were as one party in this controversy. It is credible that Paul, when it was thus decreed by the church of Antioch that he should go to Jerusalem, was admonished by revelation, that he should altogether do what the church had appointed; for Paul, Gal. ii. 2, speaking of this his journey, saith, that he went up to Jerusalem by revelation.

*And certain others of them.* That is, of them who urged the necessity of circumcision. Concerning which matter the Jews themselves were not altogether agreed. For when[1] Izates, king of the Adiabene, being instructed in the religion of the Jews by one Ananias, thought he could not be a perfect Jew unless he were circumcised, his tutor dissuaded him therefrom, saying, "That he might without circumcision piously worship God, if he zealously embraced and followed the Jewish institutions; for therein did religion consist rather than in circumcision. But yet the same king, a while afterwards, by the advice of another Jew named Eleazar (whom Josephus reports to have been famous for his skill in the law), did cause himself to be circumcised. Likewise Tryphon the Jew, in Justin Martyr, does not exclude the uncircumcised from all hopes, saying, "If thou continue in the course of philosophy, and a blameless life, there remains an hope of the better portion." And this favourable opinion seems to be received amongst the Jews at this day, as may be gathered from Manasseh ben Israel;[2] yet Isaac Abrabanel approves[3] the traditions of the ancients in these words, "Whoever is not circumcised shall inherit hell." It is certain the Jews that lived whilst yet their state was flourishing, had more rigid sentiments in this matter than those whom the sense of calamities hath since humbled and rendered less apt to censure; for these dare not deny all participation of bliss to the Gentiles in the life to come, though still they esteem that they shall be as much more happy than all other people, as the Gibeonites of old were inferior to them in the land of Canaan; whence arose their murmuring against Christ, when in the parable, Matt. xx., he seemed to equal the Gentiles with them.

*To the apostles.* Those who had daily lived with our Lord Jesus, and followed him as his domestics, whom he was pleased to make witnesses of his resurrection, and to send them through all the

[1] Joseph. Antiq. xx. 2. [2] De Resurrect. lib. ii. cap. 9. [3] De Capit. Fidei, cap. 24.

world to preach the gospel, to whose number Paul was afterwards added, being called to that office after his ascension, as before, ch. ix. So that he was inferior in no respect to any of them, Gal. ii. 9. Some add also Barnabas as one of the apostles, from the foregoing chapter, ver. 13. "The apostles," saith Spanhemius,[1] "had an equal dignity, and their cure was universal, not of one church only, but of all, Matt. xxviii. 19; 2 Cor, xi. 28; so that apostles are no more to be reckoned in the order of bishops of a particular church, than the Prætorian prefects, or vicar generals of old, in the rank of governors of one city or province."

*And elders.* In the apostles' age there were presbyteries, or colleges of bishops or presbyters in every church, "who," saith the same Spanhemius, "had the administration and guidance thereof in common; to wit, ordinarily, of which presbyters (as there was then distinct gifts), some gave themselves more to the word and doctrine, 1 Tim. v. 17; others to government and discipline, Rom. xii. 8; 1 Cor. xii. 28."

*About this question.* That is, to consult them, whether circumcision of the foreskin were necessary to the attainment of eternal salvation?

3. *Being brought on their way by the church.* That is, Paul and Barnabas, and the rest of the deputies of the church of Antioch to Jerusalem, accompanied by the Antiochean brethren some small part of their journey; as afterwards, ch, xx. 38; xxi. 15.

*They passed through Phœnice and Samaria.* In which there already dwelt some Christians; see before, ch. viii. 5, 14, and ch. xi. 19.

*Declaring the conversion of the Gentiles.* That is, that very many of the Gentiles in divers places, by their preaching, which God had been pleased divinely to assist, were converted to the faith of Christ.

*And they caused great joy unto all the brethren.* This tidings of such numbers of the Gentiles converted caused the faithful much to rejoice.

4. *Received of the Church, and of the apostles, and of the elders.* That is, they were welcomely received, as well as the Christians in general that dwelt at Jerusalem, as particularly by the Apostles, and by the elders, or proper pastors of the Jerusalem Christians.

5. *But there rose up,* &c. These are the words of Luke, willing to signify unto us, that there were some Pharisees at Jerusalem

[1] In Epitom. Isagogica ad Histor. N. Test.

who believed in Christ, that sided with those who moved this debateat Antioch, and urged that the Gentiles converted to Christ ought to be circumcised. For those men whose sect had hitherto been the chief in the Jewish religion, seem to have reckoned, that they were to be uppermost too in the Christian church, and their opinions to prevail against the rest; but others, conscious of their own liberty, gave not place to them for an hour, Gal. ii. 5.

*Of the sect of the Pharisees.* In Greek it is, "of the heresy of the Pharisees;" for that word of old was of a middle signification, and some time used in good, sometimes in evil part; whence Paul afterwards, ch. xxvi. 5, calls Pharisaism, the most exquisite or strictest heresy of the Judaical religion; nay, he gives Christianity itself the same title, ch. xxiv. 14.

*That it was needful to circumcise them.* Those zealots that would have subjected the Gentiles to the yoke of the ceremonial law, did chiefly press circumcision, because they knew that that being once received, there could afterwards nothing hinder their being obliged to the other legal ceremonies; for there was nothing that did more keep men of riper years from Judaism than the fear of circumcision; besides, whoever did take that upon them, did bind themselves to the observation of the whole law. Gal. v. 3.

*To keep the law of Moses.* Viz., the ceremonial, as a condition of obtaining salvation; for here was no controversy moved touching moral works necessary to salvation.

6. *And the apostles came together.* Whether all the apostles were then at Jerusalem, or only some of them, and who, is hard to say; "For it is certain," saith the incomparable Curcellæus, "that the apostles did remain there a pretty while after the receiving of the Holy Ghost; nor did they, it seems, depart thence, before the persecution stirred up at the death of Stephen the first martyr; for all the twelve were yet at Jerusalem, when the choice was made of the seven deacons, Acts vi. 2; yet in that grievous persecution they did not presently remove, Acts viii. 1. But amongst the ancients there is a constant fame, that the apostles did not long after continue their residence there, but divided the parts of the world between them by lot, to which each of them should repair to preach the gospel; concerning which may be consulted Origen on Genesis, and Eucherius of Lyons, who write, that the east fell to Thomas and Bartholomew; the south to Simon and Matthew; the north to Philip and Thaddeus; the midland regions

to Matthias and James surnamed the just; the provinces to the Mediterranean sea to John and Andrew; the west to Peter and James the son of Zebedee; but all the world alike to Paul: whence in some calendars of the Roman church, the separation of the apostles is celebrated on the fifteenth of July; but as to the year when the same happened, there is almost everywhere a total silence. There is another division of their work made amongst the apostles, mentioned Gal. ii. 7; viz., how the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to Paul, and that of the circumcision to Peter; but that relates not to this place. This council at Jerusalem seems to have been holden after that first separation of the apostles, and that there were then no more apostles residing in that city but Peter and James, who also alone are said to have delivered their sentence in that council; although I think we ought to add unto them, John, who is mentioned Gal. ii. 9. For that which Paul says there, ver. 1, that he after fourteen years went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking also Titus with them, appears by the circumstances which he there recounts, to be meant of this journey which he made thither, that he might be present at this council, whereof we are treating. So that at least four apostles appeared there, Peter, James, John, and Paul, besides those apostolic preachers, Barnabas, Judas surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, of whom we find mention, Acts xv. 22; as also Titus, as appears, Gal. ii. 2, and other famous men, of whom consisted the church at Jerusalem; so that there never was a more eminent convention than this, unless when the apostles were all present." Thus Curcellæus. Others conceive all the twelve apostles were here actually present, and that the distribution of the provinces of the world, which the ancients speak of, was made afterwards amongst the apostles, when the Gentiles all abroad began to flock into the church.

*And elders.* Who are elsewhere called bishops. Presbyters (or elders) and bishops were then the same; see what is said before on verse the second. But in this council, besides the apostles and presbyters of Jerusalem, there were present other members of the church, viz., mere brethren, as we find afterwards, ver. 22 and 23.

7. *And when there had been much disputing.* On both sides.

*Peter rose up.* To make an oration to the synod.

*And said to them.* That is, to all the Christians, of what calling or condition soever, that were present in the synod.

*Men, brethren.* So Peter calls not only the apostles and elders,

but all other Christians present in the council, being so taught by Christ, Matt. xxiii. 8.

*Ye know that a good while ago.* According to the Greek, "from the ancient or first days." The famous Lightfoot doubts not but in these words Peter had respect to what Christ said to him, Matt. xvi. 19, *I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven:* which is, as he the said Lightfoot interprets it: "Thou first shalt open the door of faith to the Gentiles." "Then the Lord chose him, that by his mouth the Gentiles might first hear the word of the gospel, and believe; and this he says was done a good while ago, or in the first days, that is, as he speaks before in the first chapter, ver. 21, in the time when the Lord went out and in among us; which time is expressed, Luke i. 2, by these words, *from the beginning.*"

*Among us.* Who of the circumcision believed in Christ.

*That the Gentiles by my mouth should hear.* To wit, first.

8. *And God who knoweth the hearts,* &c. As if he should say, Which when I performed, God the searcher of hearts witnessed by a manifest sign, that he had adopted the uncircumcised Gentiles that embraced the faith of Christ, communicating to them the same gifts of the Holy Spirit, which he hath imparted to us who are believers circumcised. It is plain Peter here respects the history of the conversion of Cornelius by his ministry, set forth at large in the tenth and eleventh chapters. "Between the conversion of Cornelius the centurion," saith Curcellæus,[1] "and this council of Jerusalem, about twenty years, as most chronologers acknowledge, were elapsed; and it is very strange, that in so long a space after God, by that most illustrious example, had manifested his will to admit the uncircumcised into his church, and to partake of all spiritual blessings, yet the opinion, that circumcision was still necessary to please God, would not be rooted out of the hearts of the believing Jews; but the reverence of those rites of the law, as being divinely instituted, had made such impression on their minds, that it was not easy presently to remove them, and to convince them of the liberty purchased for us by the blood of Christ. For even after this celebrated council, the same opinion seems to have remained in many of the church of Jerusalem, as appears, Acts xxi. 20, and other monuments of ecclesiastical history, particularly in Sulpitius Severus, who in the second book of his Sacred History, treating of the emperor Hadrian, saith: 'That

[1] In Diatrib. de Esu Sang.

then almost all did believe Christ to be God, under the observation of the law.'"

*Purifying their hearts by faith.* That is, when he had cleansed the minds of these uncircumcised Gentiles from the sins wherewith they were defiled, by a lively faith on Christ; with which whosoever is endued, presently resolves to renounce all impiety and worldly desires, and to live soberly, justly, and godly in this world.

10. *Now therefore why tempt ye God?* That is, why do you grievously offend God? "He that offends God," saith Grotius, "tempts his patience, and he offends him who opposes his will, sufficiently revealed."

*To put,* &c. As going about to impose the yoke of all the ceremonies of the law on the necks of all such Gentiles as have believed on Christ, which the Israelites themselves were never able to bear, but with the greatest molestation.

*The yoke.* To wit, of bondage, as Paul calls the legal rites, Gal. v. 1, because they consisted in things indifferent, which of themselves were neither good nor requisite, but depended only on the pleasure of the law-giver, so that they seemed suited rather to the state of servants, than to men of a free condition. It is true the precepts of Christ are also called a *yoke,* but an easy one; and a burden, but a light one; Matt. xi. 30. "For what," says Salvian, "does he require of us, what does he command us to follow, but only faith, chastity, humility, sobriety, mercy, and holiness, all which do not burden, but beautify us?"

*Of the disciples.* That is, of the Gentiles converted to Christ.

*Which neither our fathers,* &c. As much as to say, Which yoke of the ceremonial law for the vast multitude of ritual precepts, seemed insupportable to our ancestors, as well as to us.

Note. We are often said not to be able to do that which we do with grievance and difficulty, as Mark i. 45; Luke xi. 7; John vi. 60.

11. *But by the grace of our Lord Jesus,* &c. Even we ourselves who are Jews originally, having embraced the faith of Christ, are most certainly persuaded, that not by circumcision or other rites of the Mosaical law, but by the gracious reconciliation of us to God, we shall obtain eternal salvation purchased by the sacrifice of the death of Christ. The same Paul teaches, Gal. ii. 15, 16.

*Even as they.* To wit, the disciples lately converted to Christ out of the Gentiles, of whom was treated before, v. 7—10, do believe that they by the same free gracious benefit exhibited to

them by God in Christ, shall enjoy eternal salvation. Where note, that relative pronouns are not always referred to that which next goes before, but to that which is chiefly handled in the whole discourse, as you may see before, ch. vii. 19; x. 6; and in divers other places. Now here that which is principally and professedly treated of, is of those who from heathens were of late made Christians, and not of the ancient Israelites, of whom there was no question moved, but only mention made of them, as by the by in the verse next before going.

12. *All the multitude kept silence.* That is, when Peter had finished his speech, all the brethren, who were there assembled, even those who before did urge circumcision to be necessary to the obtaining salvation, stood silent. Above, ver. 5.

*And gave audience to Paul and Barnabas, declaring.* Their narrative did much conduce to confirm what Peter had delivered, that the Gentiles were not to be bound to observe the ceremonies of the law, since God performing amongst them such great signs and wonders by the ministry of Paul and Barnabas, did plainly enough show that he regarded not circumcision, and other rites of that kind wherein the Gentiles were not initiated, and that *in Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature,* Gal. vi. 15.

13. *And after they had held their peace.* To wit, Paul and Barnabas.

*James answered.* *Answered* here is an Hebraism familiar in scripture, and signifies only, began to speak. This James was the son of Alpheus, and surnamed the Lesser, and the brother of the Lord. "To James (saith Curcellæus[1]) was the church of Jerusalem peculiarly committed, as appears, Acts xxi., where it is said, that Paul, when he was come to Jerusalem, went to James and the elders of the church. He also seems to have presided, or been chairman in the first council held at Jerusalem, Acts xv., and that because it was celebrated in his peculiar district. For it is he that there in the name of the whole assembly, pronounces the sentence concerning the controversy that was arisen amongst the Gentiles, which is the office of a president. He also at last there consummated his course with martyrdom. Nor need it seem strange, if he to whom (with the rest of the apostles) the whole world was committed, did permit himself to be, as it were, shut in one city; since by teaching at Jerusalem he did, after a sort, teach

[1] In Tractat. De Eccles. cap. viii. n. 9.

the whole world, such was the vast concourse of both Jews and Gentiles to that city. See what is said before, chap. xii. 17.

14. *Simon.* Viz., Who by Christ was named Peter, see Matt. iv. 18; x. 2; John i. 43; 2 Pet. i. 1. The Hebrew name שִׁמְעוֹן, is writ both here, and in Luke ii. 25, in Greek letters Συμεὼν. But the Greeks for the same do use Σίμων, a Greek name of like sound, as Eccles. l. 1, Josephus and others. "But here Luke," saith Grotius, "followed the Hebrew pronunciation, because he brings in an Hebrew speaking to Hebrews. The Syriac here and elsewhere expresses the name after the same manner. They err that think here is meant that Simeon mentioned by Luke, chap. ii. James briefly repeats what had been said by Peter."

*Simeon hath declared.* Before, ver. 7.

*How God at the first.* To wit, in Cornelius and his relations.

*Did visit.* That is, by pouring upon them his Holy Spirit, declared.

*To take out of them a people for his name.* That the Gentiles which before were not his people, he would now take to be his people. See afterwards, ver. 17, and Rom. ix. 25, 26.

15. *And to this agree the words of the prophet.* That is, to this saying of Simon Peter are consonant the promises, made long since in the writings of the prophets, concerning the Gentiles being to be received for the people of God.

*As it is written.* That is, as by this one testimony, amongst many for brevity omitted, which is extant Amos ix. 11, 12, plainly appears; for there God not only promises, that by his Messiah the house and kingdom of David should be restored to its former state, but also should be advanced to a much greater magnificence, since the Gentiles, aliens to that covenant, should be brought in thereunto, the partition wall of the ceremonies of the Mosaical law being broken down, as is said, Ephes. ii. 14, 15.

16. *After this I will return.* James cites the sense, not the words of Amos: see our literal explication on Amos, ch. ix. 11, 12. In these words respect is had to the words which in Amos preceded, wherein God threatens grievous punishment to the Israelitish sinners. But to those menaces he adds a promise, that it should come to pass, that being reconciled to them he would at that time by himself pre-appointed, visit them again with his benefits.

*I will build again the tabernacle of David.* That is, the house or kingdom of David. The Hebrews call every habitation a taber-

nacle, because that was the most ancient habitation. The sense of this verse is, as if he should say, The kingdom of David, first divided by the cutting off of ten tribes and afterwards wholly decayed, I will restore, so as that it shall again flourish, as in the past times of David and Solomon. This prophecy was first, and in the grosser sense, fulfilled in Zerubbabel, a type of Christ, but was perfectly accomplished in Christ himself, (and shall be yet more fully,) when of all the tribes of Israel many submitted, and shall unto the end of the world submit, and adhere unto him, the Son of David, and acknowledge his sovereignty, shadowed by David's throne. See our literal explanation on Amos ix. 11; Hos. i. 11; and ch. iii. 5.

17. *That the residue of men might seek*, &c. The kingdom of David shall be restored to so great splendour, that besides the people of Israel heretofore subject to it, the rest of the nations shall submit thereunto, and be numbered amongst the people of God. This in the literal and typical sense was made good when the Maccabees subjected to themselves great numbers of the Ishmaelites, Ammonites, and Moabites, and when Hyrcanus subdued the Edomites.[1] But in the mystic sense, intended by the Holy Ghost speaking by the mouth of Amos, it is fulfilled in the conversion of the Gentiles to Christ; that they, together with the Jews embracing Christianity, may sincerely and religiously worship him, and live according to his requirements. This verse is often expounded of the call of the Gentiles in Bereschith Rabbah, Sect. 88.

*Seek.* In the Hebrew text of Amos it is, *Jirshou* "might possess," for which the Seventy read, *Jidreshou* "might seek;" unless perhaps they took the verb of "possessing," for the study and endeavour of possessing, as it is taken, Deut. ii. 24, 31.

*The rest of men.* The Hebrew text of Amos is wont to be translated, "the rest of Edom;" but the Seventy took the Hebrew particle *eth*, which for the most part is set before the accusative, to be here a note of the nominative case, as it is used, 1 Sam. xvii. 34; 2 Kings vi. 5; ix. 25; Neh. ix. 32, 34; Jer. xxxiii. 5; xxxviii. 16; Ezek. xxxix. 14. "And for Edom they seem to have read Adam, or rather," says the famous Ludovicus De Dieu, "as often elsewhere, so here they might think Edom to be taken in a larger sense than for the people properly so called; for as of the two sons of Rebecca, Jacob represented the church, so the elder son, viz., Esau or Edom, shadowed out all the rest of mankind that were aliens from the church; for which reason in the writings of the

[1] Joseph. Antiq. xii. 11 and 12. Idem. Ant. xiii. 17.

Rabbins, the Roman empire, especially as it extended far and wide through almost the whole world, was styled the kingdom of Edom; and to this day, by children of Edom, they mean all Christians. Since therefore here the prophet opposes to the tabernacle of David, that is, the kingdom of Israel, the relics of Edom, they fitly enough thereby understood the rest of men."

*The Lord.* The words of Amos as translated by the Seventy, bear no sense, unless understood, as just before was said, of the tabernacle of David restored; instead of which James puts, *The Lord*, that is, God the restorer and master of this tabernacle, for whom men seek that tabernacle.

*Upon whom my name is called.* See what was said on Amos ix. 12. In the Greek, by an Hebrew pleonasm, is added, ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, upon them, which word, αὐτοὺς, is referred to τὰ ἔθνη, "the nations;" for since by nations, are understood men of the nations, there is in the gender of the adjective more regard had to the sense of the substantive, than to the substantive word. See Matt. xxviii. 19; Rom. ii. 14.

18. *Known unto the Lord are his works,* &c. As much as to say, It is nothing strange that God should heretofore, about eight hundred years ago, by his prophet Amos, publish his intention of calling the Gentiles, which now he executes; for whatever God does, or is any time to do, was foreseen and ordained by him before the beginning of the world. That "from the beginning," or "before the beginning of the world," are used in one and the same sense, will be evident to any that shall compare, Eph. i. 4; 2 Tim. i. 9, with 2 Thess. ii. 13; Rev. xiii. 8.

19. *Wherefore,* &c. As much as to say, Therefore from the word of God I judge, that the importune yoke of legal ceremonies is not to be obtruded upon Gentile Christians, but an epistle exhortatory to be sent to them, that they abstain from those things which cannot be done without detriment to piety. Hesychius, a presbyter of Jerusalem, speaks of this our apostle James,[1] deciding here the controversy of the necessity of observing the ceremonial laws, in this manner: "How shall I celebrate James the servant and brother of Christ, the chief captain of New Jerusalem, the prince of priests; head of the apostles; amongst the heads, the crown; amongst the lamps over-shining; and amongst the stars the most illustrious? Peter preaches, James decrees, and a few words despatch the question; *I judge that they should not be disquieted,*

[1] Apud Photium in Bibliothecâ, Cod. 175.

&c. I judge, whose judgment it is not lawful to abrogate, nor deprave the decrees; for in me the Judge, both of quick and dead, speaketh by my organ; I yield indeed a tongue, but the voice proceeds from him who is the Father of language and giver speech."

20. *That they abstain from the pollutions of idols.* That is, from things that have been offered to idols, as appears ver. 29. "Meats offered to idols (saith Curcellæus,[1]) James calls τὰ ἀλισγήματα τῶν εἰδώλων, 'pollutions of idols:' for ἀλισγήμα signifies 'pollution,' but not of any sort promiscuously, but only that which proceeds from unclean meats, such as were those that Moses's law did forbid unto the Israelites, and specially things offered to the gods of the heathen. Whence God, Mal. i. 7, complains, that the Jews offered upon his altar, ἄρτους ἠλισγημένους, 'bread polluted;' and we read of Daniel and his companions, whom Nebuchadnezzar appointed to be fed daily with his victuals and of the wine whereof himself drank, that they resolved not to be polluted from the king's table, nor from his wine, Dan. i.; because they feared that amongst the same there might be somewhat forbidden them by the law, Lev. xi. Deut. xiv., or offered to idols, touching which they had this command: *Thou shalt not make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land* [*of Canaan*] *lest when they have committed whoredom with their gods, and adored their images, some of them should invite thee to eat of what they have sacrificed,* Exod. xxxiv. 15. A dangerous example of which there is, Numb. xxv. i., &c. Now things offered to idols may be considered two ways, when the question is put about eating them:—1. As flesh to be sold in the market, or privately offered to us by an infidel that has invited us, at his own private house. 2. As flesh consecrated to idols, and so having a peculiar sanctity; especially when it is eaten in honour of some certain false god, in the place where idols are kept, as it was the manner to celebrate banquets in the sacrifices of the heathen. And in both these respects they are considered by St. Paul, 1 Cor. viii. and x. As to the former respect, to feed on idolothytes (or things offered to idols) is a thing altogether middling or indifferent, provided it be done without administering scandal to the weak, 1 Cor. x. 24, 25, &c. But in the latter regard, it is a thing evil, as being conjoined with the profession of idolatry, or which may at least be so taken by those who know not our mind, and so may give them a grievous occasion of scandal; and hereunto apper-

[1] In Diatriba de Esu Sang.

tain those texts, 1 Cor. x. 20, 21; *The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God; but I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils; ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lords table and of the table of devils.* Where we may see, that the apostle did not look upon it as an indifferent action, and lawful out of the case of scandal, to eat of these things in the idol's temple, but as a most wicked thing, and for which there could be no good plea. But you will say, what then is the meaning of those words, 1 Cor. viii. 9, 11: *But take heed lest this liberty of yours* [of eating idolothytes] *become a stumbling block to the weak,* &c.? I answer, the apostle so speaks by way of concession, in respect of those who boasted of their knowledge, and did defend an action unworthy of believers, viz, their sitting down to meat with the Gentiles in the idol's temple, with this vain pretext, that they knew that an idol was nothing, and therefore by that which was nothing they could not be defiled; whose reasonings the apostle here meets with thus: Be it as you say, yet you ought to abstain from those idol-feasts, if it be but for the sake of your weak brethren, who, perhaps, do not so well as you understand that an idol is nothing, and to them you may administer a most dangerous stumbling-block or scandal; and therefore in frequenting such feasts you sin against your brethren, whom you cast into peril of eternal damnation, and also against Christ himself, who has redeemed them with his death. As for my own part, I am far otherwise minded, for I would abstain for ever, not only from those sacrifices, but even from the eating of any sort of flesh whatsoever, rather than offer any offence to my brother. Paul, therefore, for a double cause, would have Christians refrain the feasts of heathens kept in their idol temples; first, because they were in themselves evil, and none could be present thereat without approbation, or seeming to join therein; and secondly, because by going thither they gave grievous offence to weak brethren. But this last reason he presses chiefly, 1 Cor. viii., referring the other unto ch. x., where so vehemently (as we have seen) he thunders against those ethnic banquets, charging such as haunt them to be partakers of the table and cup of devils. And the apostle seems to have fallen into this discourse from an occasion administered by the Corinthians themselves, who had consulted him by an epistle, 1 Cor. vii. 1; viii. 1; *et seq.*, touching certain matters, and particularly concerning meats offered to idols; and, perhaps, how the decree of the apostles not long before made

at Jerusalem was to be understood. Here, therefore, [we have] the best interpreter that could be wished of that constitution, from whom we may learn, how far the prohibition of things offered to idols does extend, and what force it has to bind the consciences of faithful Christians. For there being divers kinds of *idolothytes*, the question cannot be solved but by using a distinction. Some *idolothytes* there are from which we are to abstain only for fear of, or to avoid the scandal that may thence happen to arise; such are those which are commonly sold in the market, or which are set before us in the private treats of our friends. But there are other *idolothytes* from which we must abstain, because it is simply and in itself evil to eat thereof; as those which are eaten in an idol temple, which is always done with some either open or tacit approbation of idolatry. To this of the latter kind, as being of greater moment, the apostles, no doubt, in their famous council, had chiefly an eye. Yet sometimes it may happen, that to eat of those *idolothytes* which are set to sale in the market, may not be without danger, as we are taught in the history of Julian the Apostate, who out of his restless desire to propagate the Pagan religion, or rather to vex the Christians, caused all the meat in the shambles to be polluted with sacrifices offered to his gods, that so the Christians might be forced to feed on idolothytes, unless they would starve; of which very thing we read in Theodoret thus:[1] 'He (that is, Julian) first defiled all the fountains, that were either in the city of Antioch or at Daphne (most famous suburbs of the same city) with wicked consecrations, so that whoever drank the water thereof should likewise be infected with the stains of idolatry. And at last, whatever was exposed to sale in the market he polluted in like manner. For all the bread, flesh, fruits, herbs, and other eatables, he caused to be sprinkled with holy water, which when the Christians saw, though they could not but grieve, lament, and heartily detest those abominations, yet they refused not to eat thereof, in obedience to that rule of the apostle, *Whatever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no question for conscience sake*, 1 Cor. x. 25. Otherwise, it is well known how much eating of idol-sacrifices was commonly abhorred amongst Christians; insomuch that our Lord Jesus layeth Jezebel's charge, Rev. ii. 20, as a most heinous wickedness, that she had seduced his servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols. And Leo the Great decreed:[2] "That whether fear or hunger prevailed

[1] Ecclesiast. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 14. [2] Epist. lib. lxxix. cap. 5.

with any to eat of things sacrificed, those that did it should be purged by satisfaction of penance.' So in Minutius Felix, when Cæcilius objects to the Christians, 'That they abhorred those pieces of meat which were taken from the sacrifices, and those drinks wherewith there had been libations made on the altars:' Octavius presently answers: 'That we contemn the relics of sacrifices, and idol-offered cups, proceeds not from fear, but is an assertion of our true liberty; for although everything that is brought forth, as it is the inviolable gift of God, cannot be corrupted by your doings, yet we abstain, lest any should think, either that we give place to those devils to whom you offer, or that we are ashamed of our religion.' Yea, Augustine shows himself so scrupulous in eating of *idolothytes*, that he seems to praise a man for choosing to starve rather than touch them; for thus he writes:[1] 'It remains that we speak something of that Christian traveller whom you speak of, overcome with necessity of hunger, if he can nowhere find anything but meat that is placed in an idol's temple, and where no other person is present, whether it be better for him to choose to die of hunger, rather than take the food for his refreshment. In which question it doth not necessarily follow that the meat so found is offered to the idol; for it might, by some travelling that way, and turning in there to refresh themselves, be either by forgetfulness or voluntarily left behind, or set there on some other occasion. Therefore I briefly answer: either he is certain that the meat is *idolothyte*, or certain that it is not, or the same is unknown. If he be certain it is, it is better he should, with Christian courage, refuse it, even with manifest hazard of his life, as the question supposes. But if he knows it is not, or is ignorant whether it is or no, then let him take it without any scruple of conscience for the use of his necessity.' Where it appears that Augustine did in no wise esteem the eating of *idolothytes* as a thing indifferent, and from which we are to abstain only for fear of scandal, but looked upon it as a thing altogether evil in itself, and to be avoided, though no man were privy thereunto. For he supposes no other man to be present, whom there might be danger to offend by doing it, and yet in such a case prefers rather, out of Christian virtue, to abstain, than to do anything unworthy of his calling, though for saving of his life. The same did the ancient Christians that lived amongst the pagans always judge, so that many of them chose rather to die than to pollute themselves

[1] Epist. 154, ad Publicolam.

with any such food. In the Roman martyrology, on the eleventh of March is celebrated the memory of fourscore martyrs in Campania, who would not eat flesh sacrificed, nor worship the head of a goat. And since abstinence from eating of blood is by the apostles in their decree placed in the same degree of necessity with the avoiding things offered to idols, (of which it were not lawful for us to eat at this day, if we conversed amongst idolaters), we may conclude the former likewise ought not to be counted as only a temporary law, and given to avoid the scandal of the weak; but to be of perpetual duration, even to the end of the world, and that, although there were none that by its violation could be offended."

*Fornication.* We take the word in its most usual sense, for the carnal commixture of a single man with a single woman; which commonly amongst the heathens was not looked upon as any sin or evil; and therefore there was reason to fear, lest some of them who but lately were come over to the Christian profession, should yet take undue liberty therein, unless the same were expressly forbidden. For how light the Gentiles made of this uncleanness is known from that passage in Terence,[1] "'Tis no such heinous business, believe me, for a young fellow to wench a little," &c. And Cicero palliates it after the same manner in his Oration on behalf of Cœlius: "Let something be indulged to his age; let youth be allowed to be more free; let not all things be denied to pleasure; when was not this done? when was it condemned? where not permitted?" Nay, severe Cato himself, in Horace,[2] when he saw a youth entering the Stews, cries out, "It is fit young men should go down thither." As if it were an argument of their probity and honesty that they went to those public brothels, and did not attempt the chastity of other men's wives, &c. And how much some new converted Christians needed a bridle herein, appears by the serious exhortations Paul uses to avoid whoredom, 1 Cor. vi. 15; 1 Thess. iv. 3, 4; and elsewhere.

*And things strangled.* That is, animals deprived of life, without letting forth the blood. The learned Curcellæus makes some scruple whether this be not an addition to the primitive authentic text; his words are as follow:[3] "We read (saith he) the word πνικτοῦ, *suffocated* or *strangled*, in the New Testament, which at this day we use, amongst those things which the apostles pro-

[1] In Adelph. Act. i. sc. 2. [2] Hor. i. ser. 2, ver. 34.
[3] In Diatrib. De Esu Sang. ca. 11.

hibited to the new converted Gentiles; but the said word is by us deservedly suspected, since it is not acknowledged by many of the ancient fathers, yea, by some expressly rejected as supposititious; of whom the first and most ancient is Irenæus, in his Third Book against Heresies, cap. 12. Where, largely and word by word, writing over this whole place, from verse the seventh to the thirtieth, he makes not the least mention, either in the sentence of James or the apostle's letter, of *things strangled*, which is a manifest token, that in the book which he used that word was not. For that he did not recite it from his memory is plain by that accurate repetition of the words, in which nothing else is wanting. Secondly, Tertullian,[1] where he exactly recounts all other things appertaining to this place, yet makes no mention of these things strangled. Thirdly, Cyprian[2] reciting this text takes no notice hereof. Fourthly, Jerome, 'on the fifth of Galatians,' writes thus: "In the Acts of the Apostles the history sets forth, that when some arising from the circumcision had asserted that those of the Gentiles that had believed ought to be circumcised, and keep the law of Moses; the elders which were at Jerusalem, and the apostles, being together assembled, appointed by their letters that the yoke of the law should not be imposed upon them, nor further observed; but only that they should only keep themselves from things offered to idols, from blood, and from fornication; or, as in some copies it is written, from 'things strangled,' or 'anything strangled.' Which note shows that word was not to be found in most of the copies which came to Jerome's hands, and that it was not constantly so read. Fifthly, Ambrose, or whoever was the author of the commentaries which pass under his name, on the epistles; for on Gal. ii. he says thus: 'Lastly, here are found three commands given by the apostles and elders, whereof the Roman laws take no notice, viz., to keep themselves from idolatry and blood, as Noah (was commanded), and from fornication, which some sophists of the Greeks not understanding, and yet knowing that blood was to be refrained, adulterate the scripture, adding a fourth command, that is, to abstain from [things] strangled.' Now whatever may be offered to diminish the authority of this commentator, yet none of sound judgment can be persuaded that he would have durst to speak thus, if the word strangled, which he rejects, had been commonly read. And thence, at least, it appears, that this word strangled was not then in most copies. Sixthly, Augustine recites,[3] first out of

[1] De Pudic. cap. 12. [2] Ad Quirir. lib. iii. [3] In Speculo

Acts xv., the words of the apostle's decree, and afterwards out of the twenty-first chapter, those which there James repeats, but still omitting the mention 'of [things] strangled;' which that he did not by inadvertency is plain by these words which he adds: 'We see here that the apostles would impose no burthens of the old law, as far as it relates to corporal abstinence, on the believing Gentiles, but only these three things, viz., that they should abstain from what had been offered to idols, and from blood, and from whoredom. Whence some think that there are only three deadly sins, idolatry, murder, and fornication, in which last is understood adultery, and all other fleshly mixtures but with a lawful wife.' The seventh witness shall be Pacianus, bishop of Barcelona, who Bellarmine says died whilst Theodosius was emperor. He, in his Exhortation to Repentance, speaks thus, 'It seems good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay no further weight upon you, but this: it is necessary that you keepy ourselves from things sacrificed to idols, and blood, and from fornication, from which abstaining you shall do well; farewell: this is the whole conclusion of the New Testament.' In which words there is no mention of '[things] strangled.' The last evidence shall be Gaudentius, bishop of Brixia, in his Treatise of the Maccabees, who mentions indeed *things strangled*, but not as anything distinct from blood, but comprehends them therein. "Therefore (saith he) St. James, with the rest of the apostles, made a decree to be observed in the churches, to abstain from things sacrificed, from fornication, and from blood, that is, from *things strangled*. They passed by homicide, adultery, witchcrafts, because those things needed not to be named in the churches, which even by the laws of the Gentiles were punished. They pretermitted also all those minuter legal observations, and established only the things before-mentioned to be observed, viz., that we should not be profaned with unclean meats sacrificed to the devil, nor yet be polluted by the blood of animals strangled, nor violate our bodies, which are the temples of God, by the uncleanness of whoredoms.'

"All which testimonies manifestly show, that this particular, of *things strangled*, was not anciently in most copies of the New Testament, or was comprehended in the prohibition of blood, and consequently, that there is some ground to suspect the same to have been falsified. For which there is this reason of no small moment to be added, that the eating of things strangled, or (which is tantamount) of that which dieth of itself, is by the law of Moses

expressly permitted to strangers, Deut. xiv. 21. And yet even the stranger was under pain of death prohibited to eat blood, Lev. xvii. 10—12. But it is not credible, that the apostles, who so studiously did remove all the rest of the burdens of the Mosaical law peculiar to the Israelites from the converted Gentiles, would yet impose upon them any more heavy one, than what all Noah's posterity were obliged unto. But this they would have done, if they added a prohibition of things strangled, which belonged to the peculiar discipline of the Israelites; as also did that accurate manner of killing beasts, and cleansing them from their blood, of which we read, 1 Sam. xiv. 33, 34. Besides, it is not difficult, if care be used, to wash away and separate the blood from creatures strangled, or that die of themselves; nor would I otherwise, unless that be done, have Christians at this day to eat thereof, that they may show how much they regard this apostolical constitution. Although I do not think that piety consists in those smaller matters, which relish of Judaism, but that it suffices to avoid sin if never any blood separated from the flesh be eaten."

*And blood.* In some Greek copies there is added, "And whatever they would not have done to themselves, not to do to others," which also is repeated (in those copies) afterwards at the end of the twenty-ninth verse, changing the third person to the second. These additions both Irenæus and Cyprian read in the places (of their works) before quoted; the Ethiopic interpreter retains them, and the Complutensian edition of the Greek, "which (saith Curcellæus) was printed according to the most correct and ancient copies, and deservedly obtains the first place amongst modern editions."

Concerning the prohibition of blood we shall treat more largely afterwards, ver. 29. This only I here observe, that there is a particular blessing promised to those that abstain from eating of blood, Deut. xii. 25. And that the very same phrase in the commination (or threatening) against blood-eaters used Lev. xvii. 10, is made use of again, Lev. xx. 5, where most grievous punishment is denounced against idolaters. And that the same is nowhere used besides against the transgressors of any third precept, but only in those two cases of idolatry and eating of blood, is noted by Maimonides. More Nevochim, p. 3, cap. 46.

21. *For Moses,* &c. It is beyond doubt, that the intention of James in these words was to give a reason for his judgment, but to which part thereof it relates is not very plain. Curcellæus

thinks to the last branch. Why it was fit to write in this case to the converted Gentiles, viz., because otherwise, unless it were expressly declared unto them that they were freed from keeping the rituals of the law, they may think themselves still bound thereunto, since they use to be present in the synagogues of the Jews, where the law of Moses, in which the same are strictly commanded, use to be publicly read every sabbath day. Chrysostom conceives James here intended to assign a reason, why there was no such reason for writing of this matter to the Jews that had embraced the faith of Christ, as there was to the new-believing Gentiles, because the former might well enough know their duty from the law, which according to ancient custom was read unto them every sabbath in their synagogues. "What (says he[1]) is the meaning of this? I judge as much as I say with authority, that we ought to write to them, that they abstain from things offered to idols, and fornication, and what is strangled, and from blood. For these, though corporal things, are yet necessary to be observed, because they occasion great evils. And lest any should object, and why should we not write the same things to the Jews? he adds, Moses from ancient time in every city has those that preach him, that is, Moses continually speaks to them, as being read every sabbath." And a little after: "Moreover he shows that this discourse is not made to please, or to spare them as weak, but the contrary. For it should have been a great shame for the instructors, and a superfluous burden." Hugo Grotius takes the sense of this verse to be thus: "For as to Moses, those which are of the Jews cannot complain that he is contemned by the Gentiles of our religion. Since Moses is read in our assemblies no less than in those of the Jews, as from ancient times has been accustomed, and that too on the sabbath days." But to me the interpretation of Curcellæus seems most genuine and probable, since those given by Chrysostom and Grotius look more strained.

*Every city.* That is, where the Jews or Christians, or both, do dwell.

*Preach him.* That is, who publicly read his law to the people. The Greek word κηρύσσειν, which is translated "to preach," signifies, saith Grotius, "to pronounce with a loud voice, like a crier." As Exod. xxxii. 5; Matt. iii. 1; and elsewhere often.

*In the synagogues.* By these the religious assemblies of the Jews are vulgarly signified, yet Grotius thinks that here it may be

[1] Hom. 33, in Acta Apostol.

understood of the Christian congregations, as James ii. 2. Theophilus of Antioch speaks thus: "Synagogues, which we call churches."

*Every sabbath day.* It was the ancient manner of the Christians (which amongst the Moscovites or Russians, the Syrians, and Melchites, and Abyssines, yet continues) to meet together no less on the sabbath days, commonly called Saturdays, than on the Lord's days, vulgarly called Sundays. So the author of the Constitutions Apostolical, under the name of Clement, bishop of Rome, lib. vii., cap. 23, enjoins: "The sabbath day and the Lord's day keep ye festivals, or holy, because that is dedicated to the memory of the creation, this of the resurrection." Constantine the Great, as Eusebius witnesses in his Life, lib. iv., cap. 18, ordained: "That all who lived in the Roman empire should, on the days called by the name of our Lord, rest from all work, and should also in like manner keep holy the sabbath days." Gregory Nyssen, in his oration against those that took reproofs unkindly: "With what eyes canst thou behold the Lord's day, who hast despised the sabbath? Dost thou not know that these days are brethren? So that, if thou undervaluest one thou offendest the other." Asterius, bishop of Amasea, in his Homily of Divorce: "The joining together and concourse of these two days is famous amongst Christians, of the sabbath, I mean, and the Lord's day, which in a circle returning time brings about every week. For as mothers and nurses of the church they both assemble the people, and cause the priests to sit down together to teach them, and so both lead and impel, as well the disciples as their teachers, to the care of souls." Socrates in his History, lib. 10, cap. 22, witnesseth: "That all the churches everywhere throughout the world do, as duly as the weeks come about, celebrate the divine mysteries on the sabbath day, except only the church of Rome, and that of Alexandria." And in his sixth book, and eighth chapter, speaking of the tumults which the Arians stirred up at Constantinople in the time of John Chrysostom, he saith, "When the feasts of every week came, to wit, the sabbath and the Lord's day, in which assemblies used to be held in the churches," &c. Sozomen, lib. vii., cap. 19: "Some meet together on the sabbath day, and likewise on the first day of the week, as at Constantinople, and amongst most other Christians. But at Rome and Alexandria they do not do so." Anastasius of Nice: "The sabbath and the Lord's day are days holy and festival. Neither is it lawful on them to fast."

Theodorus Balsamon:[1] "The sabbath days are by the holy fathers almost in all things made equal to the Lord's days." Hence it came to pass, that as on the Lord's days there was no fasting, as being days of rejoicing, as the Gangrensian Synod teaches, Can. xviii., so neither on the sabbath days, except on one only, which was that before Easter. In the Canons of the Apostles (as they are called, which, though learned men know they deserve not that title, yet they must be confessed to be ancient), the 65th Canon runs thus: "If any clerk shall be found fasting on the holy Lord's day, or on the sabbath, except one only, which next precedes the paschal solemnity, on which Christ laid in the sepulchre, let him be deposed (or degraded); but if he be a layman, let him be withdrawn from (or excommunicated.)" Ignatius, in an Epistle to the Philippians, goes higher: "If any one shall fast on the Lord's day, or on the sabbath day, save only on the sabbath before Easter, he is a murderer of Christ." And to omit for brevity the rest of the testimonies of antiquity, Tertullian, in his 4th book against Marcion, saith: "That the sabbath day from the beginning of the world had this privilege, to be free from fasting." Therefore when Justin Martyr and Tertullian deny, that the patriarchs before Moses did sabbatize, it is to be understood not of their assembling together on that day, but of a strict rest during all the day. Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Magnesians: "Let us not sabbatize after the manner of the Jews, enjoying idleness. For he that works not, let him not eat; and in the sweat of thy brows thou shalt eat thy bread, say the sacred oracles. But let every one of you sabbatize spiritually, applying yourselves with joy to meditation on the law of God, rather than to indulge the body with rest; admiring the works of God, not eating or drinking superfluously and walking proudly, or pleasing yourselves with dances and unreasonable frolics. And after the sabbath is over, let every Christian keep holy the Lord's day." Origen, Hom. 23 on Numbers: "It is necessary that every holy and righteous man should also observe the feast of the sabbath. But what is that feast, unless what the apostle saith, Heb. iv., *There remaineth therefore a sabbatism*, that is, a keeping of the sabbath, to the people of God? Therefore leaving the Judaical observation of the sabbath, let us see how a Christian ought to keep the same. On the sabbath day nothing ought to be done of all worldly works. Therefore, if thou dost forbear secular employments, and dost

[1] L. Quæst. q. 77.

nothing worldly, but spendest the time in spiritual exercises, coming to the church, hearing the divine scriptures read and handled, employing thy thoughts on heavenly things, careful of thy future hope, and having the approaching judgment before thine eyes shall have a regard not to things present and visible, but to those that are future and invisible; this is the true observation of a Christian sabbath." But on the sabbaths, in the assemblies of the primitive Christians, the holy scriptures of the Old Testament were wont to be read to the people, even as amongst the Jews. Which custom the Synod of Laodicea, which was held about the year 364, altered; establishing, that on the sabbath days the New as well as Old Testament should be read. Can. 16.

22. *Then it pleased*, &c. As if he should say, All that were present at this Jerusalem council, approving the sentence of the apostle James as most equitable. That it might forthwith be put in execution, and the strife kindled at Antioch, which easily might spread itself to other churches, be happily composed, by common consent Judas and Silas, men of principal note and authority amongst the brethren, and of whom there was no suspicion that they were more addicted to either party in this controversy, were chosen that they might go along with Paul and Barnabas to Antioch, and carry thither the epistle of the synod.

*With Paul and Barnabas.* Since they were as it were one party in this controversy touching the observation of the Mosaical rites, and to some might be suspected as less impartial, it was not thought so fit that they should return to Antioch alone.

*Judas who was surnamed Barsabas.* Possibly the brother of that Joseph Justus, who was also called Barsabas before, in ch. i. 23.

*And Silas.* This seems to be he who is called Silvanus, 2 Cor. i. 19; 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1; and 1 Pet. v. 12.

*Chief men.* The Greek has "leading men," that is, of great esteem and authority.

23. *And wrote letters*, &c. That is to say, A synodical epistle being written by them to be carried and delivered to the churches, the words whereof were as follow: *the apostles, and elders, and brethren*, &c. Where it is well noted by Beza, that the copulative is ill left out in the vulgar Latin. For, says he, here the apostles and elders are manifestly distinguished from the rest of the assembly, whereas yet the epistle was wrote by the common consent and in the name of them all, the matter, after the apostles and

elders had debated it and given their advice, being ratified by the general suffrages of the whole church.

*To the brethren,* &c. The epistle is addressed to the uncircumcised brethren which were in Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, and in the rest of that country elsewhere, and in Cilicia a region next to Syria, in Tarsus the chief city whereof, Paul, who was born there, having been conversant since his conversion to Christ, as appears before, ch. ix. 30, and xi. 25, it is not to be doubted but he had there converted many to the Christian faith. But that which they write to those amongst whom the contest about keeping the Mosaical rites began, was to serve for the instruction of all other Gentiles embracing the faith of Christ., in the like case; and therefore it is said afterwards, ch. xvi. 4, of Paul and Silas, that as they passed through the cities, where there were Christian churches, they delivered to them those decrees, which had been established by the apostles and elders that were at Jerusalem with the consent of the whole church, to be observed. For those were not only cities of Syria and Cilicia, but of many other provinces. And Paul writes to the Corinthians of the same matter, 1 Cor. viii. 10, yea even at this day, and to all Christians wheresoever, this epistle shows, that they are not obliged to observe the ceremonies of Moses's law: nor is there any such notable place in the whole New Testament where the same is so expressly and professedly taught.

*Greeting.* In Greek, χαίρειν, "To rejoice." The forms of salutations among the Greeks, at the beginning of their epistles, are these: χαίρειν, "to rejoice," ὑγιαίνειν, "to be well," and εὐπράττειν, "to do well;" the first referring to the mind, the second to the body, and the last to external things; but before all of them, is implied or understood ἔυχεται, or ἔυχονται, such a one, (or they who write the epistle) "desires or wishes." Instead of which, the Latins for the most part use *salutem,* "greeting," and the Hebrews שָׁלוֹם, "peace," comprehending in one word all felicity and prosperity, and all good things as well of the mind as of the body, and also those which are called the goods of fortune. Horace imitates this Graecism in that epistle which begins *Celso gaudere.*

24. *Certain who went out from us.* That is, some converted Jews that went down from Jerusalem to Antioch. See before, ver. 1.

*Troubled you with words.* That is, by their vain talking and arguing have disquieted your minds.

*Subverting your souls.* That is, rendering your consciences un-

certain and doubtful, saying, *you must be circumcised and keep the law*, to wit, ceremonial, of Moses: for touching that only was the debate, none questioning but that all the moral precepts are to observed and performed by Christians.

*Saying.* It is nothing unusual to put the words λέγω and εἶπω, I say, for I command or require. See Matt. iv. 3; Mark v. 43; Luke xii. 13; and ch. xix. 15, &c. So the Hebrew word *Amar*, is taken, 1 Kings xi. 18; 1 Chron. xx. 17; Esther i. 10 and 11; and elsewhere. "Whence," Lewis de Dieu says, "that with the Arabians it signifies nothing else but to command."

*To whom we gave no such command.* The apostles, and elders of the church of Jerusalem and other brethren, protest that they were neither the authors nor assertors of this doctrine, that requires circumcision and other legal rites to be observed as necessary to salvation.

26. *Men that have hazarded their lives.* Above, ch. xiii. 50; xiv. 19.

*For the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.* That is, for our Lord Jesus Christ, to propagate his glory and gospel.

27. *Who shall also tell you the same things.* Which are contained in our synodical epistle.

*By mouth.* That you may be informed of our unanimous decree both by our writing, and their speaking.

28. *For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us.* That is, It seemed good to us, who are inspired with the Holy Ghost. "Hence (saith Curcellæus) appears what authority this apostolic decree ought to have with us, which was not properly dictated by men, but by the Holy Spirit who guided them. For if we greatly esteem the several books of the New Testament, because we are verily persuaded that the writers thereof were inspired by the Holy Ghost, how much ought we to reverence this epistle, penned by so many great men filled with that blessed Spirit? And therefore it is in no wise likely, that therein was treated of only indifferent things, and such as for some small time for avoiding of scandal were to be avoided; since the majesty of the authors from whom it came, first of the Holy Ghost, and then of divers apostles and very many apostolic men, persuades the contrary, viz. that therein must be handled doctrines most grave and important, and which tend to the edification of the whole church of Christ, even to the end of the world. Had the decrees of after councils had such great authors, 'Oh! with what out-spread arms would they

have been embraced by all the lovers of divine truth; but, alas! in many of them which say, *It seems good to the Holy Ghost and us*, there presided the spirit of ambition, covetousness, wrath, envy, pride, ignorance, to say no worse, rather than the meek and gentle Spirit of Christ; what wonder is it then if no good proceeded from thence, but that instead of composing differences they rather multiplied and increased them more and more."

*To lay upon you no greater burthen.* By the word burthen are not to be understood the moral precepts whose honesty nature alone, and without the help of another tutor, is able presently to teach any one. "For as," saith Curcellæus, "the political laws of the Gentiles will not release any one from them, so neither will the law of Christ, which is the enjoiner of a more perfect holiness. Nor ought those things to be counted or called a burthen, which are so honest and commendable, that of all that know them, even although none should command them, they ought to be observed. But certain positive laws are called a burthen, which are indeed founded in natural honesty, but yet not so plainly as that all should forthwith perceive it, and are of a middle nature, between those that are absolutely moral, and such positive laws as depend merely on the will and pleasure of the law-maker, and therefore are necessarily to be oft recommended, urged, and inculcated, lest they be unknown or neglected. Of the laws of this sort, whereof Moses delivered many, it seemed good to the apostles to prescribe only those here mentioned to the converted Gentiles, and especially to free them from the yoke of circumcision, which many of them were most averse unto, that so the difficulty of Christian discipline might not retard the course of the gospel, and this agreeable to the sentence of Peter and of James before, ver. 10 and 19."

*These necessary things.* The Greek has πλὴν τῶν ἐπάναγκες τούτων: supply ὄντων, "besides these things necessarily," where, "to be observed," is understood. Grotius notes, that the phrase is purely Greek, and by Demosthenes and Plutarch used of things which by law ought to be done, and so he translates this place thus:[1] "Besides those things which 'tis altogether necessary to be done." Tertullian: "Besides those things from which there is a necessity to abstain." Cyprian: "Besides those things which are of necessity." But Salmasius thinks this place corrupted, "For," saith he, "in the Greek it should be read πλὴν τῶν ἐπ' ἀνάγκες τούτων, not as vulgarly, ἐπάναγκες, which in this construction is

[1] Libro de Fœnore Trapezitico, p. 440.

not at all Greek, nor can be made so; but ἐπ' ἀνάγκης ἔχω 'I must,' the Greeks commonly say, who also may say ἐπάναγκες ἔχω, but here the syntaxis will not bear it." Excellently has that reverend Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, now the most worthy dean of Paul's noted on this text: "That it was not enough for them (the apostles, and elders, and church of Jerusalem) that the things would be necessary when they had required them, but they looked on an antecedent necessity, either absolute or for the present state, which was the only ground of their imposing those commands upon the Gentile Christians." Thus in the preface to his Irenicum, that person of known piety, who has scarce his equal for learning sacred and secular, ingenuity and eloquence, whose liberality to help the poor and strangers, I do with all gratitude acknowledge myself to have eminently experienced.

29. *That ye abstain from meats offered to idols.* "Christians," saith Justin Martyr, disputing with Trypho, "will undergo all torment and punishment, even death itself, rather than either worship images, or eat of things that are offered unto them." And when Trypho had said, "That there were some who were called Christians, who would eat of the idol sacrifices, and said that their conscience was not bound in that manner:" he answers, "that they do indeed usurp that name, but teach those things which proceed from the spirit that is a seducer." See our notes before, ver. 20.

*And blood.* To wit, dressed and gathered together of set purpose, as Zonaras; or reserved for the nonce, as Balsamon interprets it. The reason why the apostles would that the converted Gentiles should abstain from blood, is assigned by the ancients to be, because they indeed were not obliged by those precepts of Moses which were given to the Israelites, nor by the law of circumcision, which only bound the posterity of Abraham; yet still they were not free from those commands which God had laid on Adam and Noah, to which Christ added some things, but took away nothing. For as Tertullian speaks:[1] "In Christ all things are called back to the beginning, so that faith is reverted from circumcision to the wholeness of flesh, as it was from the beginning; and the individuity of matrimony (that is, to have but one wife at a time) as it was from the beginning, and divorce restrained, because it was not so from the beginning; and lastly the whole man called back into paradise where he was at first." The same author treating of the apostles forbidding of blood:[2] "As after the deluge, so in the reformation

[1] Libro De Monogamia. [2] Libro De Jejuniis.

of mankind still one and the same law sufficed, that they should abstain from blood, the eating of other things being permitted."

But this is to be understood of mere blood, and separated from the flesh, not of a few drops which by chance being not diligently enough cleansed away, may remain in the veins. "And certainly, (saith Grotius) as the observation of this precept (if it be not too superstitiously pressed) is easy, so there are very honest reasons for it. For if we regard what is natural, those nations which use such food are wont to be fierce and wild, as we see in America; or if we look on what is moral, it is a most excellent and plain signification that we ought to abstain from revenge, for he that revenges himself is said to be fed with blood." Origen adds another cause, "because the devils were believed to be fed with blood." When therefore Paul, 1 Cor. x. 25, saith, What is sold in the market, eat ye, asking no question for conscience sake, must be restrained, as Clemens Alexandrinus advises,[1] "conveniently to the exception of those things which are mentioned in the catholic epistle of all the apostles, wrote by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, and carried by Paul himself unto the faithful." Hence S. Biblis in Eusebius,[2] being racked to make her confess that the Christians fed upon infants, generously answers; "How should they eat children, when it is not lawful for them to feed on the blood even of brute beasts." The author of the Questions and Answers to the Orthodox in Justin, q. 145: "Since," says he, "blood consists of the same things as flesh does, why does God permit the flesh of animals to be eaten but forbids the blood, or eating of the flesh in the blood thereof? Answer, that in that matter also God might separate us from the immanity of beasts, who greedily lick up the blood of those creatures whose flesh they devour." Clemens Alexandrinus[3] having related how the Scythians use to drink the blood of their horses, and the Arabians of their camels, adds, "Then may such savage beasts perish, who make blood their food; for it is not lawful for men to touch blood, since their bodies are nothing but flesh trimmed up with blood." Origen against Celsus, l. 8, tells us: "That things strangled are animals dead, and the blood not taken out of them, which they say are the food of devils, with the smell of which they are fed, and therefore these are forbidden to be used by us, lest we should be nourished with the food of devils, and the evil spirits should be nourished with us, if we feed as well as they upon strangled things." The

[1] Stromata, lib. iv. [2] Hist. v. 1. [3] Pædagog. lib. iii. cap. 3.

same father on Matt. xv. says: "That he is fed by faith, who believes that what he eats was neither offered in the sacrifices of idols, nor strangled, nor blood." And at another place:[1] "Thou seest that this law of refraining from blood, which was given in common to the children of Israel and to the strangers, must also be observed by us, whom the scripture useth to call proselytes and strangers." Tertullian in his Apologetic, ch. ix., coming to refute the scandals of the Gentiles who charged the Christians with killing of infants and eating them, does it thus: "Let your error blush to object this to the Christians, who allow not so much as of the blood of animals at our tables; nay further, who abstain from things strangled and that die of themselves, lest we should in any kind be defiled with blood at least, which is hidden within the guts. Lastly, Even you yourselves amongst the trials of Christians are wont to bring to them some puddings well filled with blood; well knowing that to them that is unlawful by which you would have them exorbitate; and how comes it to pass that you should believe those whom you know to abhor the blood of a beast, are yet so greedy of human blood, unless you have by experience found the latter to be sweetest?" So Octavius in Minutius Felix: "It is neither lawful for us to behold homicide: nor to hear of it, and so wary are we from meddling with human blood, that we admit not the blood of beasts among our viands." In the book called the Apostle's canons, wherein are contained the most ancient customs of the church, the sixty-third canon runs thus: "If any bishop, priest, or deacon, or any of the Holy order shall eat flesh in the blood thereof, or anything that died of itself, or taken by wild beasts, let him be degraded, for these things the law forbids; but if he be a layman let him be excluded from communion." The Council of Gangres, A.C. 325, Can. 2: "If any shall condemn a man that with piety and faith shall have eaten of any sort of flesh, which is not defiled with blood, or offered to idols, or strangled, as such a one who for such promiscuous eating is excluded from hopes of salvation, let him be anathema." Behold! here the fathers being to assert the use of flesh against certain heretics, do yet except blood and strangled, and idol-offered. Cyril of Jerusalem, Catech. 4, "The apostles and elders write a common general epistle to all the Gentiles, that in the first place they forbear meats consecrated to idols, and next from blood and what is strangled: for many rude

[1] In Epist. ad Rom. lib. ii. cap. 2.

and savage people, living brutishly, do like dogs delight to lick up blood, and like the wild beasts of the wilderness, abundantly devour things strangled." Pacianus, Bishop of Barcelona in his Exhortation to Repentance, tells us: "That it is the epitome of the New Testament to abstain from idolothytes, blood, and what is strangled, and that to do otherwise is a great sin." See what we cited out of Chrysostom before, ver. 21. In the Second Council of Orleans, A.C. 536, Can. 19, 23, it was decreed: "That Catholics who revolt to the worship of idols, or that by unlawful presumption, make bold to taste of meats consecrated to the honour of idols, shall be repelled from the assemblies of the church; as also those who feed on anything that which being killed by the biting of beasts or by any disease, or other chance is strangled." Theodorus, (as some will have him) Archbishop of Canterbury, in his Penitential: "Beasts that are worried by wolves or dogs are not to be eaten, unless by chance whilst they are yet alive they be first killed bysome man: but let them, as well as a hart or buck that are found dead, be given to the dogs and swine: so likewise if birds or other creatures be strangled in nets or gins, they are not to be eaten, nor if an hawk have seized them and they are found dead; because in the Acts of the Apostles we are commanded to abstain from fornication, blood, things strangled, and idolatry. He that eateth any such flesh as either died alone, or killed by any beast, let him do penance forty days." In the Council of Rouen, Anno 682, it was ordained, "that inquiry should be made, whether any one had eaten blood, or anything that died of itself, or was worried to death by any beasts." In the sixth general synod (which was held A.D., 692, under Justinian the second emperor of that name surnamed Rhinometus, at Constantinople, in a vaulted apartment of the emperor's palace, which apartment was called Trullum, whence it is called Synodus Trullana)[2] the sixty-seventh canon runs thus: "The holy scripture enjoins us, that we abstain from blood, from things strangled, and from fornication. Justly therefore we condemn those who by any art dress or prepare the blood of any animal and so eat it: he that is guilty thereof, if he be a clerk let him be degraded; if a layman excommunicated." Bede, in his book of the Remedies of Sin, c. 14: "Whoever shall unwittingly eat of anything that died of itself, let him repent

[1] Burchard. Decr. lib. xix. cap. 85, 88. Et Regino, lib. ii. De Eccles. Dist. cap. 369, compared with chap. 371, 372.

[2] Regino, Ibidem, lib ii. n. 46. Burchard, lib. i. cap. 94, m. 45.

twenty days; he that is poor or dull, and shall eat anything (*raudatum*) stolen or unjustly come by, let him do four days' penance: but for those that do these things knowingly, be they sick or well, let them do penance forty days; those that do it often, let them do forty days or a years' penance; which place of Bede Salmasius in his book, De Fœnore Trapezitico, amends, and for *fraudatum*, 'stolen,' reads *suffocatum*, 'strangled,' or *afratum*, which is a kind of pudding: yet in the Penitential of Theodorus we find a passage agreeable to that first text of Bede,[1] 'If any one shall knowingly eat anything stolen, or plundered, or unjustly come by, if he be poor let him do penance seven days; if rich forty.'" Clearer yet to our purpose is that which the same Regino, lib. i. cap. 300, has out of the Penitential of Theodorus or Bede: "Hast thou eaten of anything that died of itself or worried by beasts? do penance forty days; the like if thou hast eaten blood." So Zachary, Bishop of Rome, in his twelfth Epistle to Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, forbids those beasts to be eaten which were either strangled or taken by other beasts. The Synod of Worms under Ludovicus Pius, cap. 64: "if an animal be wounded, and tasted by wild beasts, and a man finds it before it be dead and kill it, he may lawfully eat thereof; but if it be dead first, let its flesh be thrown away." And ch. 65: "Animals which are worried by wolves and dogs, are not to be eaten by any but dogs and hogs. Nor is a deer or goat if found dead: but of fish you may eat, because they are of another nature; but birds and other creatures if they are strangled in nets are not to be eaten." Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mentz, upon Leviticus, lib. v. cap. 8: "It is therefore necessary to keep this commandment literally, and in nowise to eat blood; for thou wilt find that the same thing is also commanded by the apostles." Most remarkable is that ordinance of the Emperor Leo the Sixth of that name, surnamed the Philosopher, B.C. 886, Cons. 58: "Although God both of old by Moses the law-giver commanded that blood should not be eaten, and by the preachers of grace declared that men ought to abstain from such food; and although the eating thereof as well under the New Testament as the Old, hath ever been condemned as an infamous and unlawful thing, yet to that degree of obstinacy or rather madness are men grown, that they refuse to yield obedience to either law, but on the contrary some for gain, and some for gluttony, do with the highest impudence contemn the command, and turn

[1] Regino, Ibidem, cap. 370.

blood, whereof we are forbidden to eat, into a food. For information hath arrived at our ears, that stuffing blood into guts, as in bags, they presume to eat the same as usual meat; which our Imperial Majesty judging not fit to be tolerated, nor enduring that both the divine precepts and the honour of our commonwealth should be violated by such an ungodly invention of men, whose whole devotion is for their belly, doth hereby ordain and command, that no person shall dare practise that wickedness in any kind either for his own use, or to defile others by selling them such detestable food. And let him know, whoever he be that shall henceforth be found to contemn the divine command, and convert blood into food, whether buyer or seller, he shall forfeit all his goods; and after he shall also have been severely whipped, and his head for dishonour shaven close to the skin, he shall be sent in perpetual banishment." Regino, abbot of Pruym in the diocese of Triers:[1] "If any one shall eat the blood of any animal, let him do penance forty days. The faithful are to be admonished that none of them presume to eat blood."

"For in the beginning, when license to eat flesh was granted by God to man,-we find blood is forbidden: for the Lord says to Noah and his sons: *Every thing that moveth and liveth shall be to you for food, except ye shall not eat flesh with the blood:* which not only is very often re-inforced in the old law, but also in the New Testament; the apostles upon great deliberation write to the Gentiles of the primitive church, that they should keep themselves from the defilements of idols and fornication, and what is strangled and blood, which Jerome expounding, saith: 'That these commands according to the letter belonging to every Christian, that he eat not what dies of itself, whether of bird, or beasts, to wit, where their blood is not poured forth, which the Apostle's epistle sent from Jerusalem necessarily requires. Nor what is taken and killed by any beast, for that too is likewise strangled: and from blood, that is, not to eat it with the blood: if therefore these things were written to such as came over from heathenism as the very rudiments of faith, and were sufficient as to the salvation of those who by inveterate custom had wallowed in impiety and unbelief, with what face can any think light of transgressing them? Especially considering that blood and things strangled are there equalled with idolatry and fornication: whereby all are taught what a grievous sin it is to eat blood, since it is compared with idols and

[1] De Eccl. Discip. lib. ii. cap. 373, 374.

whoredom: therefore if any shall violate these commands of the Lord and his apostles, let him be suspended from the communion of the church, until he shall worthily have repented."

These canons have I alleged under the name of Regino, because he has not informed us from whence he collected them. Amongst the canons of the British church, collected by Sir Henry Spelman, the fifty-second canon made under Edgar, king of England, A.D. 967, requires that no Christians eat blood of any kind. Adam of Bremen, in the fourth book of Eccles. Hist. Ca. 20, amongst other errors of the Pagans wherewith Adalbert archbishop of Bremen complained that the Christians of that place were infected, even unto his days, reckons these: "That they licentiously did use to eat things that died of themselves, or were strangled, and also the blood, as well as the flesh of cattle that draw or bear burdens, as mules, asses, and horses." Johannes Zonaras cites the fathers of the beforementioned sixth council held in Trullo at Constantinople, whose sixty-seventh canon we cited before, and proves out of Genesis, that they followed the authority of the divine scripture. Theodore Balsamon on the same canon saith: "The Latins, without distinction, eat things strangled, and as I hear, the people of Adrianople do use the blood of animals in certain dishes." And on the sixty-third of those that are called the apostles' canons: "As for those creatures which are taken by hawking or hunting and are strangled, how they are eaten by some (that is, how they dare eat them) I do not understand. Otto, bishop of Bamberg, in the year 1124, as Conrad, abbot of Ursperg witnesses, having converted the people of Pomerania, enjoined them "not to eat any thing unclean, that is, nothing that died of itself, or was strangled, or offered to an idol, nor yet the blood of any animal." And to this day among the Christians the Greeks do refrain eating of blood, as it is certain from the testimony of Nilus archbishop of Thessalonica, in his book of the primacy of the pope; and of Jeremy, the second of that name, patriarch of Constantinople. The same thing we are assured of the Muscovites and Russians by Sigismund baron of Heberstein; of the Abyssines by Damianus à Goes; and of the Maronites inhabiting in Syria and Egypt, by Edward Brerewood. From all which proofs which I have here brought, it is evident, that there is no opinion at this day disputed amongst Christians, which has been so constantly and universally believed as this, that we are still obliged to abstain from blood. Neither, indeed, do those other texts of scripture, which

only in general grant liberty to feed on all things, make any thing against this particular and express apostolical prohibition of blood; for it is well known that general laws ought to be limited and restrained by particular ones.

*And what is strangled.* That is, the blood being not taken out, as Origen saith, in his 8th book against Celsus. See what we have said before, ver. 20. "The Greeks," saith Grotius, "and other nations, as we learn from two places in Athenæus, esteemed things strangled amongst their chiefest dainties, that is, such flesh wherein the blood was carefully preserved and kept in, that the same might be boiled together, and so eat more delicately; which thing was also against the law of not eating blood." And that in Africk, in Austine's time (as he tells us in his 32nd book against Faustus the Manichee, cap. 13), those were laughed at who made it a religious scruple to eat things strangled, "is no argument," saith Curcellæus excellently, "of their error, but rather of the profaneness of those who mocked them, and undervalued and contemned the commands of God, as often we see happen at this day. So those that desire baptism might be administered not by sprinkling, but, as in the ancient church it was used, by an immersion of the whole body into the water, are scoffed at. And because they are thus derided by men that have very little or no religion, others are ashamed to approve and practise it, though convinced it ought so to be done."

*And fornication.* This sin was prohibited to the Israelites, Deut. xxviii. 17. In some copies there is added: "And those things which ye would not should be done to yourselves, do not you do to others," as we noted before, ver. 20.

*From which keeping yourselves you shall do well.* The most ancient copies add, φερόμενοι ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, which the ancient interpreter of Irenæus renders, "walking in the Holy Spirit." And Tertullian, in his book of Pudicitia: "You being born or carried by the Holy Ghost."

*Farewell.* As the Latins at the close of their epistles use the imperative *vale* or *valete*, so the Greeks the verb ἔρρωσο or ἐρρῶσθε, but this is wanting in those ancient books, wherein are the last-mentioned words, φερόμενοι, &c.

30. *So when they* (that is, Paul and Barnabas) *were dismissed* (that is, by the Synod of Jerusalem), *they came to Antioch*, the metropolis of Syria.

*They delivered the epistle.* Synodical of the Council of Jerusa-

lem, to the brethren of the church at Antioch being assembled together.

31. *Which when they* (that is, the brethren of Antioch) *had read, they rejoiced for the consolation.* That is, they rejoiced for the comfort received by that epistle, whereby they were freed from the burthen of all legal ceremonies, and were only to observe those things which were altogether necessary.

32. *Being prophets also themselves.* That is, instructed with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, whereby they were able to apprehend and interpret the true sense of the word of God, where it was not to every one obvious, they being thus qualified as well as Paul and Barnabas.

*Did with many words exhort and confirm the brethren.* As much as to say, They did more largely from the word of God propose to the Antiochean Christians comforts against dangers and difficulties, that neither their faith nor piety might waver, or fluctuate with uncertain errors.

33. *And after they had tarried,* &c. When those sent from the church of Jerusalem had for some time continued at Antioch, they had leave from the Antiocheans to return back to those that sent them, with wishes of peace, in which word the Hebrews comprehend all things happy and prosperous. But whereas it is commonly read even in the Greek copies, that they were let go in peace from the brethren unto the apostles, πρὸς τοῦς ἀποστόλους, the Alexandrine manuscript, and many others read it more truly thus: πρὸς ἀποστείλαντας αὐτοῦς, *To those who had sent them;* as also the vulgate Latin has it. "I conceive," saith Beza, "that in this place by *apostles* ought to be understood the church of Jerusalem in general, not those peculiarly so called, of whom it is probable very few were then at Jerusalem, and perhaps none but James;" for this was some pretty while after the synod held there.

34. *Notwithstanding it pleased Silas to continue there still.* As much as to say, Yet after they had leave to return, Silas thought fit of his own accord to remain a little while with Paul and Barnabas.

*And Judas returned alone to Jerusalem.* These words, in most common Greek copies, are only understood, but in some they are expressed.

35. *Paul also and Barnabas continued,* &c. That is, they stayed at Antioch after the departure of Judas, where with many others mentioned before, ch. xi. 19, 20, 27, 28, and ch. xiii. 1, they daily

preached the doctrine of Jesus Christ contained in the gospel, and inspired into them by the Holy Ghost.

36. *In every city where we have preached.* Viz., of Syria, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Lycia.

*And see how they do.* That is, whether they continued stedfast in the faith received, and grow and profit in godliness.

*And Barnabas determined to take with them John,* &c. To be their companion in this journey proposed by Paul.

38. *But Paul thought not good to take him with them.* The Ethiopic translates it, "But Paul desired Barnabas not to take Mark." Concerning this John Mark, see before ch. xii. 12.

*Who departed from them from Pamphylia.* See ch. xiii. 13.

*And went not with them to the work.* Viz., of preaching the gospel through the several towns of the Lesser Asia.

39. *And the contention.* In Greek, παροξυσμὸς, "a sharp commotion," or "stirring up." That is, by an eager dispute between Paul persuading what was more just, and Barnabas desiring what was more kind, there arose an incensing to anger, and an offence, but without any hostile hatred or malice.

*They departed asunder.* As Abraham and Lot did, yet conserving still their friendship, Gen. xiii. 9. This contention arising by human weakness between these two apostles, otherwise most agreeing, did by the divine providence produce this good: that those two eminent preachers of God's word being separated, and taking different journeys into places remote from each other, they the more promoted the common work of their Lord and Master, and further propagated the doctrine of the gospel.

*Barnabas took Mark.* Who was his sister's son, Col. iv. 10. Yet the supposititious Dorotheus Tyrius, in his little book of the Life and Death of the Prophets, Apostles, and Disciples of Christ, distinguishes this Mark from him mentioned, Col. iv., making one bishop of Byblos, the other of Apollonias.

40. *And Paul chose Silas.* That is, for the companion of his journey and ministry.

*And departed.* That is, from Antioch.

*Being recommended,* &c. That is, commended to God by the prayers of the Christians there, that God would bless his journey and labours with prosperous success. "We may," saith Calvin, "from the context collect, that in this contest Paul's conduct was most approved of by the church; for when Barnabas went away with his companion, there is no mention of the brethren, as if he

had privately withdrawn himself without taking leave of them; but Paul is recommended by the brethren to the grace of God, whence it appears that the church rather took part with him than with Barnabas in this matter."

41. *And he went through Syria.* The chief city whereof was Antioch, from whence he set forth.

*And Cilicia.* In which Paul himself was born.

*Confirming the churches.* In the Christian faith and godliness.

*Commanding them to keep the precepts of the apostles and elders.* Viz., expressed in the apostolical decree before ver. 29. But note these words are not in our English translation, as being not in the Greek text, nor in the Syriac version; yet as to the thing itself, that the same was done by Paul, there is no doubt to be made, since that epistle from Jerusalem was directed to the brethren of Syria and Cilicia, who walking in peace and tranquillity, had been troubled and perplexed with scruples by those that urged the necessity of circumcision and other legal ceremonies. See before, ver. 23, 24, and afterwards, ch. xvi. 4.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

1. *Then went he to Derbe and Lystra.* Cities of Isauria, of which see above, ch. xiv. 6.

*And behold a certain disciple.* That is, a Christian.

*Was there.* Either at Derbe or at Lystra.

*The son of a certain woman, which was a Jewess, and believed.* That is, whose mother Eunice, as also his grandmother Lois, being of the Jewish nation and religion, believed in Jesus Christ, 2 Tim. i. 5.

*But his father was a Greek.* And, as it is apparent, uncircumcised, not suffering Timothy to be circumcised while he was a child, though begotten by a Jewish mother.

2. *Which.* To wit, Timothy.

*Brethren.* That is, Christian.

3. *Him would Paul have to go forth with him.* That he might be his companion in his travels, and his helper and his work-fellow in the gospel, Acts xix. 22; Rom. xvi. 21; 1 Thess. iii. 2.

*And took and circumcised him, because of the Jews,* &c. Paul did not therefore circumcise Timothy, because he laid any weight upon

circumcision, or thought it necessary to salvation, Gal. v. 6, seeing Paul himself teacheth expressly, the Jews who have embraced Christ to be no further bound to the ceremony of circumcision; but because he hoped by his pains many of the Jews not yet converted might be converted to Christ, who would avoid Timothy being son of a Jewish mother, as an imitator of his profane father, if he had neglected circumcision, by which the Israelites were distinguished from the rest of the people of the earth, for they knew he was begotten by a father who was a Gentile.

4. *And as they went through*, &c. As much as to say, As they went through the cities wherein the Christian churches were, they delivered them those things which the Synod at Jerusalem had decreed as necessary to be observed by those of the Gentiles who were become Christians. Above, ch. xv. 21, 29.

5. *And the churches*, &c. As much as to say, And so the churches advanced in the received faith of Christ, and were augmented, the multitude of young converts daily increasing.

6. *When they had gone throughout*, &c. As much as to say, Having travelled through Phrygia and Galatia, provinces of the lesser Asia, they were forbidden by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost to preach the gospel in Asia the Proconsular, or Asia properly so called, a region of the same lesser Asia, which borders upon the Ægean sea, and hath upon the north Bythinia, upon the east Phrygia, and upon the south Caria; see what we have said of Phrygia and Asia the proconsular, above, ch. ii. 9, 10. Galatia otherwise called Gallogræcia, is a region of the lesser Asia, bordering upon Phrygia, so called from the Gauls, who having lost their country, burned Rome, and laid waste Italy, fixed their residence here, where of old the Phrygians did inhabit. "It was a proconsular province," saith Spanhemius in his introduction to his Sacred Geography, "divided into the first and the second under Theodosius; the first Galatia had upon the east Helenopontus, upon the south Galatia Salutaris, or the healthy, upon the west Phrygia, of which, as Strabo witnesseth, of old it was a part, and upon the north Paphlagonia. Its metropolis was Ancyra, distinct from the Ancyra of Phrygia, wherein of old was held the Ancyran synod. Galatia the second, called also Galatia the healthy, was governed by the emperor's lieutenant, and as it hath been said already, laid more to the south and east than the first Galatia; it had Paphlagonia and Honorias upon the north, upon the south Pisidia and Lycaonia; its metropolis was Pessinus called also Pesinus." Now the reasons why God would not that the gospel should at that

time be preached by Paul and Timothy in the proconsular Asia, whose metropolis was Ephesus, are hid from us. He might have had many, either that he would make use of their ministry some where else, or that he had appointed some other to that work. Whatever it is, certainly the reason is not to be brought from God's absolute decree of reprobation, as Calvin upon this place doth; for it is certain that the gospel was at least soon after preached in this place, and that by Paul himself, so that Demetrius the silver-smith did greatly lament the admirable progress of the gospel in Asia by Paul's ministry, saying, ch. xix. 26: *Ye see and hear that not alone at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying that they be no gods which are made with hands.*

7. *After they were come to Mysia.* Mysia is a region of Asia the lesser, upon the Hellespont, bordering upon Troas; whose inhabitants were called Mysi and Mysii, and in the Æolic dialect Mysadii, saith Stephanus. These Mysians were men of a base temper, so that they made the place become a proverb, for when they spake of a man of no worth, they called him 'last of the Mysians;' and because he who once comes to be contemned is exposed to the rapine and injury of others, therefore from that nation flowed another proverb, "The prey of the Mysians." This second Aristotle[1] made use of, as Cicero did of the first proverb in his oration for Lucius Flaccus: "For," saith he, "As I suppose your Asia consists of Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, Lybia; whether then is this proverb, ours or yours, 'A Phrygian is made better by stripes?' for is not this your common saying of all Caria, if you were to do anything with hazard, 'That it should be chiefly done in Caria? For what is more common and famous among the Greeks, than if a man be brought to despite, to say, 'He is the last of the Mysians.'" Strabo places also a people called the Mysians in Europe, at the confines of Pannonia upon the river Danube, and thinketh that the Mysians in Asia took both their name and original from them; but these in Europe are by Pliny called Mœsi. Mysia is divided into the lesser, or Hellespontic, lying towards the Hellespont, and hath Troas upon the south; and the greater, which is called ad Olympum, or Olympenica, where live the people called Olympeni. It is bordered upon the west with Mysia the lesser and Troas, upon the east with Bithynia, upon the south with Asia Proconsular, or Asia properly so called. Ptolemy makes also the European Mysia

[1] Rhetoric, lib. i.

double, the higher and the lower; but the European Mysia is more properly called Mœsia.

*They essayed to go into Bithynia.* Bithynia is a region of Asia the lesser, which, making one province with Pontus (Pontus lying eastward of it, and Bithynia westward) it is bounded upon the north by the Euxine Sea, upon the east by Galatia, upon the south by Asia properly so called, upon the west by the Propontis. "Bithynia," saith Thomas de Pinedo, "is a region upon Pontus, of old called Cronia, then Thessalis, then Meliande, as witnesseth Pliny,[1] in which author I think Mariandyne ought to be read for Maliande, for so was Bithynia called of old, as Eusebius telleth in his Chronical Canon, where at number 594 are these following words: 'Bithynia was built by Phœnix, being first called Mariandyne.' Upon which place Scaliger, to whom few are like in erudition, saith, that it was not well said in Latin, *Condere Bithynium;* but his opinion deceived him, for the phrase is common both among Greeks and Latins, as I have noted elsewhere; I will not therefore make needless repetitions lest I become wearisome to my reader." Servius saith[2] also, that Bithynia was called Bebricia. Pliny the younger governed this province with a proconsular power under Trajan. The most famous cities in Bithynia were Nicomedia, which Ammianus Marcellinus calleth[3] the mother of the cities of Bithynia; Nice, famous for two councils, called by Strabo[4] the metropolis of Bithynia, and Chalcedon, where was a council celebrated of six hundred and sixty bishops, A.C, 451.

*But the Spirit suffered them not.* As much as to say, But the Lord Jesus Christ revealed to them, that he would not that at that time they should go to Bithynia.

8. *Came down to Troas.* Troas is thought by some to have been the Mediterraneous part of Phrygia, whose chief city was Ilium called Troy, but others think that the town is noted bearing the name of the same region, of which Pliny:[5] "The chief place of Troas was Amaxitus, then Cebrenia and Troas, itself called Antigonia, now Alexandria, a colony of the Romans." It seems it may be gathered from ch. xx. 6, and 2 Tim. iv. 13, that it was this city Troas whither Paul came to preach the gospel of Christ, as is clear, 2 Cor. ii. 12.

9. *There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying.* That is, there appeared, as it were, the likeness of a man clothed

[1] Lib. v. cap. 32. [2] Æneid. lib. v. ver. 537. [3] Lib. xvii. cap. 13.
[4] Geogr. lib. xii. [5] Nat. Dist. v. 30.

with a Macedonian garment, and speaking in the Macedonian language.

*Come over into Macedonia, and help us.* To wit, by the preaching of the gospel of salvation. Macedonia, one of the largest regions in Europe, is bounded upon the east with the Ægean Sea, upon the south by Thessaly and Epirus, upon the west by the Ionian Sea, upon the north by Mount Scardus and Orbelus. It is said to have taken its name from Macedo the son of Jupiter, begotten by Thyia, Deucalion's daughter. It was also called Ematia and Macetia, whence its inhabitants are called Macetes, and if it be a woman, Macetis. The most famous cities of Macedonia were, Thessalonica for its bigness, Ege for the sepulchres of its kings, and Pella for Alexander's birth. The most famous of its rivers was Strymon, of its mountains Athos, which, because it is situate between Macedonia and Thrace, it is by some annexed to Thrace. The kings of Macedonia boasted that they were descended of Hercules. Hence, instead of a crown and kingly purple, they appeared crowned with the skin of a lion's head, in which ornament they delighted more than in any precious stones. This kingdom began to flourish in king Caranus, it was enlarged by Philip, Alexander the Great's father; but it increased to such greatness under Alexander himself, that he subdued Asia, Armenia, Iberia, Cappadocia, Syria, Egypt, India, Phœnicia, Media, and Persia, and at length all the east and India. At last it decayed under Perseus the son of Philip, who being overcome by Paulus Æmilius the consul, lost his kingly dignity, together with his kingdom; such a difference of fortune these two men showed, both Philip's sons—the one, like lightning, conquered all those nations, but the other lost the kingdom itself, and was carried captive, with his wife and children, to Rome by Æmilius, and since, Macedonia was reduced to the form of a prefecture, as Pliny relates.[1]

10. *Immediately we endeavoured.* From this and many places following, it appears that Luke, who wrote those Acts of the Apostles, did attend Paul as his companion from Troas, if not from Antioch.

*Assuredly gathering.* "The word in the original," saith Hesychius, "signifieth 'conferring,' that is, saying one to another." Ludovicus de Dieu saith: "That the word is also rendered by Hesychius, 'to make to join,' to induce in love and assent, in which

[1] Hist. Nat. iv. 10.

signification it is also taken intransitively, as in Plato de Repub., lib. vi., according to the interpretation of Budæus, and so the Greek word may here be fitly rendered: 'consenting, unanimously determining.'"

*To preach the gospel unto them.* To wit, to the inhabitants of Macedonia.

11. *We came with a straight course.* The Greek hath it, "We sailed with a prosperous wind." As below, ch. xxi. 21.

*To Samothracia.* Samothracia is an island in the Ægean sea, bordering upon Thrace, not far from the mouth of the river Hebrus, with a city of the same name. The Latins frequently call it Samothracia, as Virgil, Æneid vii. 207.

This island was before called Dardania, from Dardanus the son of Jupiter, begotten by Electra; who, because of his brother Jasius whom he had killed, fled thither from Italy. It was also called Leucadia, because it appears whitish to the spectators afar off. Afterwards Thracia, from the Thracians which inhabited it. And lastly, it was called Samothracia, because that after the Thracians the Samians dwelt therein. Pliny saith,[1] that this island was the fullest of commodious harbours of any of the rest, and is raised up upon the mountain Saoce; wherefore it was also called Saocis, saith Hesychius.[2] Strabo saith likewise, it was called Melite and Samos; but at this day it is commonly called Samadrachi. The Sacrifices of the Samothracians were most famous amongst the Ethnics of old, the ceremonies of which Pliny calleth most holy;[3] therefore Germanicus in Tacitus was taken with desire of seeing the sacrifices of the Samothracians, but the north winds crossing him made him change his purpose.[4] The Samothracians were called the kinsmen of the Romans, because Dardanus carried away the household gods from Italy to Samothrace, and from thence to Phrygia; which afterwards Æneas carried back from Troy to Italy, saith Servius.[5] The Samothracian rings were likewise famous, which were either all iron but overgilded, or gold, but with a little iron head, that the iron might be instead of the jewel, as may be seen in Pliny.[6] Hence those rings are called *Samothracia ferrea*, by Lucretius, lib. 6. The ancients believed that those Samothracian rings had some preservative virtue; as also the natural rings of the Greeks, which were hollow and void within, as Artemidorus writes. In the ceremonies of the priest of Jupiter,

[1] Nat. Hist. iv. 12. [2] Lib. x. [3] Lib. xxxvi. cap. 5.
[4] Annal. lib. ii. [5] Æneid. iii. 12. [6] Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiii.

it is written, "Do not use a ring unless it be hollow and void." That famous grammarian Aristarchus is said to have been a Samothracian, who challenged such a right in Homer's verses, that he would let none pass in Homer's name, but such as he approved of; whence the censors of other mens' writings are called Aristarchi.

*And the next day to Neapolis.* A sea town of Macedonia upon the confines of Thrace, at the Gulf Strymonicus, which now is commonly called Christopoli.

12. *And from thence to Philippi.* This city is placed betwixt Mount Pangæus and the coast of the Ægean sea. Some adjoin it to Thessaly, others to Thrace, and others to Macedonia; for that those regions were joining. It became most famous by the fight of Augustus and Antonius with Brutus and Cassius, Cæsar's murderers. Stylax speaking of Thrace saith, that this city was first built by Callistratus the Athenian, which, when afterward it was repaired by Philip king of Macedon and father of Alexander the Great, was called Philippi. It was formerly called Datus or Datum; also Crenides from κρῆναι, which signifies fountains, because of the many fountains that spring there, as witnesseth Appian:[1] "Next to Thessalonica and subject to it was the city Philippus or Philippi, betwixt Apollonia and Amphipolis, famous for Paul's Epistle, the first fruits of the Christian Church, and, as is commonly thought, Epaphroditus's episcopacy;" saith Frederick Spanhemius, in his introduction to Sacred Geography.

*Which is the chief city of that part of Macedonia colony.* These words must be read so, neither must there be any distinction put between city and colony, as those learned men, Bertremus Cornellius and Hugo Grotius, have noted. Such as go to Macedonia from the Isle of Samothrace, the first city they meet that is a colony upon the coast of Edonis (which is a part of Macedonia, situated upon both sides of the river Strymon, not far from its mouth, on the confines of Thrace) is Philippi. "Neapolis," saith Grotius, "is a city of Edonis, which is a part of Macedonia, in which also is Philippi;" but Neapolis is in the Strymonic Gulf itself, Philippi farther toward the inner part of it.

*Of that part of Macedonia.* That is, that part of the country of Macedonia, to wit, Edonis.

*A colony.* To wit, of the Romans, which was much esteemed, because of the many prerogatives granted to the inhabitants of the colonies. "Paul," saith Grotius, "chiefly followed the colonies,

[1] De Bell. Civil. lib. iv.

because there were most men there, and that of divers nations." Celsus saith,[1] the Philippian colony enjoyeth the privilege of Italy. Ulpian:[2] in the province of Macedonia the Dirreachens, Cassandrians, Philippians, Dienses, and Stobenses enjoyed the same privileges with the Italians.

*Abiding certain days.* The Greek verb here used (διατρίβω, διατρίβοντες), signifies not only simply to tarry in any place, but to be instant in working, to be bent upon a thing with greatest endeavour, as Aretius noted upon John iii. 22. Hence, "exercise," is called in Greek, διατριβή, whence we may see, that Paul with his companions tarried some days at Philippi to preach the gospel.

13. *And on the sabbath.* That is, upon a certain sabbath.

*We went out of the city.* Either because the Jews made choice of a place remote from the multitude for their meetings, or because they were not allowed to meet within the city.

*By a river side.* To wit, by the river Strymon, as some will have it, of which Pliny saith:[3] "The River Strymon is the border of Macedonia rising in Hemo, a mountain of Thrace. It is observable that it emptieth itself in seven lakes before it diverts its course." They being afterward gathered into one channel, it runs by Amphipolis into the Gulf of the Ægean Sea, which also from it is called the Strymonic Gulf.

*Where prayer was wont to be made.* The Greek word, ἐνομίζετο, is rendered, "was wont," by Beza and Piscator, and is also so used frequently by Greek authors, as Henricus Stephanus confirms by instances. I would not strain the word if I should render it, "it was reported," or, "it was thought," to wit, by us; that is, "we thought," as the Ethiopic renders it. "Budæus telleth out of Plato," saith Ludovicus de Dieu, "that νομίζεσθαι is used to be taken for 'to be esteemed and in fame.'"

*Prayer.* The Greek word, προσευχή, rendered *prayer*, signifies both "prayer" and the "place of prayer." Hence the scholiast interprets the word προσευχή, used by Juvenal, Sat. 3, "A place wherein the Jews pray." Philo calls the synagogue προσευχή, because there the law was read and prayer was made. "But also," saith Grotius, "in such places as had no synagogues, to wit, where the number of the Jews was small, or where the magistrate did not tolerate synagogues, the Jews had places appointed for prayer, far off from the multitude, and especially by the river and sea

[1] In Leg. Colon. D. De Cens. [2] In Lege, in Lusitania, eodem tit. [3] Nat. Hist. lib. iv. 10.

side." We also gather from the next, ch. xvii., that at Philippi, there was no synagogue. "At Sychem, now called Neapolis," saith Epiphanius,[1] "the place of prayer is in a plain about two stones cast without the city, made in the form of a theatre under the open heaven, by the Samaritans, who endeavour to follow the Jews in all things;" for the Jews, as Chrysostom noteth, did not only pray where the synagogue was, but also without it in a place as it were appointed for that end.

*And we sat down and spoke.* They used to sit down when they began a long discourse.

*Unto the women which resorted thither.* In the Jewish synagogues the women are separated from the men by a grated wall.

14. *A seller of purple of the city of Thyatira.* That is, born in the city of the Thyatirians. "Thyatira," saith Strabo,[2] "a colony of the Macedonians, which some say was the last of the Mysians." Ptolemy calls it a metropolis, lib. v. c. 2. The author of that book which treats of the places of the Acts of the Apostles, under Jerome's name, saith, "Thyatira, a city of Lydia, which is a province of the lesser Asia, once famous for Æsculapius's temple; of which that Lydia, the seller of purple, who at Philippi embraced the faith of Christ, was a citizen." Pliny describeth the province of Lydia thus:[3] "Lydia overspread with the windings of the river Meander, reacheth above Ionia, and borders with Phrygia upon the east, with Mysia upon the north, and with Caria upon the south, being formerly called Mæonia." Stephanus also adjoineth Thyatira to Lydia, and saith, it was called the furthermost city of the Mysians. Pliny saith:[4] "It is washed by the river Lycus, and sometimes surnamed Pelopia and Eurippa."

*Which worshipped God.* That is, devout, and as is credible, a proselyte, who, having left the Ethnic, embraced the Jewish religion; for so were such proselytes used to be called. Supra ch. xiii. 33; infra ch. xvii. 4.

*Heard.* To wit, our holy conference with the women.

*Whose.* Religious woman desirous to be saved.

*Heart the Lord opened.* As much as to say, God did inwardly knock at her heart, that she might obey the outward call which she had by Paul's preaching. According to that which the royal psalmist saith, Psa. xxv. 14: *The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will shew them his covenant.* And Christ

[1] In Heres. Massalianorum. [2] Lib. xiii. [3] Nat. Hist. lib. v. 39. [4] Ubi supra.

Jesus, John vii. 17: *If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself;* meaning that he who desirest to be certain of the truth of religion, ought first to be possessed with an ardent desire to do the will of God, and that then God would not suffer him to be tossed with doubtings, but would reveal to him what he ought to follow in order to his salvation. Yet it cannot be said for certain that Lydia alone believed Paul's preaching, for that Luke's making mention of her only seems only to tend to show what moved Paul with his company to go to her house.

*That she attended to the things that were spoken of Paul.* Calvin saith excellently: "The manner of speaking is to be noted, that Lydia's heart was opened, that she might attend to the words of an external teacher; for as preaching alone is nothing else but a dead letter, so upon the other hand we are to take heed that no false imagination, nor the likeness of any secret revelation take us off from the word, whence our faith depends, and in which it resteth. For many that they may enlarge the grace of the Spirit, devise I know not what enthusiasms to themselves, that there may be no use for the external word; but the scripture allows not such a divorce, which joins the ministry of men with the secret inspiration of the Spirit. Except Lydia's mind had been opened, Paul's preaching had but been literal, yet God does not inspire her naked revelations only, but reverence to his word. That the word of man which otherwise would evanish in the air, might penetrate into the soul endued with heavenly light. These fanatical men are therefore mistaken, who under pretext of the Spirit cast off external doctrine. We therefore must observe the temperature made here by Luke, that we can profit nothing by the bare hearing of the word without the grace of the Spirit, and that the Spirit is conferred on us, not to beget contempt of the word, but rather to instil the faith of it in our minds, and write it in our hearts."

15. *And when she was baptized.* Calvin saith notably: "Hence it appears how effectually God in a little moment of time wrought upon Lydia's heart; for it is not to be doubted but she truly embraced the faith of Christ, and gave up her name to him before she was admitted to baptism by Paul."

*And her household.* That is, and her domestics, who believed the preaching of the gospel, were baptized also. "Lydia," saith Calvin, "had not the hearts of all her family in her hand, so as at her pleasure to convert whom she would to Christ; but the

Lord blessed her holy endeavours, so that her domestics became obedient."

*She besought us.* That is, she prayed and obtested us with many prayers.

*Saying, if ye have judged me to be faithful to the Lord.* As much as to say, Seeing ye have approved my faith in Christ by the seal of baptism. The particle "if" denotes not doubting but confirming, and signifies "seeing, forasmuch as." See Matt. xii. 27; John x. 35; xiii. 32; xviii. 8; Gal. v. 25; 1 Pet. i. 17, &c. So Cicero,[1] "I would have thee, if thou think me less diligent to learn what passeth in the commonwealth than thou, to write to me whatever comes to pass." Also "if" is put for "forasmuch as," by Virgil, Georgic 1, ver. 7, 17, as Servius has noted.

*Come into my house and abide there.* That is, lodge with me.

*And she constrained us.* By her prayer that we should go in and lodge with her. So the two disciples that were going to Emmaus, Luke xxiv. 29, constrained Jesus by friendly persuasions, instantly intreating him to tarry with them. So also by earnestness of entreaty the guests were bidden to be compelled, Luke xiv. 23; so Gen. xix. 3, Lot compelled the angels to come into his house; so also by their prayers his servants compelled King Saul to eat, 1 Sam. xxi. 23. So Lucius Apuleius:[2] "By chance she greatly pressed that I should be with her at her little supper, and when I would have excused myself as being chargeable, she denied me leave." And again,[3] "Milo, my host, adjuring me by the great force, virtue, and power of this day, that I should engage to sup with him this day, neither went he away himself, nor suffered me to be gone."

16. *To prayer.* Or to the place of prayer: the word in the Greek signifieth both.

*A damsel.* That is, a little maid servant.

*Possessed with a spirit of divination.* So the Syriac interpreter hath it; but the Greek hath it, "a spirit of the *Python*." Plutarch saith,[4] "That all men that were accused as having a spirit of fortune-telling were called *Pythons*. Famous Bochart[5] proves that *Pethen* is an asp, and seeing in Egypt asps grew to the smallest bulk of a dragon, which is five foot, that the Hebrew word *Pethen* was common to the dragon and the asp. "And to this," saith he, "the Greek name *Python*, which the poets give the dragon

[1] Ad Attic. v. 14. [2] As. Aur. lib. ii. [3] Lib. iii.
[4] Lib. De Def. Orac. [5] 2 Hieroz. iii. 5.

that was killed in Parnassus, doth allude. Yet Ephorus hath written that it was not a dragon but a man; from whom Strabo reports [1] that Apollo with arrows killed a fierce man named Python, surnamed Draco, after that for a long time he had infested the inhabitants of Parnassus with murders and robberies. The same man, instead of *Python*, is named Delphynes by Suidas after Apollonius.[2] If I see anything in this darkness, this man was a great robber in Phocis, whose true name was Delphynes; *Python* was a surname given him by the Phœnicians, who then inhabited the neighbouring Bœotia, because of the tumults which he stirred up, and the robberies he committed. Indeed, with the Arabians who have *phe* instead of *pe*, because they want the letter *p*, the word *phathana*, signifieth 'to stir up tumults;' *phithna*, 'sedition, slaughter;' *phathan*, 'seditious, a thief, or robber;' but the same man is of a robber made a dragon by the inventors of fables, because in Syriac *pithun* or *pethen* signifieth a dragon, and therefore is he also called *Python*. From this *Python* were the Pythian plays, and the city of the Delphs, *Pytho* or *Phython*, and Apollo himself called *Python*. Macrobius saith,[3] that the Greeks prattle that this name *Python* was given to the god for killing the dragon. Therefore the spirit of *Python*, Acts xvi. 16, is the spirit of Apollo, by which demon it was believed that woman-conjuror was possessed. Hence the very conjurors themselves, who were of old called *Eurycleæ*, are now called *Pythones*, saith Plutarch, in his book of the Cessation of the Oracles. In this sense the Hebrews, instead of *Python*, write *Pythom*, by a small change of the word, and dream that those kind of soothsayers did not speak out of the belly, but out of the armpits." See, pray, Maimonides's Treatise concerning Idolatry, cap. vi.

*Which brought her masters much gain.* Perhaps to her master and mistress.

*By soothsaying.* That is, by receiving the rewards of her soothsaying from those who consulted her concerning hidden matters, as things stolen, the success of a journey, and the like. The scholiast observeth upon Aristophanes: "That Eurycles did, as speaking out of his belly, foretel true things to the Athenians by the help of the demon which was in him. Hence all soothsayers are called ventriloqui and Euryclitæ, from Eurycles the first author of the thing."

17. *The same followed Paul and us.* Silas, Timothy, and Luke, Paul's companions.

[1] Lib. ix. [2] Argon. lib. ii. ver. 708. [3] Lib. i. cap. 20.

*These men are servants of the Most High God.* An unclean spirit sometimes speaketh truth, but not for a good end. When an evil man counterfeits good, then is he most evil.

*Which show unto us.* Philippians.

*The way of salvation.* That is, the way by which eternal happiness is to be attained.

18. *And this did she.* That is, reiterated it.

*But Paul being grieved.* That the truth should be rendered suspected by the testimony of a lying spirit so often repeated. See what we have noted upon Mark i. 25.

*Turned.* To the damsel that had the spirit of divination.

*To the spirit.* To that spirit of divination, to wit, which possessed this damsel.

*I command thee,* &c. As much as to say, Using the power given, Mark xvi. 17, by the authority which Jesus Christ, and I from him, have over you, I command you presently to come out of that woman.

*And he came out the same hour.* As much as to say, That unclean spirit being dashed with the authority of Christ, presently obeyed, Paul commanding him to come out of the damsel whom he possessed; as presently it was evident in her by the effects. There are examples of the power of casting out devils by Christ's authority, granted by him to his servants, to be seen above, ch. v. 16, and viii. 7.

19. *And when her masters saw.* To wit, the master and mistress of the possessed damsel, or also her master's children.

*That the hopes of their gains was gone.* That is, that no hope remained, the damsel being left by the spirit of divination, that they could get any more riches by her art of soothsaying.

*They caught Paul and Silas.* Who being stirred up by a holy zeal, and by the instinct of the Spirit of God, did cast the unclean spirit out of the maid, although it flattered them.

*And drew them into the market place unto the rulers.* That is, to the governors of the city, keepers of the public peace and judges of the guilty.

20. *And brought them to the magistrates.* The words in the original signify, "Captains of the guard," who had the charge of seizing, punishing, and imprisoning the guilty, the sentence, to wit, of the rulers, that is, of the judges preceding. Others will have those who were called princes or rulers in the preceding verse, to be called in this verse with a more honourable title of *magis-*

*trates*, and in both places they understand the *duumvirs* of the colony.

*Saying, These men*, &c. They slandered the holy men as troublers of the public peace, while they sought to revenge their own private loss, for which they were much grieved; so of old the ungodly Ahab slandered the godly prophet Elias. 1 Kings xviii. 17.

*Being Jews.* Whose name was hateful to the Romans, because of their different religion and manners.

21. *And teach customs.* The Romans, among the laws in the twelve tables, ordered: "Let none have gods apart, neither let new or strange gods be privately worshipped, unless publicly received. Let the customs of the country and family be observed; let sacred private things always continue. Therefore it was given in charge to the Ædiles, that they should observe lest any other than the Roman gods should be worshipped, nor after any other manner than that of the country."[1]

*Being Romans.* That is, our city being a colony of the Romans, and therefore are we called by the name of Romans.

22. *And the multitude rose up together against them.* As much as to say, And they were stirred up against Paul and Silas, who, though innocent, were charged with forged crimes by the master and mistresses of her who had the spirit of divination, as also by her master's children.

*And the magistrates.* The Greek hath it, "The captains of the soldiers or of the guards," as above, ver. 20.

*Rent off their clothes*, &c. As much as to say, Not regarding their cause aright, they commanded the officers both to tear off the innocent men's clothes, and to scourge their bodies with rods. It was a custom among the Jews, as you may read in the Mishna in the treatise Macoth, as also among the Romans, as is to be seen in Livy, Plutarch, and other historians, not to take off the clothes of such as were to be whipped, but to tear them off, that their bodies might be naked to receive the lashes.

23. *And when they had laid many*, &c As much as to say, Paul and Silas being beaten with many strokes, the *duumviri*, or magistrates of the city, commanded them to be led to prison. Adding further, their commands to the jailor, that he would keep them close, lest they might escape, and so they not be able to punish them farther.

*The jailor.* The Greek hath it, "Keeper of the prisoners."

[1] Liv. lib. iv.

Paulus Juris-Consultus calls him, "Governor of the prison;" Ambrose, "The deputy of the prison;" others, "The jailor." Now, the Greeks think the jailor spoken of here to have been Stephanas whom Paul mentions, 1 Cor. i. 16, and xvi. 15, 17; but this is uncertain, because Stephanas, with his house, is called "the first fruits of Achaia." But Achaia is a distinct and separate region from Macedonia, where the jailor lived, at Philippi, where he was converted to Christ: unless one should say that he was born in Achaia and removed to Philippi, whence perhaps he returned back again to Achaia, to wit, to Corinth.

24. *Who.* To wit, the jailor.

*Thrust them into the inner prison.* That, to wit, being inclosed within so many gates, they might be the more securely kept.

*Made their feet fast.* The word in the original is, "He guarded their feet," that is, made them secure. "By a metonymy," as Grotius saith, "for a guard secures us."

*In the wood.* That is (as it is interpreted in the English translation) in the "stocks," which Plautus calls a "Wooden guard."

25. *And at midnight.* When men are, as it were, buried in deep sleep.

*Sang praises unto God.* Ruffinus, presbyter of Aquilia, in the title of the 72nd Psalm, saith, "Hymns, are songs which contain the praise of God. If it be praise, and not of God, it is not a hymn; if it be praise, and of God, if it be not sung, it is not a hymn. It must, therefore, that it may be a hymn, have these three things, praise, and of God, and a song." And therefore deservedly doth Gregorius Bæticus,[1] bishop of the city Granada in Spain, call David "Hymnidicus." Paul, then, and Silas, sung praises to God for the honour put upon them, in that they suffered innocently, for promoting the glory of God. See above, ch. v. 41.

26. *And suddenly there was a great earthquake.* By the great power and might of God.

*So that the foundations of the prison were shaken.* Not only did the edifice of the prison itself totter, but also the very ground upon which it was built was greatly shaken. By such an earthquake God shows that he himself is present with his servants, and that by his strength they shall be rescued from the severity of furious magistrates.

*And immediately.* That is, as soon as by the earthquake the whole prison was shaken.

[1] In Lib. De Fide.

*All the doors were opened.* To wit, of that prison.

*And every one's bands.* To wit, who were bound in that prison.

27. *And the keeper of the prison awaking.* To wit, by the great earthquake.

*He drew out his sword, and would have killed himself.* For fear of the magistrate, lest by him he should be put to a more cruel death. "If the prisoners escaped," saith Grotius, "the jailors used to undergo the same punishment that they were to suffer." *L. ad Commentariensem, C. de Custodia Vinctorum.*

28. *Do thyself no harm.* For fear of a worse death.

*For we are all.* Who were bound in this prison, before all its doors were opened by the earthquake.

*Here.* Perhaps they who, beside Paul and Silas, were bound in that prison, listening to their unlooked for songs, and astonished with the wonderful earthquake, did not observe that their bands were loosed, nor that all the prison doors were opened.

29. *Then he called for a light.* From his domestics, who were in his house adjoining the prison.

*And sprang in.* To the prison, with force and speed, to see if all the prisoners were there.

*And came trembling.* For fear of divine judgment.

*And fell down before Paul and Silas.* Worshipping, after the custom of the eastern kingdoms, and thence brought to Macedonia, from the time of Alexander the Great, when he conquered Asia.

30. *And brought them out.* From the cloister of the inner prison to some open place of the prison, where they might more freely breathe.

*And said.* Like those who were moved with Peter's sermons, Acts ii. 37; the people and publicans converted by John, Luke iii. 10, 12.

*Sirs.* Thus, the jailor gave them this honourable compellation, knowing them to be men of great holiness, in that when they were so strictly kept, and had deliverance offered them from heaven, their bonds being loosed and the doors set open to them, so that they might flee, especially if they had suffered him to kill himself, as he would have done: yet they fled not, but were more solicitous for his life than for their own. "To call them sirs, whom we would honour," saith Grotius, "was a custom then received both among the Greeks and Romans, as witness Martial and others."

*What must I do.* As much as to say, I have heard you declare the way to attain the greatest happiness, neither doth the miracle

which God wrought concerning you, suffer me to doubt of the truth of it, shew me therefore, I beseech you, what course I shall take that I may attain to this happiness?

31. *Believe on the Lord Jesus.* That is, rest upon Jesus Christ, whom God hath appointed to be the only Saviour, with true confidence of heart, firmly believing, that repenting of your former conversation, and seriously proposing to pass the rest of your life conformed to the rule of his doctrine, you shall be discharged from all your sins.

*And thou shalt be saved.* That is, and you shall obtain the chief happiness in eternal life according to Christ's promise, John iii. 15, 16, 36; vi. 47.

*And thy house.* That is, and your household upon the same condition, to wit, if they also embrace Christ with the same faith, which inclines the heart to repentance and amendment of life, and to conform to the rule of his doctrine.

32. *And they spake unto him the word of the Lord,* &c. That is, the gospel of Jesus Christ; what that Jesus the Son of God is; what he did upon earth, and suffered for the redemption of mankind; how great miracles he wrought; how he lived again, though by the instigation of the Jews he was crucified, and ascended above all the heavens, and was made Lord of all; what promises and precepts he proposed. These things they briefly held out to him. For it was usual with the apostles to declare such things in their sermons.

*And to all that were in his house.* As much as to say, they not only imparted a clear and distinct knowledge of Christ and of his doctrine to the jailor, but also to all his domestics, who went with him from his house to the prison, to see if any of the prisoners had escaped, the prison doors being broke open with the earthquake.

33. *And he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their stripes.* "That is," saith Grotius, "having led them to some pool, which was within the bounds of the prison, he washed off the blood which the rods had drawn." Blood is washed off with water, and by its coldness the flux thereof is stanched; also by washing, wounds are cleansed and disposed for healing; therefore it is usual to wash wounds with water.

*And was baptized.* As much as to say, both the jailor himself and all his domestics, who heard the word of the Lord preached, as in the next following verse, without delay were according to Christ's instruction dipped in water, that by this sign they might

profess that they would die to sin, and lead a new and godly life for the future.

34. *And when he had brought them into his house.* Joining to the prison, as jailors' houses used to be.

*He set meat before them.* That is, he refreshed them with a treat, as Levi did, Luke v. 29, and Zaccheus, Luke xix. 6.

*And rejoiced, believing in God with all his house.* The participle here gives the reason of his joy; as much as to say, He rejoiced and was exceeding glad, that not only himself, but his whole household had acknowledged and received the faith of the true God, of whom he was formerly ignorant. So the Ethiopian eunuch, when he embraced the truth, is said to have been full of joy, Acts viii. 37.

35. *The magistrates sent.* The word magistrates signifieth in the Greek, "captains of the soldiers." See what we have said above, ver. 20.

*Sergeants.* Grotius thinks that in the Latin translation the Greek word ῥαβδούχους should be retained. "For although," saith he, "Plutarch and the Glossary, call sergeants ῥαβδούχους in Greek, yet the Greek word itself signifieth any of the magistrate's officers that carried a staff, which is in Greek called ῥαβδος, as a sign of their office." Calvin renders the word, "apparitores." Beza and Stephanus, "Viatores."

*Saying, let these men go.* The city judges repented that for the sake of the incensed multitude, they had commanded strangers to be beaten without hearing their cause, as if they had been convicted malefactors, contrary to the Roman laws and [those] of all civilized nations.

36. *Go in peace.* That is, go with freedom, and fare you well.

37. *But Paul said unto them.* Who were sent by the magistrates.

*They have beaten us openly.* The magistrates are said to have done this, because they commanded it to be done.

*Uncondemned.* That is, unheard, contrary to the order of law, whereby, whosoever determineth anything before he hath heard both parties, though his determination be just, he hath been unjust in determining.

*Being Romans.* Against the Porcian and Sempronian laws. Cicero for Rabirius: "The Porcian law takes away rods from the bodies of all the Roman citizens." And in his fifth oration against Verres: "There was a Roman citizen whipt with rods in the market-place of Messina. All the while, notwithstanding his pain

and the noise of the rods, nothing was heard from this wretch but these words, 'I am a Roman citizen,' thinking with the remembrance of his city, to repel the strokes and abate the pain." And then: "'O sweet name of liberty! O great privilege of our city! O law of Porcia and laws of Sempronia!'" And a little after: 'It is a crime to bind a Roman citizen; heinous wickedness to beat him.'"

*And have cast us into prison.* As if they intended to inflict more cruel punishments upon us.

*And now do they thrust us out privily?* As much as to say, And now having publicly and openly disgraced us, do they privately and clandestinely thrust us out without any reparation of our honour?

*Nay verily,* &c. But truly we shall not now go out of prison, unless the judges themselves take us honourably, that it may appear that we were undeservedly beaten and put in bonds.

38. *And they feared, when they heard that they were Romans.* That is, they were afraid lest they should be accused of treason, with which Cicero threatens Verres towards the end of his fifth oration against him. For it was declared by the law, that if a Roman citizen was hurt, the very majesty of the Roman people should be accounted as hurt. "They were not moved," saith Calvin excellently, "with the other head, that they wrongfully raged against innocent men, without any trial of their cause: and yet that was a greater reproach. But because they feared no revenger among men, they were not moved with the judgment of God. And hence it was they so unconcernedly passed by that which was objected concerning the unjustness of it; they were only afraid of the Roman axes, for violating the liberty of a citizen. They knew this was capital to the greatest of their deputies, what then would it be to the decurions of one colony? Such is the fear of wicked men, who have a stupid conscience before God, greatly indulging themselves in all sins, until revenge from men threaten them."

39. *And they came.* To wit, the city judges, to the prison to Paul and Silas, who, as it pleaseth Grotius, are called Romans by a synecdoche, seeing Paul only had the privilege of the city of Rome. Such a synecdoche is in Matt. xxvii. 44.

*And besought them.* Some render it, and comforted them. To wit, they intreated them with fair words, that they would forgive

the wrong which they did them undeservedly, being forced to it by the clamour of the people; and so acknowledging their innocency they comforted them.

*And brought them out, and desired them to depart out of the city.* As much as to say, Having brought them out of prison, they urged them with entreaties that they might depart out of Philippi, lest they might suffer worse from the angry Philippians.

40. *And they went out of the prison.* To wit, Paul and Silas.

*And entered into the house of Lydia.* That godly woman of Philippi, of whom see above, ver. 14.

*And when they had seen the brethren.* That is, the Christians who were met in Lydia's house.

*They comforted them.* With an exhortation to constancy in the Christian religion, seeing God doth even beyond expectation, by miracles, aid and assist such as for this religion's sake are persecuted.

*And departed.* From Philippi, as the city judges requested them in the verse immediately preceding. "To wit," saith Grotius, "partly that they might not bring themselves into unnecessary troubles, partly because Macedonia, which God had recommended to them, is of a far greater extent."

## CHAPTER XVII.

1. *Now when they had passed through.* To wit, Paul and Silas.

*Amphipolis.* A city of Macedonia near Philippi, bordering upon Thrace, which as Thucydides saith,[1] was first called Nine ways; but being taken by Agnon the Athenian general, it was called Amphipolis, because it is washed on both sides by the river Strymon. It was afterward by the Grecians called Christopolis, the Christians commonly called it Christopoli, the Turks calls it now Emboli; it is an archiepiscopal city of Macedonia.

*And Apollonia.* A city of Macedonia in that part of it called Mygdonia, upon the river Chidor, about twelve miles distant from Thessalonica, which now is called Ceres.

*They came to Thessalonica.* The largest city of Macedonia, and a most famous place of trading; which, as we read in Strabo's excerptions,[2] was first called Therme. It was built by Cassander,

[1] Lib. i. & iv. [2] Lib. vii.

who called it Thessalonica, after the name of his wife, the daughter of Philip the Son of Amynta, having carried thither the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities, such were the Chalastrians, Æneans, Cislians, and also some others. It bordered upon the Thermean Gulf, so called from Thermes, whence it is supposed to be that which the Italians now call Golpho di Salonichi, for they call Thessalonica Salonichi.

*Where was a synagogue of the Jews.* There being none, to wit, in Amphipolis, nor Apollonia.

2. *As his manner was.* Which, to wit, Paul had of going in into the Jews to their synagogues.

*Reasoned with them out of the scriptures.* To wit, of the Old Testament which was received by the Jews as canonical.

3. *Opening.* As much as to say, Openly explaining as well the express prophecies concerning the Messiah, as the types by which he was shadowed, that he might make it clear to them, that he was to suffer strokes, wounds, and a shameful death, and again to return to life. And that therefore, Jesus whom he preached, is this Messiah foretold by the prophets, seeing all that the prophets foretold of his terrible sufferings, bitter afflictions, ignominious death, and glorious resurrection, are by the event found fitly to quadrate in him alone. Whoever fights for Christ's sake against heretics, useth this method of Paul's: "he threatens with heavenly weapons, he draws up a scripture army, with these swords he forces heretics to their duty, with these crosses and torments, he subdues and breaks their hardness," saith the learned Nic. Rigaltius our countryman, upon Tertullian, Scorp., cap. 2.

*And that this Jesus, whom I preach unto you, is Christ.* That is, that Messiah of whom the prophets foretold, that being put to an ignominious death, he would rise again. See below, ver. 17, ch. xxvi. 9, and above, v. 39,

*Whom I preach unto you.* The discourse passeth from an oblique person to direct, as it is frequent in any author, and especially in sacred writers.

*And some of them.* Of the Jews, who were present at the disputes which Paul had in the Thessalonican synagogues.

*Believed.* To wit, that Jesus is the Messiah promised in the law and in the prophets, who would save such as believed in him from their sins.

*And consorted with Paul and Silas.* There is in the word in the Greek somewhat more meant, saith Grotius, and it signifies that

they were wholly addicted to Paul and Silas, as things hereditary among the Jews. Lucan useth this verb; Aristides also useth συγκληροῦσθαι for the same.

*And of the devout Greeks.* That is, such as were Gentiles by birth, who, having forsaken vain idols, embraced the worship of the true God before the gospel was preached to them.

*A great multitude.* It seems to point out that few of those who were Jews by birth, but many of the Gentiles, who formerly deserted Gentilism and went over to the Jewish religion, were converted to Christ.

*And of the chief women.* Of the chief men of the city's wives, who of heathens were made proselytes, as were also their husbands.

5. *Moved with envy,* &c. As much as to say, But the Jews, who were most obstinate in opposing the gospel preached by Paul and Silas, being enraged to see it believed by so great a multitude, and having got together most wicked scoffers and such as were given up to all kind of wickedness, stirred up the people in companies against Paul and Silas, and having beset Jason's house, who took them in to lodge with him, tumultuously endeavoured to draw them out thence, and to expose them to the fury of the incensed rabble, to be by them killed and torn in pieces.

*Certain lewd followers of the baser sort.* The word in the original signifies "certain jugglers." Tacitus calls those jugglers, "a base rabble frequenting the games and theatres." Cicero: "the dregs and mire of the city." Apuleius: "the homely dregs of the mean people." Horace: "a dreg, that is, born where the common people resort and almost in the market-place." Livy: "a market faction." Plautus: "buffoons;" which he thus paints out in these words: "Indeed there is nothing more sottish nor doltish, nor more lying, nor more tatling, nor more bold in speaking, nor more perjured, than those busy homebred citizens, which they call buffoons."

*Lewd.* To wit, such as delighted in all mischief and wickedness.

*And gathered a company.* That is, and having gathered together the multitude of the rabble.

*And assaulted the house of Jason.* That is, they beset the house of Jason, a citizen of Thessalonica, with whom Paul and Silas lodged. Some think this Jason to be the same with him mentioned Rom. xvi. 21, though he then dwelt at Corinth.

*And sought.* That is, they endeavoured with all their might.

*To bring them out to the people.* That is, in sight of the people, that in their rage they might tear them to pieces.

6. *And when they found them not.* To wit, Paul and Silas.

*And certain brethren.* In Christ, that is, Christians.

*To the rulers of the city.* That is, to the magistrates of Thessalonica.

*Crying.* Like jangling fellows in a court, whose custom is to fill the court with bawling and cries, even to hoarseness, to deafen the judge's ears. Hence Cicero calls them[1] both bawlers and outcriers: "We seek not for I do not know what lawyer, nor bawler, nor jangler in this our discourse." And lib. iii. de Orator., he saith of Pericles: "But no bawler hath taught him to bark out his hour." Quintilian also calls them barkers:[2] "Above all things that modesty perisheth which brings authority and belief to an orator, if he of a good man become a jangler and a barker."

*These that have turned the world upside down are come hither also.* As much as to say, These vagabonds who by introducing their new religion stir up sedition in every nation, are also come to this city of Thessalonica, to the end they may trouble us, who are at peace, with their new doctrines. Well saith Calvin, "This is the state of the gospel, to have these uproars, which Satan raiseth by opposing it, imputed to it. This also is the maliciousness of Christ's enemies, to lay the blame of tumults upon holy and modest teachers, which they themselves have procured. Certainly the gospel is not preached to this end, to stir up men to strifes among themselves, but rather that it may keep them in peace, being reconciled to God. When Christ liberally invites us there to come unto him, Satan and the wicked rage; therefore Paul and Silas might easily have defended themselves, but it was requisite for them to undergo this false slander for a time, and so long as they were not heard, silently to pass it by. And the Lord, by their example, meant to teach us not to give place to slanders or false reports, but rather to stand stout in asserting the truth, being content to be evil spoken of, for what was well done. Therefore away with the perverse wisdom of some who, to escape false slanders, stand not to betray Christ and his gospel by their treacherous moderation, as if their good name were more precious than Paul's, and such like, yea, than the sacred name of God, which is not free from blasphemies."

7. *Whom Jason hath received.* That is, Jason their favourer hath received them to his house.

*And these all do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar.* The people of

[1] De Orat. lib. i. [2] Instit. lib. xii.

Rome, and afterward the Cæsars who transferred to themselves the government of the people of Rome, suffered none in the provinces subject to their government, of which Macedonia at that time was one, to be called king without their own permission. "A great and odious crime," saith Calvin, "yet too impudently forged. Paul and Silas sought to erect the kingdom of Christ, which is spiritual; the Jews knew well that this might be done without any injury to the Roman empire. They knew that they meant nothing less than to overthrow the public state, or to deprive Cæsar of his authority; the Jews therefore maliciously catch at this pretence that they might procure hatred to these innocents. The Macedonians had no such respect for religion, much less for the Jewish, that for its cause they should forthwith drag persons unknown to the slaughter; the Jews, therefore, catch at the pretence of treason to oppress these innocents with the odiousness of that crime alone. Neither doth Satan cease to this day to spread such mists before men's dazzled eyes. The papists know very well, and are sufficiently convinced before God, that it is more than false which they lay to our charge, that we overthrow all civil government, that laws and judgments are taken away, that the power of kings is subverted by us. And yet they are not ashamed to the end they may make the whole world to hate us, falsely to report us to be enemies to public order. For we must note that the Jews not only allege that Cæsar's commands were violated, because Paul and Silas durst presume to innovate somewhat in religion, but because they said there was another king. This crime was altogether forged. Moreover, if at any time religion force us to resist tyrannical edicts, which forbid us to give due honour to Christ, and due worship to God, we may then justly say for ourselves that we do not violate the power of kings. For they are not so exalted that they may endeavour, like giants, to pull God out of his throne. That excuse of Daniel's was true, that he had not offended the king, while yet he obeyed not his wicked commandment, neither had injured mortal man, because he had preferred God to him. So let us faithfully pay to princes their tributes, let us be ready to any civil obedience, but if not content with that degree, they would pluck out of our hands the fear and worship of God, there is no reason why any should say we despise them, because we make more account of the power and majesty of God."

*King.* To wit, of all human kind. "For," saith Grotius, "the

Christians called Jesus Lord, which frequently occurs in this book, most frequently in Paul's Epistles. But this word in the Greek is the same with that that is rendered king, Rev. i. 8; xv. 3; xvii. 14."

*Another king.* To wit, than Cæsar. "Who," saith the same Grotius, "called himself lord of the world."

8. *And they troubled.* As much as to say, By these false accusations against Paul and Silas, they both raised a suspicion in the people who were gathered together in the court, and in the magistrates before whom they were accused.

9. *And.* This particle, which otherwise is a copulative, is here taken for the adversative particle "but," as it is often elsewhere.

*When they had taken security.* That Paul and Silas should appear in judgment whenever it should be needful.

*Of Jason.* Paul and Silas's host.

*And of the others.* Christians, to wit, who, ver. 6, together with Jason, were drawn before the magistrates of Thessalonica.

*They let them go.* That is, suffered them to go free.

10. *But the brethren.* That is, the Christians who lived in Thessalonica.

*Immediately.* Lest the incensed people, stirred up by the perverse Jews, should use violence and force upon Paul and Silas.

*Sent away Paul and Silas by night unto Berœa.* That is, in a clandestine way, having taken the advantage of the darkness, they led and accompanied them out of the city, that they might pass to another city of Macedonia called Berœa. The Macedonic Berœa lieth betwixt Thessalonica and the Candavian Hills, which divide Illyria from Macedonia, near the river Lydia, in the region of Emathia. This city is now commonly called Veria, for so do the present Greeks pronounce it. The Turks call it Boor, as Leunclavius saith. Pliny,[1] among the cities of Macedonia, reckons Pella in the first place, the country of Philip and Alexander the Great, kings of the Macedonians; secondly, Berœa.

*Who.* Paul and Silas.

*Coming thither.* To Berœa.

*Went into the synagogue of the Jews.* To try if they could convert any of the Berœan Jews to Christ.

11. *These.* The Jews dwelling in Berœa.

*Were more noble than those in Thessalonica.* That is, they

[1] Nat. Hist. iv. 10.

surpassed the Thessalonians in excellency of disposition and nobleness of mind.

*In that they.* The Jews of Berœa.

*Received the word of God with all readiness.* That is, with bended ears and ready minds they attended to the gospel preached by Paul.

*And searched the scriptures daily.* That is, searching out most diligently the meaning of those things which were foretold of Christ in the law and in the prophets.

*Whether these things were so.* That is, that they might see through it, whether what was preached by Paul concerning Jesus did agree with the written oracles of Moses and the prophets concerning the Messiah. Yea, as Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem saith excellently:[1] "Nothing of the divine and holy mysteries of faith ought to be delivered by guess without scripture authority, nor be spoken upon mere probability and dress of words." Hence it is clear against the papists, that there is no blind obedience owing to the pastors of the church, but that they indeed are to be esteemed noble among Christians, who diligently examined by the testimony of the holy scripture, whatever is preached by their pastors. "We pretend to no blind obedience due to churchmen's directions, and account them noble Christians, who search and try all they say by that test of the scriptures," saith that man of a most solid judgment, and in defending the principles of the orthodox faith, against popery and irreligion, short of none, the most religious and most learned Gilbert Burnet, D.D.,[2] to whose large charity to the poor and strangers I profess myself greatly indebted.

12. *Therefore many of them believed.* As much as to say, But when the Jews of Berœa had by this scrutiny of the scriptures discovered the most marvellous harmony and agreement of Paul's doctrine with the prophecies of Moses and the prophets, a great many more of them believed the gospel preached by Paul, and acknowledged Jesus to be the Messiah, promised in the law and in the prophets, than of the Thessalonians born Jews.

*Also of honourable women,* &c. As much as to say, Yea, and very many honest and respected ethnics of both sexes at Berœa believed in Jesus Christ.

13. *The Jews.* Obstinately resisting the word of God, or the gospel preached by Paul.

*And stirred up the people.* Against Paul at Berœa.

[1] Catech. iv. [2] In his excellent book entitled the Mystery of Iniquity Unveiled.

14. *And then immediately,* &c. As much as to say, But the Christians at Beræa, that Paul might be delivered from the snares of the unbelieving Thessalonian Jews, took care to convey him to the sea-coast, and entered into a ship as if he were to sail from these regions, while Timothy and Silas abode at Beræa, that they might confirm in the faith these who were newly converted. But what Luke did, or where he was at that time, since he himself is silent, is rash to conjecture.

*To go as it were to the sea.* The Syrian, Arabic, and Ethiopic, render it simply "to the sea," either ὡς or ἐπὶ being put by a pleonasm; for, saith Ludovicus de Dieu, "the particle ὡς is used by the Attics with the accusative instead of ἐπὶ, and is often in Xenophon, Aristophanes, Demosthenes, and other writers. Eustathius notes upon Homer,[1] that orators frequently put ὡς, "as it were," redundant.

15. *And they.* Who by command from the brethren at Beræa.

*Conducted Paul.* To the sea-shore. The Greek words signify "settling Paul," that is, by their company secured Paul from the snares of his enemies, or "undertook to put him in a safe place," as famous Beza renders it.

*Brought him unto Athens.* To wit, the Attic, where Paul seemed secure from the implacable hatred of the Thessalonian Jews. "In my most ancient copy," saith Beza, "after 'unto Athens,' it is written, 'and he passed by (to wit, tarrying nowhere there) Thessaly: because he was forbidden to preach the gospel to them,'" to wit, to the Thessalians. Certainly it were strange otherwise, that Paul should have passed by so many regions, as are betwixt Thessalonica and Athens, to wit, Thessaly, Bæotia and Attica, having nowhere preached the gospel, or that Luke, who was Paul's companion as appears above, ch. xvi. 10, should have omitted that history of what was said and done there.

*And receiving a commandment,* &c. As much as to say, And when they who had conveyed Paul from Beræa, had received a commandment from him to Silas and Timothy, who were left at Beræa, that with all speed they would come to him, they departed from Athens to return to Beræa. Athenæ Atticæ is a famous city of Greece, upon the river Ilissus, near the Saronic Gulf, and the chief metropolis of Attica, from whence the Romans thought humanity, learning, religion, fruits, laws, and rights, to have had

[1] Iliad, B.

their rise, and from thence distributed over all the earth.[1] Hence Lucretius in his sixth book:—

> "Athens first gave us laws, and chang'd our food.
> For acorns, tender fruit and corn bestowed
> On wretched man; each was a mighty good.
> But then she taught us how to live at ease,
> She taught the joys of life, and showed us peace."

16. *Now while Paul waited for them at Athens.* That is, for Silas and Timothy, that they might help him to promote the work of the gospel.

*Was stirred*, &c. As much as to say, he was vexed with great trouble of spirit, that walking the streets of Athens, he should meet with so many images of gods in so many places. The Greek hath it, "his spirit was grieved." So Asaph said, Ps. lxxiii. 21, *My heart is grieved.* "It must needs be that what is wicked should displease a good and just man, and whom evil displeaseth must be grieved when he seeth it done," saith Lactantius.[2] And a little after: "It is natural to a good man to be grieved and stirred up at the sin of another." So Mattathias, seeing a Jew sacrificing to idols, was inflamed with great zeal, 1 Mac. ii. 24. So righteous Lot, seeing the wickedness of the Sodomites, was daily vexed, 2 Pet. ii. 8. So, Rev. ii. 2, the angel of Ephesus cannot bear them which are evil. Apuleius, seeing an adulterer coming daily to his mistress, said: "But this did wholly break my heart."

*Given to idolatry.* Casaubon renders the Greek word here, "filled with idols." Petronius facetiously exposing the Athenians, introduced one saying: "Verily our country is so full of deities ready to help, that you may easier find a god than a man in it."

17. *Therefore disputed he.* To wit, of religion and its concerns. The apostle of Christ does not begin with a violent hand to pull down their idols, but with a nervous discourse to remove the idolatry out of their hearts. "Let heretics," saith Bernard,[3] "rather be taken, than put to flight; taken I say, not with arms, but let their errors be refelled with strong arguments." And again:[4] "Faith must be persuaded, not commanded." Lactantius:[4] "There is no need of force and injury, because religion cannot be forced, the business indeed is to be done with words, rather than with strokes to make people willing." A little after: "We Christians do not inveigle man, as the ethnics themselves charge us

[1] Cic. pro Lucill. Flac. [2] Lib. De Ira Dei, cap. 17. [3] Serm. 64, in Cantic.
[4] Serm. 66. [5] Instit. lib. v. cap. 19.

with, but we teach, prove, and demonstrate; therefore we hold none against his will, for he is unprofitable to God that wants faith and devotion; and yet none leaves us while the truth itself retains him." See what is noted above, ver. 3, ch. v. 39, and below, ch. xxvi. 9.

*In the synagogue with the Jews and with the devout persons.* That is, with such as were Jews by birth, and also with the proselytes, who, being descended of foreign nations, did embrace the Jewish religion. See above, ver. 4.

*With all that met with him.* That is, with all that went to the market.

18. *Certain philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoics.* He names two sorts of philosophers who were most averse from the Christian religion. For Epicurus thought that it was below the majesty of God to care for human affairs. For this cause Cicero, Plutarch, and others have expunged Epicurus out of the list of philosophers. "For the Epicureans," saith Grotius, "they neither believed that the world was made by God, nor that he had any care of human affairs; nor that there is any reward or punishment after death; neither any good but what is perceived by the senses." The Stoics all to a man, excepting perhaps Socrates alone, were of a high and proud spirit, they proudly and madly boasted that the wise man whom they feigned in their idea, was equal with God, yea, in some respects, beyond him. "The wise man," saith Seneca,[1] "knows as much of his own age as God does of all ages. There is something wherein the wise man surpasses God; God by th the prerogative of his nature fears nothing, the wise man by his acquired prerogative. Behold a great thing, to have the weakness of a man and the security of a God." And Epist. 73: "Sextus used to say, 'That Jupiter was nothing more powerful than a good man.' Jupiter hath more to give to men, but of two good men, he is not the best that is the richest. Wherein does Jupiter excel a good man? He is longer good. A good man esteemeth himself nothing the less, that his virtues are bounded within a short space of time."

*Encountered him.* That is, they sharply assaulted him.

*Babbler.* That is, a sower of words, and as Pliny saith, one who willingly wasteth words. The Greek word, σπερμολόγος, is used by Aristotle for a little bird, called in Latin *frugilega*, for that with its bill it gathers the seeds that are digged up, and feeds upon

[1] Epist. 53.

them. Hence saith Eustathius, it was by the Attics translated to those beggars that went about the markets, that they might gather what dropped from the sacks and thereby feed. Hence it is used as a reproach upon men of no esteem, who are despised by all. Paul then is called by the Athenian philosophers, *spermologus*, not as a babbler, "who," as Gellius saith, "comes off with moist and slippery words, without any respect to matter;" but as a man of a low fortune, and very meanly clothed. As much as to say, what will that vile fellow say?

*He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods.* These unclean spirits, which the ethnics esteem and worship as gods, are called in the scripture *dæmonia*, which is their honourable name in Greek, as if ye would call them knowing and wise, because of the oracles given by them. Indeed, the title of knowing doth admirably agree with the history of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, Gen. iii. Moreover, among the same Athenians, Socrates the philosopher was also accused of old that he did take away the received gods, introducing others, and new demons, that is, deities: as Diogenes Laërtius writes in his life.

19. *And they took him.* To wit, Paul, that he might go with them to such a place, wherein he might more decently declare what new things he alleged, than in the market among the promiscuous multitude.

*Brought him unto Areopagus.* Areopagus was one of the five regions in Athens, into which the whole city was sometimes divided. These were Martius Pagus or Areo-Pagus, Saturni Pagus, Panis Pagus, Neptuni Pagus, Mercurii Pagus. Areo-Pagus was named from Mars, who in Greek is called Ἄρης, as much as to say, the hillock of Mars, because there at first, Mars having killed Halirrhothius, Neptune's son, being summoned as guilty of death, answered his charge, as saith Pausanias; or because it was consecrated to Mars, that Mars's temple should be there, as Saturn's, Pan's, Neptune's, and Mercury's were in the other four. The judgments instituted by Cecrops the first king of Athens, about weighty crimes and causes, were exercised in Areo-Pagus by the judges. Hence Hesychius: "Areo-Pagus at Athens is a tribunal in its castle." The castle in Athens was called by its proper name, Acropolis and Polis, as the most learned Thomas de Pinedo hath observed. Juvenal[1] calls its tribunal, Curia Martis. Upon which place Thomas Farnabius says, that the judges of that

[1] Sat. ix. ver. 100.

court were used to give their sentence without opening their mouth, in writing some letters or characters. See Pers. Sat. iv. 13. It is called Areo-Pagus, from Ἄρης, "Mars," and πάγος, "a rock," "a hillock;" for Mars being here accused of murder before twelve gods, was absolved by six sentences. The judges of this court were upright and uncorrupt; whence these sayings, "More severe than an Areopagite; and more silent than an Areopagite." Cicero:[1] "The affairs of Rome stand thus: nothing more severe, nothing more constant, nothing more strong than the senate, which is like Areopagus of Athens."

*May we know.* As much as to say, Go on now; if you please, declare unto us this new doctrine which you preach.

20. *Strange,* &c. As much as to say, for you preach doctrines unheard of by us till now, the which we have a great desire to know fully.

21. *Athenians.* That is, the citizens born in Athens.

*And strangers.* That is, such as from other nations had come to Athens, which was famous for arts, and for its harbour, and resided there, and also conformed themselves to the customs of the natives.

*Spent their time in nothing else,* &c. That is, they spent their time in searching after and spreading new rumours. In Thucydides,[2] Cleon charges the Athenians that they are always slaves to unaccustomed things, but despisers of the accustomed. The like is to be found in Demosthenes.

*Some new thing.* The Greek here useth the comparative for the positive. So also Plato and Demosthenes use it.

22. *Then Paul stood in the midst of Mars' hill and said.* As much as to say, When Paul stood in the midst of that famous place called Mars hill, filled with the concourse of men, with a steadfast countenance thus he spake to them.

*Ye men of Athens.* So their own orators, such as Demosthenes and Æschines, use to call them.

*I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious.* Erasmus hath noted that in this discourse Paul showed admirable policy and prudence. Whose words seeing they greatly illustrate this place, we shall not think it a trouble to insert them. "The apostle," saith he, "preaching the gospel at Athens had to do with men of diverse opinions; here were the Epicureans, that deny that there are any gods, or deny that they take any care of human concerns:

[1] Ad Attic. Epist. lib. i. cap. 14. [2] Lib. iii.

and the Stoics, unprofitable hearers of gospel grace; for that they make their own wise man equal with the gods, and place man's chief good in his own strength. The rest of the multitude, in miserable blindness, worshipped all kinds of demons for the true God. How doth he temper his speech at such a theatre? Does he begin to execrate their crime of idolatry? Does he call the gods of the Athenians, wood or stone, or which is worse than these, wicked spirits, hateful to God and enemies to all human kind? Does he upbraid them with their wicked crimes, by which they were given over to a reprobate sense, as he twists it in, in his Epistle to the Romans? Nowise, for it was not as yet expedient, but very moderately saith, that he understood by their images and monuments, that the Athenians were altogether given to superstition. The word superstition is smoother then idolatry, and this same he mitigates by the comparative, too superstitious: and this again he lessens by adding 'as if;' what means this civility of the apostles? Whither does he look, what does he catch at, did he fear the Athenians? Not at all, but it is their gain that he designs and follows; he knew the Athenians, as the other nations, to have been given to the worshipping of images, even before he came to Athens. But that he might not seem to have brought with him a bad report of the Athenians, or to be inquisitive in another commonwealth, he saith that he perceived their superstition, by the images set up in public, and that not designedly, but passing by accidentally. Neither does he call them idols or monuments of impiety, but in a smoother term σεβάσματα, which also is taken in a good meaning: and it was designedly that he said that he saw an altar with that inscription: 'To the unknown God.' What did he do with this policy? that he might make use of their readiness to hear, if he would not seem to be the author of new gods, which by the Athenians was punished with death, but he would preach that which they long ago, though ignorantly worshipped. Now consider with what words he preacheth the unknown God: he does not say, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, as Peter did speaking to the Jews; but with a discourse so tempered that he might with patience be heard even by ethnics; *God that made the world and all things therein.* Paul adds, *Seeing that he is Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands; neither is he worshipped with men's hands as though he needed anything, seeing he giveth to all life and breath, and all things.* Hitherto hath he said nothing that may not be suffered, neither do you hear the

testimonies of the prophets here, which Peter made use of to the Jews; but he produceth the testimony of Aratus, "for we are his offspring," not naming him indeed, but what was more fit to persuade them, "As," saith he, "certain also of your own poets have said." Though I suspect the word poets hath been added by later authors: for this reason, that the most ancient author Irenæus, citing this place does not add poets, nor yet Augustine. Now observe with what prudence he accommodates this testimony of Aratus to his purpose: if God be not far from every one of us, by whose favour we live and breathe, he is not then visible or corporeal, or perceptible by any sense, far less then our souls are, seeing he is as it were the soul of our soul. Then, if we be his children, it becomes us not, being children, to have low thoughts of so great a Father: for it is certain the soul is the far nobler part of man, without which the body is nothing: but the body of man is better by far than images of wood, stone, brass, silver, gold, in which there is no sense of any thing, nor motion, neither were they made by God, but by the tradesman; therefore they who worship images, they have that for a god which is viler than the basest part of man. Ye see with how much caution, and with how much temperance, he demonstrates the worshipping of images not to be religion, but superstition. Certainly here was room to be incensed at the blindness of the Athenians, who having learned these things from their authors, yet would worship dead and dumb things instead of God. Yet neither here doth he speak any sharp word: he refers the madness of former ages to the times, and God's winking at them, that he might excuse what had been done heretofore, by the ignorance in which God suffered men to be blinded for a time; only that they might now repent at the shining light of the gospel. Neither does he properly here direct his discourse to the Athenians, but speaks in general that he might the less offend. "That all men," saith he, "might every where repent;" he showeth that a pardon for what was past was ready for such as would betake themselves to better; otherwise that severe judgment was near to such as would despise so great a favour from God. Neither doth he speak thus, We declare to you that God's judgment is at hand, and that they ought to flee to repentance; but God, declares. No mention is made as yet of Christ, of whom they had no knowledge. Now a natural way of teaching begins with known things. Here observe, Paul who in his Epistles with so loud a trumpet personated the majesty of Christ, how sparingly

he touches him. No mention of the divine nature; also as to the cross which was foolishness to the nations, silence. He calls him only a man, whom God hath set out in this world, that the truth being by him cleared, the penitent should be freely pardoned, and the unbelieving being now inexcusable should be justly punished. Neither does he adduce the testimonies of the prophets here; but only with one argument proves what he said, because God raised him from the dead. Only at the mentioning of the resurrection some mocked, others being more modest, said, We will hear thee again of this matter. He who desireth to be more fully taught, hath profited in some measure. Here also it seems the apostle's discourse was interrupted, his auditors leaving him, neither would he press them any further: 'But departed from among them,' saith Luke, waiting a more fit occasion. Also this same happened by Paul's wisdom, that he was neither misused, nor railed at, nor hurt by any seizing upon him, but departed safe; but not without gain. Them who cleaved to him he more fully instructed, among which were Dionysius, and a certain woman named Damaris, and others with them. Hence it appears how great force a discourse tempered with prudent meekness hath."

*Superstitious.* The Greek hath it "too superstitious." "They are called superstitious," saith Lactantius,[1] "who worship the surviving memory of the deceased, or who, surviving their parents, honour their images as household gods. For they called them superstitious who assumed to themselves new rites, that they might, instead of gods, honour the dead, whom they thought were from men received into heaven: but them who worshipped the public and ancient gods, they called religious." Virg. Æn. viii. ver. 187.

*Foolish superstition, which knoweth not the ancient gods.* "But," saith Lactantius further, "seeing we find also the old gods, in the same manner consecrated after death, they are therefore superstitious who worship many and false gods. But we are religious, who supplicate one and the true God." Servius upon the forecited [place] out of Virgil,[2] Evander's words to Æneas: "Superstition," saith he, "is a foolish and superfluous fear, or it is denominated from little old women, who surviving many, dote for age, and become fools." Or, according to Lucretius, superstition is a vain and superfluous fear of divine and heavenly things which are above us.

[1] Instit. lib. iv. cap. 28. [2] Æneid. viii.

23. *Your devotions.* The word in the Greek signifieth "those deities which are worshipped."

*I found an altar.* The word βωμὸς in the Greek bible and fathers, and *ara* in the vulgate Latin translation of the bible and the Latin fathers, is used only of an altar erected for the honour of idols, seeing the altar erected under the Old Testament for worshipping the true God is constantly and always called θυσιαστήριον in Greek, and *altare* in Latin. One table was wont to be placed in the midst of every meeting place of the primitive Christians, upon which every one laid what he bestowed for the use of the poor, as we are informed by Theodoret;[1] and because alms are noted with the name of sacrifice, that table upon which they were laid was called by the ancient Christians an altar. Heb. xiii. 10. This table also was appointed for the use of the Lord's supper, and hence it came to pass, that by little and little, they which did partake of the bread and wine of the Lord's supper at this table, which, for the alms laid upon it, was called an altar, were said to have partaken of the altar. Of this table Paul speaks, 1 Cor. x. 18, and Athanasius, in his Epistle to Solitary Livers. This also is to be observed, that when Christians, in the time of Constantine the Great, did begin to build sumptuous churches to God, then also in place of that one wooden table, almost in every church of God, there was one of stone erected, which yet served for the same use, that the wooden table did before.

*With this inscription, To the unknown God.* The God of the Jews was by the Gentiles called *unknown*, because he had no name by which they knew him. It was not lawful commonly to pronounce the sacred name of יְהוָה, by which the Jews called him. Hence he is called by Lucan, in his second book of the Pharsalian War, the "uncertain God." By Trebellius Pollion, in the Life of Claudius, "Moses' uncertain Deity." By the Ethnics in Justin Martyr, in his Parænesis to the Greeks, "altogether hidden." By Caius Caligula in Philo,[2] "the unnamed God." And by Isaiah the prophet himself, ch. xlv. 15, *A God that hideth himself.* "As the inhabitants of Mount Carmel in Tacitus,[3] gave neither an image, nor a temple to this God, but only an altar and reverence, so also," saith Usher, "the Athenians did place their altar of piety in the middle of their town without any image, as Statius saith in the twelfth book of his Thebaids." The author of

[1] Lib. v. cap. 18. [2] Lib. De Legatione ad ipsum. [3] Hist. lib. ii. cap. 78.

the dialogue whose title is Philopater, and by some ascribed to Lucian, swears by the "unknown God," which was in Athens; and at the end of the same dialogue he saith: "We having found an unknown God at Athens, and worshipping with hands spread out to heaven, to him we will give thanks."

*Him therefore*, &c. As much as to say, Therefore that Deity which, confusedly known, ye worship, I declare to you distinctly and clearly to be God, the Maker and Governor of this worldly fabric.

24. *God*, &c. As much as to say, This true God, who created and made heaven and earth, and produced all things that are contained within the compass of heaven and earth, seeing he is Lord of this universe as of his own work, cannot be enclosed in temples made with men's hands, as the earthly kings are in the palaces wherein they dwell. See what is cited out of the Greek poet Euripides in the Latin edition of this Commentary.

*Dwelleth not in temples made with hands.* See what we have said above, ch. vii. 48. The ancient Christians called the places of their meetings, churches, conventicles, dominica, oratories, basilics, and God's houses. But they gave the name of *temple* commonly to the idols' places only, although Lactantius[1] calls the "temple of God," a building dedicated by the Christians to religious worship. St. Jerome, in his Epistle to Riparius, saith of Julian the Apostate: "That either he destroyed the basilics of the saints, or turned them to temples." And by Tertullian,[2] he is said to renounce the *temples*, who hath renounced the idols.

25. *Neither is he worshippd with men's hands, as though he needed anything.* That is, neither do religious men offer their worship to God, as it were with their hands, as if he had need of that worship, but because it is a human duty. The same is the meaning of Ps. l. 10—13.

*Seeing he.* The meaning is, Seeing he, by his free bounty, is the cause of life to all living, and supplies them with abundance and plenty of all things that nature wanteth.

*Life and breath.* That is, *the breath of life*, as is clear from Gen. ii. 7. "God," saith Grotius, "is the Father of spirits, Num. xvi. 22, that is, the author of life to all living, especially to men, as having, like God, gotten the dominion of themselves and of other things."

[1] Instit. lib. v. cap. 2. [2] De Idolat. cap. 15, and Coron. Militis, cap. 11.

26. *All nations of men.* To wit, as Lactantius[1] saith, "We are all sprung of one man whom God made."

*For to dwell on all the face of the earth.* That is, that men being multiplied and dispersed over all the regions of the earthly world, should inhabit all the parts of the habitable earth. See Gen. xi. 8. "One man," saith Lactantius in the forecited chapter, "was made by God, and by this one the whole earth was filled with mankind."

*And hath determined.* That is, having *determined* the times wherein every people were to inhabit every region, which cannot be prevented nor passed over.

27. *Seek the Lord.* As much as to say, God, by creating men, and distributing the earth to them to dwell in, proposed this end to himself, that men should seek God, who is Lord and Creator of heaven and earth, and of all things that are in them. To seek the Lord is nothing else, but by worshipping of him earnestly to seek his grace and favour, and to endeavour to be reconciled to him, as appears from these words of the Epistle to the Hebrews, ch. xi. 6, *He that cometh to God must believe that God is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.*

*If haply they might feel after him.* That is, if haply they might fix upon God, who being by his nature incorporeal, yields himself and his goodness so many ways to be felt and enjoyed, that he seems as if made bodily in aspectable things, to make himself, in some measure, known even by feeling.

*And find him.* That is, and seeking after him, find him. "To seek after God," saith Curcellæus,[2] "in his Dissertation of the Necessity of the Knowledge of Christ, "is the same as to give him due worship and honour. Witness that of the holy writer, *that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him,* Heb. xi. 6. And to find him is to be partaker of his favour, as the prophet showeth when he saith, *Seek ye the Lord, while he may be found; call upon him while he is near,* Isa. lv. 6.

*Though he be not far from every one of us.* As much as to say, though he be so near us with his benefits, that he does demonstrate that he is easily found, if we shift not the pains of seeking after him.

28. *For in him we live, and move, and have our being.* This phrase, *in him,* is an Hebraism, signifying no more than by him. As when the Pharisees charged Christ that *by the prince of devils*

[1] Instit. lib. vi. cap. 10. [2] Numb. 19.

*he did cast out devils,* Matt. ix. 24; xii. 24. The Vulgate Latin hath it, "In the Prince." As also below, ver. 31, he is to *judge the world by that Man whom he hath appointed,* there it is also, *in that Man,* meaning our Lord Jesus Christ. The meaning then is, by God's power we are created, and being created, are preserved, nourished, sustained, and enjoy what is sufficient both for necessity of life and pleasure.

*As certain also of your own poets have said.* He mentions many of them, because, in Homer, Hesiod, Menander, Callimachus, Pindar, are some things which make to this purpose. But Paul being a Cilician, cites only the words of his own countryman, Aratus the Cilician.

*For we are all his offspring.* This half verse is read in Aratus, his Phenomena, which were translated out of Greek into Latin by Cicero, while he was but very young, as he saith himself;[1] and since, by Sextus Ruffus Avienus. It is agreed upon among the learned, that Aratus being a man ignorant of astrology, did speak most excellently and ornately of the heavens and stars, as Cicero saith.[2] This Aratus, surnamed Solensis, was born at Solis, a city of Sicily, which being afterward repaired by Pompey the Great, was called Pompeiopolis; he was famous in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and lived splendidly in the palace of Antigonus Gonata, the son of Demetrius Poliorceta, who took the government of the Macedonians, about the hundred and fifty-fifth olympiad. Suidas makes a catalogue of his works, among which his Phenomena are the most esteemed, whose admirable beginning Virgil hath imitated in his third Eclogue, ver. 60. "What," saith Grotius, "was said by Aratus of Jupiter, Paul adapteth to the true God, because by Jupiter, the wisest among the Greeks did understand the most high God. Thus Aristæus, in Josephus, says, That the Jews worship the God of the universe, whom the Greeks call Jupiter."

29. *Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God.* That is, forasmuch as we are the children of God. "Paul," saith Grotius, "accommodates himself to a poetical way of speaking, meaning that we chiefly resemble God in our mind, and for this likeness are called his children. But in the New Testament we are called his children upon a more weighty account, because we imitate his goodness; again, we shall at our resurrection be otherwise his children, by partaking of his blessedness."

[1] De Natur. Deor. lib. ii. [2] De Orat. lib. i.

*We ought not to think,* &c. As much as to say, None that is in his right mind should assimilate dead things, to wit, silver, gold, and stone, to God, though graven with the best art that man can invent. For silver, gold, and stone, are things far below man, and art cannot but be more ignoble than the artificer. See Isaiah xl. 18; xliv. 13; xlvi. 5. "Moreover," saith Beza, "we must know that by the Greek word χαράγματος is understood not only graven work, but also by a synecdoche, a thing painted, and lastly, all such things as men use to devise for worshipping or representing God."

30. *And the times,* &c. As much as to say, But God, whose purest honour is in a worship that is far from the senses, seeing he hath hitherto passed by those sins which in those former times the idolatrous nations, through gross ignorance, committed, now the darkness of former times being driven away, does, by the preaching of the gospel, strictly charge all men everywhere, without difference or choice of nations, to amend their former sins and mistakes, and lead a new life according to the rule of God's commandments.

*Winked.* The word in the Greek signifies "dissembled." "By the verb ὑπεριδὼν," saith Beza, "is meant him who makes as if he slightly saw the outside of things." This Horace calls somewhere *pervidere,* "that is," says the same Beza, "if I am not mistaken, *per transennam et leviter videre,* 'see by the bye and slightly.'" Now God is said to have despised, overlooked, and winked at those times of ignorance; either because he composed not a form of religion for the nations, as he did for the Israelites, by which they were to be bounded in his service and worship; neither sent he any prophets to them to drive away their darkness, but suffered them to walk in their own ways, as is said above, ch. xiv. 16, or because he did not then severely punish them, but patiently suffered them. See Rom. iii. 25.

31. *Because.* A reason is given why men ought to amend themselves.

*He hath appointed a day.* That is, he hath limited a certain day, though he hath kept from our knowledge when it is to come.

*In the which he will judge the world.* That is, the inhabitants of this world.

*In righteousness.* That is, justly, according to every one's works, without respect of persons. Rom. ii. 6—8.

*By that Man whom he hath ordained.* That is, by that Man

whom he hath constituted judge of the quick and dead. See above, ch. x. 42.

*Whereof he hath given assurance unto all men.* That is, hath by a sure argument, and worthy of credit, proved that Christ was to be judge of the world, when he raised him from the dead. "God," saith Grotius, "by raising Christ again from the dead, gave the greatest testimony to his doctrine that he could give, but this also was in this doctrine that he was to be judge of mankind. Matt. xxv. 31, *et seq.*; John v. 25.

32. *And when they heard of the resurrection of the dead.* That is, that a man was raised from the dead.

*Some mocked.* As they use to do, who give no faith to what is spoken. An ethnic in Minutius deriding the Christians: "They build," saith he, "and knit together old wives' fable, they say they are to rise up again, after they are dead and in ashes, and I know not with what boldness they believe one another, their own lies; you might think they are risen again already." Neither did the Platonicians, who thought that bodies were given to souls for punishment, believe the resurrection of bodies; nor yet the Epicureans, nor the Peripateticians, who taught that God had no care of human things; these more openly, but those in their secret discourses.

*And others.* Who thought it not repugnant, as man might at first be made by God, so also he might again be renewed by him.

*Said, We will hear thee again of this matter.* To wit, when we are at leisure.

33. *So Paul departed from among them.* As much as to say, Paul, being put off to another day, went from Areopagus.

34. *Howbeit certain men.* Of them who heard Paul preach in Areopagus.

*Cleave unto him.* "That is," saith Grotius, "having insinuated themselves more into his acquaintance." So κολλᾶσθαι is taken above, ch. v. 13, ix. 26, x. 28.

*Dionysius the Areopagite.* That is, one of those senators of Areopagus, who judged with such integrity of capital matters, that they judged only in the night, not in the day time; that so they might take notice of what was spoken, not of who spoke. Eusebius saith,[1] that this Dionysius the Areopagite was appointed the first bishop of the church of Athens, as another Dionysius,

[1] Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 4.

bishop of the church of Corinth, a most ancient writer, witnesseth.

*And a woman named Damaris.* This woman was the wife of Dionysius the Areopagite, if we believe Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Augustine.

*And others.* Less famous Athenians.

*With them.* To wit, with Dionysius and Damaris.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

1. *After these things.* Paul having sent Silas and Timotheus, who came to him from Beræa, back again to Macedonia, stayed alone at Athens, and himself also again and again intended to go to Thessalonica, but could not accomplish it, being hindered by Satan; therefore he sent Timothy thither to comfort and strengthen the Thessalonians in the faith, 1 Thess. ii. 17, 18; iii. 1, 2. In the meanwhile, having left Athens, he came to Corinth, which the most eloquent of the Romans in his oration for the Manilian law, calls the light "of all Greece;" it was a city of Achaia or Peloponnesus, for Peloponnesus was contained in Achaia, situated in the isthmus, which took its name from it; the Greeks call any narrowness of ground, betwixt a peninsula and the main land, an isthmus, but it was by way of excellency said of the Corinthian or Peloponessian, wherein plays were celebrated to Neptune. This city of Corinth was famous for two ports, of which the one was called the Port of Lechea, the other of Cenchrea; the one was used to traffic with the Europeans, the other to negotiate with the Asians; the former lay near the Ionian, the other by the Ægean Sea; therefore it was called by the Latins *bimaris*, by the Greeks, ἀμφιθαλάσσιος; its castle was called Acrocorinthus. For as Strabo reports,[2] it was a hill so encompassed with walls, that it was as useful as a castle. There was Pyrene, a fountain sacred to the muses. This same city was formerly called Ephyra. Authors do not agree about its builder, though Plutarch in his book of the Malice of Herodotus, calls it the city of Glaucus, as if it had been built by Glaucus, of whom mention is made by Stephanus;[2] having by its trading acquired great riches, it was by the father of the poets[3] surnamed "the Rich;" by Pindarus it is called "Blessed Corinth, the threshold of Neptune's Isthmus, famous for young

[1] Lib. viii. [2] In Ἔφυρα. [3] Iliad ii.

men." By its riches it became to such an excess, that hence arose that proverb, "It is not every one that may sail to Corinth." But the Corinthians were always much addicted to whores, esteeming this so far from being base, that they were admitted to their public prayers, and it was a part of their prayer, that the gods would increase their number and their income. Some also vowed to bring in more of them, as we have it from Athenæus and Ælian. There Lais exacted the tribute of her lust of all Greece, prostituting herself for ten thousand drachmas, who when she died had a tomb made famous with the verses of all the poets. And hence it is that "to play the Corinthian," is commonly among the Greeks "to whore." And a Corinthian maid, with Plato, is one that prostituteth herself. The scholiast of St. Gregory of Nazianzen, upon his first oration against Julian, notes that there were always some most famous at Corinth. Ælian also saith, that the Corinthians were drunkards. Pride useth to accompany riches, which Plutarch observes was very great at Corinth. It was always their language, "the Corinthian born of Jupiter will not suffer these things." This their pride, when it had puffed them up even to contemn the Roman name, brought ruin upon them, L. Mummus having vanquished them. But the city being repaired by Julius Cæsar, as Strabo and Diodorus Siculus in his Fragments, saith, in a very short time, as their riches returned to them, so did their vices. The studies of philosophy of old flourished there, Periander, prince of the city, being reckoned among the seven wise men of Greece, and Diogenes, the great derider of the opinions received among men, being much conversant there.

2. *And found a certain Jew.* To wit, by birth, but now a Christian by religion, as is clear from what follows.

*Born in Pontus.* A region of Asia near the sea, which they call the Euxine Sea.

*Lately come.* To wit, to Corinth.

*From Italy.* Italy is a most famous region in Europe; it hath the name of Italus a certain king of the Arcadians, as saith Thucydides,[1] being formerly called Ausonia, Ausonis, Hesperia, Saturnia, Latium, and Œnotria. It hath for its bounds upon the north the Alps, upon the east Arsya, a river of Istria and the Upper Sea, which also is called the Adriatic Sea, upon the south the Lower Sea or the Tyrrhenian and Tuscan Sea, upon the east again the Alps, even to the Mediterranean Sea. Italy, saith

[1] Lib. vi.

C. Julius Solinus,[1] "was spoken of with so much care by all, especially by Cato, that now nothing can he found which the diligence of ancient authors did not take before, having so large a subject for praising its excellent ground, while the most excellent writers consider the wholesomeness of its places, the temperateness of its air, the fruitfulness of its ground, the warmness of its hillocks, the thickness of its woods, harmless forests, the increase of its vines and olives, its folds, herds, so many rivers, so great lakes, the banks of violets bearing twice a year, and among other things the Mount Vesuvius, which burneth and casteth out flame, Baias with its warm fountains, so frequent colonies, the continual beauty of new cities, so splendid ornament of ancient towns, which were first built by the aborigines, the Aurunci, Pelasgians, Arcadians, Sicilians, and afterwards by the strangers of Greece, and at last by the Roman conquerors." "To all these advantages of Italy is opposed the crime of debauchery with males," saith Thomas de Pinedo, in his notes upon Stephanus de Urbibus. Nicolaus Leonicus saith,[2] "that the Italians, by the long warlike expeditions, forced of necessity, were the first that abused males. But I think this vice had its rise from the Greeks, seeing that Herodotus saith,[3] that the Persians, being taught by the Grecians, were given to love boys; from them its probable this vice hath crept in among other nations, though vices are also learned without a master."

*With his wife Priscilla.* This eminently pious woman, and her husband Aquila born in Pontus, are mentioned with commendation, Rom. xvi. 3; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; see also 2 Tim. iv. 19.

*Because that Claudius had commanded.* The fifth emperor of the Romans, a doltish man, who was altogether governed by his wives, and the servants he had made free.

*All the Jews to depart from Rome.* Under Jews were also comprehended Christians born of Jews. "The Jews," saith Suetonius,[4] "making daily tumults, Chrestus stirring them up, were by Claudius expelled out of Rome." "If I mistake not," saith Bishop Usher, "Suetonius only makes mention of this Chrestus; for that here he meant Christ our Lord, from whom he elsewhere names the Christians, I cannot as yet persuade myself." From the latter part of this book of the Acts of the Apostles we may gather, that this edict of Claudius was not long observed at Rome, which perhaps was the reason why Josephus did not mention it.

[1] Cap. 8. [2] De Var. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 25. [3] Lib. i. cap. 135. [4] In Claud. cap. 25.

*From Rome.* The most famous city of Italy was called by the Greeks Ῥώμη (which signifies the same as *Valentia* in Latin), by the Latins *Roma*. Pliny saith,[1] it had also another name, which by the secrets of the ceremonies, was esteemed a crime to speak. The same says Servius. Which name a certain tribune of the people having ventured to say, was put to death, as Solinus saith, or was hanged, as saith Servius upon the first of Virgil's Georgics, ver. 499.[2] This tribune's name was Valerius Soranus, about whom, besides the cited authors, you may see Plutarch, Quæst. Problem. 60.

3. *For by occupation they were tent makers.* That is, they exercised the trade of making tents or shades; in which men not only encamped in time of war, but also at home in time of peace did live in the summer time. These they made either of linen, or of skins sewed together. The Syriac renders the Greek word "canopy makers." Vatabulus and others, "arras makers." See what we have noted upon ch. ix. 43.

4. *And he reasoned,* &c. As much as to say, Yet Paul did debate about the Christian religion in the place which was consecrated for the meetings of the Jews every seventh day, in which the Jews did chiefly and of purpose apply their mind to religion, and brought over to his judgment both Jews and Greeks, or Gentiles, who went to the synagogue of the Jews either through curiosity, or to search into the truth. Also, Suetonius writes,[3] that the Greeks used to dispute upon the sabbath day.

*Interposing the name of Jesus.* These words are not in the Greek text, nor in the Syriac translation.

5. *And when Silas and Timotheus were come from Macedonia.* Whom, to wit, Paul, as we said above, ver. 1, had sent from Athens.

*Paul was pressed in the Spirit.* That is, being by the inspiration of the Spirit as it were, suddenly caught, he preached with great zeal. See below, ch. xx. 22.

*Testifying,* &c. That is, firmly averring that Jesus was that Christ or Messiah promised in the law and in the prophets.

6. *And when they opposed themselves,* &c. As much as to say, But when the obstinate Jews resisted Paul while he preached, and blasphemed Christ whom he preached, that he might testify that he had nothing in common with them, he did in their presence shake

[1] Nat. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 5. [2] Ad Æneid. lib. i. ver. 281, cap. 1.
[3] In Tiberio, cap. 32.

his raiment, that there might not so much as any of the dust stick to him, and said unto them, *Your blood*, &c.

*Shook his raiment.* That is, his upper garment. So Matt. xxvi. 65, *The chief priest rent his clothes*, that is, his upper garment. Mark v. 30, *Who touched my clothes?* that is, my garment, as it is a little before in the singular number. John xiii. 4, *Christ riseth from supper and laid aside his garments*, that is, his garment, or upper cloak. *When the soldiers had crucified Jesus, they took his garments and made four parts*, John xix. 23, where is meant one cloak, from which the coat is presently distinguished, as it is demonstrated in Gerard's Evangelical Harmony in the History of the Passion.

*Blood*, &c. "This," saith Beza, "is a kind of obtestation, as if Paul should say, I see you run into your own destruction, ch. xiii. 40, therefore I take God to witness before you, that not I but yourselves are the cause of your own ruin. So speaketh David, 2 Sam. i. 16. For by blood is meant sometimes slaughter, sometimes all kind of destruction, the cause of which, according to the manner of the Hebrews, he is said to be, upon whose head, that I may speak so, it is laid, that is to whom it is imputed, as if he had shed his own blood, that is, killed himself, whence that horrible outcry of the Jews, *His blood be on us and on our children*, Matt. xxvii. 25.

*Henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles.* As much as to say, From this time, because ye repel the grace of God offered to you, I will turn aside from you to the Gentiles. See above, ch. xiii. 46.

7. *And he departed thence.* To wit, from the synagogue.

*Into a certain man's house named Justus.* The Syriac and Arabic read only Titus. The vulgar Greek copies have Justus only, but some Greek copies have both, Titus Justus, as also the Vulgate Latin interpreter.

*One that worshipped God.* That is, who of an ethnic was made a proselyte to the Jewish religion. See above, chap. xvi. 14, and xvii. 4.

8. *Believed on the Lord.* That is, by Paul's preaching he was persuaded that Jesus was the Messiah, the Redeemer of the world promised in the law and in the prophets.

*With all his house.* That is, with all in his family that were capable of faith. The like phrase is in John iv. 5.

*And many of the Corinthians.* As much as to say, But a

great many more of the ethnics, who dwelt in Corinth, than of the Jews.

*Hearing.* To wit, Paul preaching.

*Believed.* That is, received the faith of Christ.

*And were baptized.* Crispus the ruler of the synagogue, and Gaius whom Paul calls his host, Rom. xvi. 23, were indeed baptized with Paul's own hands, as he himself witnesseth, 1 Cor. i. 14; but the rest by Paul's companions and helpers, Timothy and Silas, that by a holy dipping into the water, they might openly before the world profess and declare their faith, according to Christ's prescript, Mark xvi. 16, *Whosoever believeth and is baptized shall be saved.* Upon which place of Mark, the well-learned Paulus Columesius of Rochelle, in his Sacred Observations, printed A.D. 1679, and dedicated to the Right Honourable Henry Compton Lord Bishop of London, formerly my greatest and most liberal benefactor: "Hence," saith he, "you may not undeservedly observe that only the adult are capable of baptism. That the ancients were of this judgment, Walefridus Strabo,[1] Ludovicus Vives, Erasmus in a certain epistle, which Paulus Merula published with others in the year 1607;[2] Grotius in his epistles to several Frenchmen;[3] Salamasius in his book of Transubstantiation; and Joannes Baptista Thiers in his most useful book concerning the diminishing of festival days,[4] do plainly confess. With these ancients Berengarius, that great man, may be reckoned, whom George Cassander,[5] who was most skilful in those things, in the preface to his book concerning pædo-baptism, and the most worthy professor and doctor in law of the Royal University of Angiers, Francis de Roy, in Berengarius's Life, report to have opposed pædo-baptism. The Albigenses did exactly follow Berengarius; for Joannes Chassanion, a French divine, in the History of the Albigenses, reports out of the History of Triers,[6] which Dominus Lucas Dachery, a Benedictine monk, a man who daily deserves greatly at the commonwealth of learning, did three years ago insert in the twelfth tome of his Spicilegium. The place cited by Chassanion occurs, p. 243. 'There were at that time in Ivodium, which belongs to the diocese of Triers, heretics who denied that the substance of the bread and wine, which is consecrated by the priests upon the altar, did really change into the body and blood of Christ, and

[1] Lib. De Reb. Eccles. cap. 26. [2] Ad Aug. De Civ. Dei, lib. i. cap. 27.
[3] Page 418, edit. secundæ, as also Matt. xix. 14. [4] Page 494.
[5] Page 264. [6] Lib. i. cap. 6.

they said that the sacrament of baptism does not profit infants to their salvation.'" Thus far our countryman Colmesius, a man of vast learning. See what is observed above, ch. ii. 41; viii. 12; and xxxvii.

9. *Then spake the Lord.* That is, Jesus Christ, to whom all power is given in heaven and earth, Matt. xxviii. 18.

*In the night by a vision.* That is, in a night vision. See above what I have noted upon these words, *they shall dream dreams*, ch. ii. 17.

*Be not afraid.* As much as to say, Let not the fear of being disturbed fright you from preaching the Gospel here.

10. *I am with thee.* According to my promise, Matt. xxviii. 20. See what we have noted there.

*And no man*, &c. As much as to say, Neither will I suffer thee to be wronged or hurt by any of thine enemies.

*For*, &c. As much as to say, I would not have you cease from preaching the gospel in this luxurious city, because there are many in it, besides those already converted, who are yet to be converted by thy preaching and reckoned with my people and my sheep. As Christ calls them here his people, and John x. 16, his sheep from the future, "So," saith Grotius, "those names are given from the time past, as Matt. xxi. 31. This seems to relate to the prophecy of Isaiah, liv. 15."

11. *And he continued there*, &c. As much as to say, Paul therefore being confirmed by this admonition of Christ's, spent a year and six months at Corinth, in preaching the gospel to the Corinthians.

12. *And when Gallio was the deputy of Achaia.* This Gallio was brother to L. Annæus Seneca the philosopher, Nero's master. When he was younger, he was called M. Annæus Novatus, but afterward, L. Junius Gallio having adopted him for his son, he took this name with his family. Seneca his brother wrote to this man his book of a blessed life, and he, writing to his mother, saith that he had obtained honours. "Achaia," saith Grotius, "was a proconsular province under Augustus; Tiberius adjoined it to Macedonia, and made it a Cæsarean province. But Claudius restored these provinces to the senate, that is, made them again proconsular, as witnesseth Suetonius, in Claudius, chap. xxv. and Dion, book lx." Spanhemius, in his Introduction to his Holy Geography: "Among the provinces," saith he, "of the Macedonian diocese, Achaia hath the first place in the notice of the empire, being subject to the

proconsul, while the rest were consular or presidial. Also we must understand this Achaia to be of larger extent than it is in Ptolemy, containing the ancient Greece, to wit, Ætolia, Locrus, Phocis, Bœotia, Attica, and all the bounds in which Peloponnesus extended itself. Corinth was its metropolis, being of old the richest of its cities, the common market town of all Asia and Europe, the entry, and as it were the door of Peloponnesus, situated in the middle of the isthmus. Among the other cities of this Achaia, which were famous for bishops and churches, and saluted by St. Paul in his Second Epistle to the Corinthians, next to the Corinthians that of the Athenians in Attica, for antiquity, splendour of the city, (having been enlarged with privileges by the Pompey's Antonies, Hadrians,) for the foundation of its church by St. Paul, for the conversion of Dionysius, (not to speak of Hierotheus the Areopagite, whom they say was Dionysius's master,) for the episcopacy of the same Dionysius in Eusebius, and of Publius Quadratus, &c., was deservedly among the first."

*The Jews made insurrection with one accord.* To wit, the unbelieving, of whom above, ver. 6, being stirred up partly because Paul had withdrawn some from them, of which see above, ver. 8, partly because he joined with the Jews who believed in Christ, the ethnics who believed in him though not circumcised into the same people of God.

*And brought him to the judgment.* Of Gallio's deputyship.

13. *Contrary to the law.* To wit, of Moses, according to which it is by the Romans allowed to us Jews to live in Greece.

*This fellow.* A Jew by birth.

*Persuadeth men to worship God.* Without the observation of legal ceremonies, especially circumcision. "Therefore," saith Grotius, "the Jews came to the deputy, because in Achaia they had not such a power of chastising those of their people, as they had in Judea and the neighbouring regions."

14. *And when Paul was now about to open his mouth.* That he might answer the accusation drawn up against him.

*Gallio said unto the Jews.* Paul's accusers.

*If it were a matter of wrong.* That is, if any of you had been wronged contrary to the civil laws.

*Or wicked lewdness.* That is, if a mischief were committed through a wicked design.

*Bear with you.* As much as to say, that I should patiently hear your accusation, and judge the controversy.

15. *But if it be a question of words.* That is, but if there be any debates among you about dubious expressions.

*And names.* If, to wit, that Jesus whom Paul preached should be named Messiah or not.

*And of your law.* Supply, rites.

*Look ye to it.* That is, I leave it to you, and permit that either ye compose these controversies among yourselves, or that ye dispute them with what words ye please.

*For I will be no judge in such matters.* As much as to say, For I have no mind to employ myself to take up controversies in your religion. "It belongs not," saith Grotius, "to the Roman magistrates to meddle with these things, no more than with the debates of the Epicureans and Stoics among themselves."

16. *And he drove them from the judgment-seat.* "That is," saith Grotius, "he removed them from the place of judgment, as bringing nothing which came within his cognizance.

*Then all the Greeks took.* That is, the Gentiles of the people of Achaia, who stood before the judgment-seat, and saw the Jews therefore driven out from thence with contempt, because that with trifling questions of their law they interrupted the deputy, who was taken up with other things.

*Sosthenes the chief ruler of the synagogue.* Who was either with Crispus, of whom above, ver. 8, a great while ago, among the chief rulers of the synagogue; of such it is showed above, ch. xiii. 15, that there were many in one Jewish synagogue; or that, Crispus having embraced the faith of Christ, he was substituted in his room, or that he was chief ruler of another synagogue, as Grotius saith, than that whereof Crispus was ruler; for in great cities there were many synagogues, of which each had their own chief rulers. For the same reason there were of old at Rome, Antioch, and other great cities, except Alexandria, (where, saith Epiphanius, there was always another custom,) many bishops according to the different limits of cities and assemblies of Christians. But the synod of Nice did forbid that, for the future." This Sosthenes seems to have been chief man among Paul's accusers, whom nevertheless some say to have been afterward converted to Christ, and think him to have been that Sosthenes, who with Paul wrote the first Epistle to the Corinthians. See 1 Cor. i. 1.

*Beat him before the judgment-seat.* Thinking to gratify the deputy if they should beat a man of great authority among the

Jews, who, that they might be gone the speedier, were reproachfully driven from the judgment-seat.

*And Gallio cared for none of these things.* "The deputies," as famous John Pricæus observes, "used willingly to look over such petulancies as did not directly impair the majesty of the Roman name, that the yoke might sit the softer upon the subjects; neither were reasons wanting to Gallio beyond the deputies of other provinces; he, to wit, being governor of Achaia, of that true, and as Cicero calls it, mere Greece, which affected to lay hold on images and shadows of liberty."

18. *And Paul after this tarried there yet a good while.* As much as to say, Paul tarried yet a good while at Corinth after that tumult which was made at Gallio's judgment-seat, gathering and confirming the church of Christ.

*Took his leave of the brethren.* That is, he did bid those whom he converted to Christ at Corinth, farewell.

*And sailed thence to Syria.* That is, he loosed from the port of Cenchrea, being to sail thence into Syria. Syria of old contained very many provinces, among which were Assyria, Comagena, Adiabene, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Palestine, Judea, and others. Hence it is said by Pliny,[1] to have been of old the greatest part of the earth, and distinguished by many names. Its situation is variously described by geographers, according to the number of the regions they assigned it. The ancients divided it into three Syria's: Phœnicia, Palestine, and Cælesyria. The head of this region of old was Damascus, afterward Antioch, now a city which is called Tripolis, famous for the European commerce. Its inhabitants were as well by the Romans as by the Grecians, esteemed a cowardous and vile people, so that they named their slaves Syrians. M. Tullius Cicero saith,[2] that the Syrians worshipped a fish. Hence the fearful Syrians esteem it a crime to set of this kind upon their tables, neither do they pollute their mouth with fish.[3]

*And with him Priscilla and Aquila.* To whom he went in, when he came first to Corinth, and tarrying with them occupied himself in the same trade of tent-making with them. See above ver. 2, 3.

*Having shorn his head.* Grotius refers this to Aquila, but others to Paul.

*In Cenchrea.* Cenchrea was a town of the Corinthians, having a famous port upon the Ægean sea toward the east, or upon the

[1] Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 12. [2] De Nat. Deor. lib. iii. [3] Fast. lib. ii. ver. 473.

Saronic Gulf, even as the other port Lechea was towards the west, upon the Chrissean Gulf; the distance in the midst betwixt these two ports is called Isthmus, and is five miles in length. That there was a church of the Corinthians at Cenchrea, is evident from Rom. xvi. 1. See what we said above, ver. 1. Apuleius, As. Aur. lib. 10: "I pass through Cenchrea, in which city a most noble colony of Corinthians do reside, it is washed with the Ægean and Saronic sea, where also the port being a most safe harbour for ships, is frequented with many people."

*For he had a vow.* That is, he put himself under a vow. "This vow," saith Salmasius, "cannot be meant for a religious vow, because the devoted hair was to be laid aside at Jerusalem, and to be put under the sacrifice of the peace-offering. It seems that it was a civil vow, that either Paul or Aquila took, such as the Jews did many times like it. 'I will not shave my hair before I come to that place,' which were the pilgrims' vows. So Paul made a vow to cut his hair when he came to Cenchrea. Of this kind were the vows or curses which they took upon themselves, not to take meat nor drink unless they did such a thing. As they who bound themselves under a curse neither to eat nor drink until they had killed Paul, Acts xxiii. 12." Yet there are many who understand this of the holy vow of the Nazarites, by which some bound themselves for a certain time, as others did for ever. For so long as they were bound by this vow, it was a heinous crime to shave their hair. See Numb. vi. 5. But whereas there, ver. 18, 19, the Nazarite, having fulfilled this vow, is commanded to shave the hair of his head at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and to put it in the fire which is under the sacrifice of the peace-offering, and to offer sacrifice unto God; this, while the Jews possessed the land of Canaan, ought to be done at Jerusalem where the tabernacle was seated. "But," saith Grotius, "those precepts with others concerning sacrifices, did not oblige them who lived without Jerusalem." Lastly, others refer this vow not to Paul's shaving of his head, but to his sailing into Syria. "He sailed into Syria," saith the learned Samuel Petit, "that he might keep the feast at Jerusalem, and it was that which St. Paul vowed; therefore a little after, he told the Ephesians that he behoved by all means to keep the approaching feast at Jerusalem. But why must he do that by all means? It was not for that law of Moses, that obliged all to celebrate three feasts at Jerusalem. For he tarried almost two years at Corinth, and three whole years at Ephesus, and went not

to Jerusalem to keep the feast. What therefore Paul saith in this place, that he was put to it of necessity to go to Jerusalem to the feast, he was put to it by his vow, not that he was now any more bound by the Mosaical law. But one may ask, why in the history of Paul's going to Jerusalem, are these words inserted, and having shorn his head at Cenchrea, and what was the reason why Paul did shave his head? We will easily give the reason, God willing; it is therefore to be noted what was Paul's custom among the common people, to wit, he became a Jew to the Jews, as under the law to these who were under the law, 1 Cor. ix. 20. From this usual custom we doubt not but Paul, so long as he was among the Corinthians, did make much of his hair, for among the Greeks this was a sign of a free-born man, as appears by the verse of Aristophanes which went into a proverb:

> "Besides, indeed, thou being a servant hath hair.
> Forasmuch as it belongeth to free persons to let grow their hair,"

as the ancient masters observe; but that the Jews had a contrary custom, not to cherish their hair, but to shave it to the quick, appears from the Nazarites, who for the religion of their vow, abstained thirty days from shaving their hair, therefore they who were liable by no religion of a vow to cherish their hair, they cherished it not, but were shaved again and again, or perhaps oftener, every month. Seeing therefore Paul, who let his hair grow according to the custom of the Corinthians, was going from Corinth to Jerusalem, before he would loose from the port, laid by his hair, and shaved his head to the quick, after the manner of the Jews. For he doubted not to have to do with them at Jerusalem, therefore he who resembled the Corinthians, so long as he was at Corinth, would also resemble the Jews, coming to Jerusalem their metropolis."

19. *And he came to Ephesus.* To wit, Paul with Aquila and Priscilla being gone from Corinth came to Ephesus, the metropolis of the province which is most strictly called Asia. See what we said above, ch. ii. 9.

*And left them.* To wit, Aquila and Priscilla, his companions in his journey.

*There.* At Ephesus, to wit, when he went from thence to Cesarea, below, ver. 21, 22.

*But he himself.* Paul, thinking it an occasion offered to him, to turn men to Jesus Christ.

*And reasoned with the Jews.* As his custom was, concerning the truth of the Christian religion.

20. *When they desired him.* The Jews at Ephesus, who were not displeased at his reasoning.

*To tarry longer time.* Supply "with them" out of the Greek text, that might confer with them longer about religion.

*He consented not.* To do then, what they desired, for the reason which he presently brings.

21. *But bade them farewell, saying, I must by all means keep this feast that cometh in Jerusalem.* An instance not unlike this is cut off with the like answer, Luke iv. 42, 43. But he saith that he behoved to celebrate the feast that was then coming at Jerusalem, either for his vow, as we said above, ver. 18, as was the judgment of most famous Samuel Petit, or because he had so purposed, having weighty reasons especially spiritual ones, that in such a confluence of Jews he might advance the gospel of Christ.

*I will return again unto you.* Having ended my proposed journey, which promise Paul fulfilled, below, ch. xix. 1.

*If God will.* Such a caution St. Paul hath used also elsewhere, not as it were in a proverbial way of speaking, but in piety, as may be seen, Rom. i. 10, 15, 32; 1 Cor. iv. 19, xvi. 7; Heb. vi. 3; and James puts us excellently in mind that this caution is to be used, James iv. 15.

*And he sailed from Ephesus.* Towards Syria. See above, ver. 18.

22. *And when he had landed at Cæsarea.* That is, when he came to that Cæsarea, which is situated upon the Mediterranean sea, (of which above, ch. viii. 40,) that he might from thence go to Jerusalem.

*And gone up.* Supply "to Jerusalem," otherwise it does not appear from what follows, when he performed that journey to Jerusalem, to that approaching feast. That verb, to *go up*, is frequently used of Judea, and especially of its metropolis Jerusalem, which in respect of the maritime places are seated higher, and also of the temple, as Matt. xx. 17; Luke ii. 4; xvii. 10, 31; xix. 28; John ii. 13; v. 1; vii. 8, 10; xi. 55; above, ch. xi. 2; below, ch. xxi. 15; xxiv. 11, and elsewhere.

*And saluted the church.* To wit, that principal church of Jerusalem, that is, Christ's disciples who lived at Jerusalem.

*He went down to Antioch.* Of Syria. It is not probable that Paul, having departed from Cæsarea, should pass Jerusalem, which was nearer to Cæsarea, to go to Antioch of Syria.

23. *And after he had spent some time there.* That is, when he had tarried some time at Antioch.

*He departed.* From Antioch to visit other churches.

*And went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia, in order.* In which he had been already; above, ch. xvi. 6.

*Strengthening all the disciples.* That is, confirming the Christians who lived in those places in the true faith, and in godliness, by his admonitions. Paul was so received by the Galatians, as if he had been an angel of God, or Christ himself: as he witnesseth, Gal. iv. 14. And among other things he appointed that the collection for the poor should be laid by every Lord's day, 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

24. *Apollos.* This name hath an Attic termination, and is the same with Apella, (which is a Jewish name in Horatius,) and Apelles, Rom. xvi. 10, as the learned Grotius hath observed.

*Born at Alexandria.* That is, at Alexandria in Egypt. This city was built by Alexander the Great, from whom it hath its name, and that there should nothing be wanting to its glory, they relate that its place was shewed to Alexander in a dream. For it was the ancient custom of the ethnics to refer the original of their cities and country to the gods, that they might be the more noble and happy, which things though they were very like poetical fables, yet they were esteemed as true, such was both the foolishness of the common people, and the craftiness of men. There were divers names given to the same place; for it was not only called the Egyptian Alexandria, but also Libyssa, Rhacotis, Pharus, Leontopolis, because that the womb of Olympias the mother of Alexander, for Alexander's own glory, was feigned to have been marked with the image of a lion. The Romans called it Augusta, Julia, Claudia, Domitiana, after the names of these emperors. It was called by the Greeks Ἀλεξητήρια, that is, preservative against evil, and healing. The air is so temperate in that place, that the sun is every day seen there. It was also by excellency called "the city," that so by fame it might be equal to Athens and Rome, which by an antonomasia were known by this name. Troy also is by Homer called The City without any epithet. Hence Alexander, admirer of Homer, called thus Alexandria, as Eustathius saith. It was the royal seat and metropolis of Egypt. It had the temple of Serapis, which was the most famous in the ethnic world, except the capitolium at Rome. Strabo saith,[1] it was of old the greatest fair town in the whole world, at whose port Ptolemy (some ascribe it to

[1] Lib. xvii.

Cleopatra) built a high tower, which was called Pharos, from an island of that name near Alexandria: being in the night useful for ships by its lights, whence such towers were afterwards called by that name. See above our annotations upon ch. vi. 9.

*An eloquent man.* Constantine's Lexicon, renders the Greek word λόγιος, "eloquent, prudent, learned, full of words." Hesychius turns it, "skilful in history, learned." Skilfulness in history begets prudence; and so the Ethiopic renders it here out of the Greek, "a prudent or a wise man," as famous Lud. de Dieu, has observed.

*Mighty in the scriptures.* That is, very much versed in the prophetical scriptures of the Old Testament.

25. *This man was instructed in the way of the Lord.* That is, somewhat instructed in the Christian religion. Instruction of any doctrine is wont to be called, *the way*, as may be seen above, ch. ix. 2, xiii. 10. "Because," saith Wozogenius, "by it we go any whither in a spiritual manner."

*Fervent in the spirit.* That is, burning with zeal and desire of advancing God's glory.

*He spake and taught diligently the things of the Lord.* To wit, according to the measure of knowledge with which he was indued.

*Knowing only the baptism of John.* That is, knowing no more of Christ, except so much as might be understood by the doctrine, which John the Baptist, Christ's forerunner, preached, and sealed with the symbol of baptism.

26. *And he began to speak boldly in the synagogue.* That is, more freely to utter all he knew of Christ, in the holy assembly of the Jews at Ephesus, than he used to do formerly in public assemblies.

*Whom when Aquila and Priscilla had heard.* Discoursing of Christ.

*They took him unto them.* To lodge with them.

*And expounded unto him the way of the Lord more perfectly.* That is, they taught this great man more exactly the will of God, revealed unto man by Christ.

27. *And when he was disposed.* Apollos being accurately and exquisitely instructed in the Christian religion, by Aquila a tradesman and his wife Priscilla, both lay persons bearing no office in the church.

*To pass into Achaia.* That is, to pass from Ephesus, to that region of Greece, whose metropolis was Corinth.

*The brethren.* That is, the Christians of Ephesus, having exhorted Apollos to perform quickly his generous purpose.

*The disciples.* That is, the Christians living in Achaia.

*To receive him.* That is, that they might entertain him kindly, hospitably, and brotherly.

*Who.* Apollos.

*When he was come.* Into Achaia.

*Helped them much.* That is, was very helpful to them of the Achaians and Corinthians, who were by Paul's means converted to believe in Jesus Christ, above, ver. 4, 7, 8, 11; whom being planted by Paul, Apollos watered, as Paul wrote, 1 Cor. iii. 6: that is, they being by Paul instructed and informed, were confirmed and advanced more in the faith by Apollos. "And that seems also to be declared," saith Wolzogenius, "that when those Christian Corinthians did with great pains contest with the obstinate Jews, Apollos helped them greatly in confuting them."

*Who had believed through grace.* The Syrian interpreter refers the word, *through grace*, to the verb *helped*, that the sense may be that those Achaian Christians, were not a little helped by Apollos, through the great gifts which God had bestowed upon him, which are above mentioned, ver. 24, 25, and that God, by his favour and blessing, gave success to his labours. It may also be put with the verb *believed*, that the meaning may be, that those Achaians were indued with faith by the free favour of God.

28. *Mightily*, &c. As much as to say, He with strong arguments confuted and convinced the errors of the Jews, demonstrating not by any uncertain tradition, but by the most firm oracles and testimonies of the scriptures of the Old Testament, that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah promised of old by God, who should save his people from their sins. "From such things," saith Wolzogenius, "as are here written of this Apollos, that he was an eloquent man, and fervent in spirit, and mighty in the scriptures of the old covenant, and that he valiantly confuted the Jews; it seems a conjecture may be taken, that he is the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, being written so eloquently and clearly, beyond the rest of the writings of the New Testament, and with fervour of spirit, also frequent allegation and accommodation of the holy scriptures of the Old Testament, that those Hebrews or Jews, who wavered in the Christian religion, might be strongly confirmed."

## CHAPTER XIX.

1. *While Apollos was at Corinth.* Watering Christianity there, which was planted by Paul, and diligently promoting the work of the Lord.

*Having passed through the upper coasts.* That is, Galatia and Phrygia, Mediterranean countries of the Lesser Asia, and more northerly situated.

*Came to Ephesus.* From whence he departed and promised he should return again; above, ch. xviii. 19, 21, 23.

*And finding certain disciples.* That is, Jews believing in Christ, who came from other countries to Ephesus.

2. *Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?* As much as to say, Whether or no, since ye embraced the faith of Christ, were these great gifts of the Holy Ghost poured out upon you, which according to Joel's prophecy, did everywhere begin to be much used, and set by in the church of Christ?

*We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost.* That is, we have not so much as heard it reported, that those gifts of the Holy Ghost, which Joel foretold should in great measure be poured out upon believers, have already everywhere been poured. The like saying is John vii. 39: *for the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified.* That is, those illustrious gifts of the Spirit, with which the beginning of the church was to be by the Messiah indued, were not as yet fallen from heaven upon any. See what we have said above, ch. viii. 16.

3. *Unto what then were ye baptized?* As much as to say, With what doctrine were ye instructed, when ye were initiated by baptism? "It was not doubted," saith Wolzogenius, "but they were baptized in water who were called disciples, but Paul asked in the profession of what doctrine?"

*Unto John's baptism.* That is, unto the profession of that doctrine, which John preached and signed by baptism. "The answer is most pertinent," saith Beza, "by which they meant that they in baptism, professed the doctrine proposed by John, and ratified by baptism administered to them; hence they acknowledged Christ, but very slenderly, neither having heard Christ himself nor his apostles, as is also said of Apollos a little before: so that it is no wonder that they (who as appears by their own answer, that having only heard John, they were baptized and returned to their

own country) should be ignorant of this Holy Ghost, which was not sent out into the church but since that day of Pentecost."

4. *John verily.* Famous Solomon Glassius:[1] "These adversative conjunctions, μὲν, 'verily,' 'indeed,' 'truly,' and δὲ, 'but,' do in speech mutually follow one another, and necessarily one another as mutual correlatives, Matt. iii. 11, *I indeed baptize with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me*, &c.; ch. ix. 37, *The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few.* And thus the scripture speaketh in many other places. See the Concordances of the New Testament. Hence it appears that Acts xix. 4, 5, the words are connected together, and hold out one continued discourse of Paul's, connected by these particles μὲν and δὲ. Then said Paul, John, μὲν, 'verily,' baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe on him, who should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus; Ἀκουσαντὲς δε, but those that heard this (John's report of Christ) they were baptized (by John) in the name of the Lord Jesus. The fifth verse then expresseth not Paul's act or any rebaptizing, but it follows in the sixth verse concerning Paul's act, that he laid his hands on those disciples, &c., compare ch. viii. 14—17. Bellarmine calls this explanation, however, witty: yet nowise pious nor probable. But why is it neither pious nor probable? John's baptism is mentioned in ver. 4, therefore it were superfluous to repeat it, ver. 5. This is the strength of the argument, but it is no superfluous repetition. For he first sets forth John's entire ministry in general, which consists in the baptism of repentance, which phrase includes both the administration of the sacrament itself, and the preaching of repentance. Compare Mark i. 4. Afterward he more particularly expresseth the order of his ministry, that first he inculcated faith in Christ, and then his auditors being informed of Christ, he baptized them in the name of Jesus."

*Baptized with the baptism of repentance.* That is, when he stirred up the people to repentance; to them who confessed their sins and sincere conversion and amendment of life, he was the first that administered baptism, which is the symbol of repentance. See Matt. iii. 2, 5, 6, *et seq.*

*Saying*, &c. As much as to say, When he admonished them to embrace by faith Jesus, who soon after him was happily to enter upon

[1] Gram. Sacr. Tract. 7, can. 14.

his office of preaching the Gospel, as the Messiah, or Christ, promised in the law and in the prophets.

5. *When they heard.* The Greek hath it, "But they who heard," that is, they who believed the doctrine which John preached.

*They were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus.* That is, them John initiating by baptism did dedicate unto Christ. Among others, famous Drusius observed,[1] that this verse is taken, as if they were Luke's words, which they are not. "The apostle Paul," saith he, "speaks of John's baptism, which he proves to be the same with Christ's baptism, partly by his doings, partly by his sayings, as being one that preached Christ to come, and baptized such as believed in him: and this is it which he saith, they were baptized in the name of Jesus; such as, to wit, while John preached, embraced the faith of Christ, of which number those disciples were; but because those believers had not as yet received the gifts of the Holy Ghost, therefore the apostle asks them, by whose baptism they were initiated, and when he knew the matter, laid his hands upon them, and immediately the Spirit coming down upon them they began to speak with tongues and to prophecy, even as Luke mentions in the context of this history." Moreover that John used to baptize in the name of Jesus Christ, that most ancient writer, Gregory, Bishop of Neocœsarea in Pontus, surnamed Thaumaturgus, who flourished in the year of our Lord the two hundred thirtieth and third, doth witness. He expounding these words of John to the Lord Jesus:[2] '*I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?*' he brings in John speaking thus, Matt. iii. 14: While I baptize others, I baptize them in thy name, that they may believe in thee coming with glory, but when I baptize thee whom shall I mention? In whose name shall I baptize thee? Shall I in the name of the Father? but thou hast the whole Father in thyself, and thou art wholly in the Father? Shall I in the name of the Son? but there is no other Son of God by nature besides thee. Shall I in the name of the Holy Ghost? but he is always together with thee, as con-substantial to thee, and of the same will and judgment, and of equal power and alike honour, and with thee he receives worship from all men."

6. *And when Paul had laid his hands upon them.* As both approving the doctrine preached by John, which they received by faith, and also the baptism conferred upon them, upon their confessing that doctrine.

[1] Quæst. Ebraic. lib. i. q. 8, 3.

[2] In Serm. in S. Theophania.

*The Holy Ghost came on them.* That is, the illustrious gifts of the Holy Ghost came down from heaven upon them. "Laying on of hands," saith famous Heidegger in his Historico-Theological Anatomy of the council of Trent, upon the canons of the seventh session about that one question concerning confirmation, "was freely used by the apostles, that the baptized might receive the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, and that thereby the gospel might be confirmed, Heb. ii. 3, 4, until it were so fortified and confirmed in the public knowledge of all, that none but an obstinate and impudent man could call its divinity in question. But it sufficeth us that by faith we have received the spirit of sonship. Gal. iii. 14; iv. 6." See what we have noted concerning the laying of hands above, chap. viii. 17.

*And they spake with tongues.* To wit, strange tongues, which they did not learn, as the apostles above, ch. ii. 4. And Cornelius and his fellows, ch. x. 44, 46.

*And prophesied.* Declaring at length, and with praises celebrating, the great and wonderful works of the Lord, as above, ch. ii. 11; x. 46, and perhaps foretelling things to come, which is the most proper signification of prophecy. See Luke i. 67.

7. *And all the men,* &c. Who were before baptized by John, were at that time by the laying on of Paul's hands at Ephesus, gifted with those extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, which are frequently called Holy Ghost.

8. *And he went into the synagogue.* As much as to say, but Paul himself, that he might gain the Jews, who lived at Ephesus, to Christ, went into their synagogue.

*And spake boldly for the space of three months.* That is, he published the doctrine of the gospel to the Jews without fear openly, and without turning and winding about for the space of three months.

*Disputing and persuading the things concerning the kingdom of God.* That is, by solid reasons proving that this eminent and happy kingdom is now raised up by Jesus, which God had appointed that the Messiah should erect, of which Isaiah lii. 7; Dan. ii. 44; vii. 27; even as is said above, ch. iii. 21, all the prophets prophesied. By *the kingdom of God,* "we know," saith Calvin here, "is often meant that restoring which was promised to our fathers, and which was to be fulfilled by the coming of Christ. For seeing that without Christ, there is a deformed and confused scattering of all things, the prophets did attribute this not in vain to the Messiah, who was

to come, that it should come to pass that he should establish the kingdom of God in the world. And now because this kingdom doth reduce us from our backsliding to the obedience of God, and of enemies maketh us sons, it consisteth first in the free forgiveness of sins, whereby God doth reconcile us to himself, and adopteth us to be his people; then, in newness of life, whereby he conformeth us to his own image."

9. *But when divers were hardened.* Of the Jews, to wit, being by a wilful obstinacy, disobedient to the voice of the Lord inviting them to repentance.

*And believed not.* That is, contumaciously despised the gospel preached to them by Paul.

*Speaking evil of that way.* That is, with railing words inveighing against the will of God revealed to men by Christ. See above, ch. xviii. 25, 26. Thus also above, ch. xiii. 45, the obstinate Jews did with blasphemies against Christ and the Christian religion, oppose and resist the truth preached by Paul.

*Before the multitude.* That they might discourage and withdraw such as were persuaded of the truth of the Christian religion from professing it.

*He departed from them.* Who with inflexible obstinacy did cry out against, and rail at the truth of the gospel.

*And separated the disciples.* That is, he separated the Christians, who as yet were intermixed with those reproaching railers, and assembled in the same synagogue with the Jews who obstinately resisted the gospel.

*And disputing daily.* As much as to say, And in presence of this company of Christians, separated from the refractory Jews, Paul not only upon the sabbath days or every seventh, but every day, without any intermission, declared the things relating to faith in Christ Jesus and true godliness.

*In the school of one Tyrannus.* That is, in the school of a certain sophister, whom they called Tyrannus. "Perhaps," saith Pricæus, "because that by the force of his eloquence, he thrusted down and lifted up his hearers." Some Greek copies add, "from five o'clock till ten."

10. *And this continued.* As much as to say, And Paul continued his daily exposition of the Christian religion, in Tyrannus's school.

*Which dwelt in Asia.* To wit, more strictly so called, whose chief metropolis was Ephesus, as we have noted above, upon ch. ii. 9.

*The word of the Lord Jesus.* That is, the gospel of Christ preached by Paul.

*Both Jews and Greeks.* That is, as well they which being descended of the Hebrew patriarchs, were reckoned among the people of God, as the profane nations, who before this were aliens from the people of God.

11. *Miracles,* &c. As much as to say, And that the truth of the gospel preached by Paul might become the more famous, God frequently confirmed it by miracles wrought by the same Paul.

12. *From his body were brought.* To wit, Paul's.

*The sick.* That is, weakened by sickness.

*Handkerchiefs.* Which are appointed to wipe off the snot, the sweat, and the tears.

*Or aprons.* An apron is a cloth that covers one's belly; or, as Augustine calls it, "a girding garment, wherewith handicraftsmen, of whose number Paul was, as is to be seen above, ch. xviii. 3, used to cover the fore part of their clothes." Women also are wont to use this apron, and our countrymen in France call it "tablier" and "devantier;" but the Picards call it "demiceint."

*And the diseases departed from them.* Upon what sick people, to wit, Paul being absent, his handkerchiefs or aprons were put, that such as had never seen him, might nevertheless, in his absence, reverently embrace his doctrine. Calvin saith excellently, "The papists are blockish who wrest this place unto their relics, as if Paul sent his handkerchiefs that men might worship them, and kiss them in honour of him; as in popery they worship Francis's shoes and breeches, Rose's girdle, St. Margaret's comb, and such like trifles. Yea, rather he did choose most simple things, lest any superstition might arise by reason of the price or pomp; for he resolved entirely and fully to give all the glory to Christ."

*And the evil spirits went out of them.* Out of their bodies, which by God's permission they possessed.

13. *Took upon them,* &c. That it may the more certainly appear that by those miracles just now mentioned, Paul's apostleship was confirmed from heaven, Luke teacheth now that when some did rashly take upon them to do the same things, they were grievously punished for such rashness.

*Of the vagabond Jews.* Who did run about to and fro, and did creep into all public places, being to show some great thing to the people, as jugglers or mountebanks used to do.

*Exorcists.* The gloss in the Latin manuscript, *exorcist,* "adjur-

ing." Hence in ecclesiastical writers to exorcise, is to expel diabolical force, adjuring it by divine things. Flavius Josephus[1] tells, that such adjurations were composed by Solomon, and that he in the presence of Vespasian found the copies of these adjurations, which had been used by one Eleazar. See what we have noted upon Matt. xii. 27.

*We adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth.* That, to wit, reverencing his divine person, ye remove far hence.

14. *And there were.* These juggling exorcists or adjurers.

*Seven sons.* The Greek hath "certain seven sons." So Apuleius says, "certain seven witnesses."

*Of Sceva, a Jew, and chief of the priests.* That is, who was chief of one of the twenty-four sacerdotal families, in which Aaron's posterity were distributed by David. See our literal explanation upon Matt. ii. 4. For neither is Sceva mentioned in the catalogue of the high priests, nor is it probable that so many sons of one high priest should have lived so far from Jerusalem.

*Which did so.* That is, used such adjurations by Jesus whom Paul preached.

15. *And the evil spirit answered.* By the mouth of that man whom he possessed.

*And said.* Unto Sceva's seven sons, God compelling him.

*Jesus I know.* To have the virtue to cast out devils.

*And Paul I know.* To be the great apostle of Jesus Christ, at whose prayers, that power and virtue which is proper to Christ alone, useth frequently to put forth itself above the order of nature.

*But who are ye?* That, to wit, ye dare adjure devils, by Jesus the Son of the living God, as if ye were endowed with an apostolical right to expel devils.

16. *And prevailed against them.* That is, powerfully put forth his strength, violently assaulting, tearing, and beating them with strokes.

*So that they fled out of the house.* In which either for praise or gain they endeavoured to drive away and expel the devil. Otherwise the Lord Jesus would not have him forbidden, who, Mark ix. 38, 39, did in his name cast out devils, because he did it for no evil intent, although he was not so addicted to Christ as to be his disciple.

*Naked.* That is, deprived of their clothes.

[1] Ant. viii. 2.

*And wounded.* That is, and wounded in their body.

17. *To all the Jews and Greeks.* See above, ver. 10.

*Fear fell on them,* &c. As much as to say, All of them were taken with such reverence to Christ, that they celebrated his power over unclean spirits with illustrious praise.

18. *And many that believed.* That is, that by Paul's ministry were persuaded of the truth of the Christian religion.

*Came.* To Paul and his companions.

*Confessed and showed their deeds.* There are some who interpret the Greek word here rendered *deeds,*[1] not of their sins, but of the miracles wrought by believers; but let it be a confession of sins, yet that it was made before, not after baptism, and therefore doth nowise countenance the sacramental and auricular confession of the papists. Petrus Lintrensis and Lorinus the Jesuit do confess, and prove by evident arguments, such as these are, that the series of the narration from the eleventh to the twentieth verse, doth evince this: That in the like manner those that were baptized of John, confessed their sins before they were baptized, (Matt. iii. 6,) that the doctors of the ancient church, namely, Basil, Eusebius, Augustine, Bede, and Arator, expound this text of persons not baptized; that none of the ancient divines, nay, not the Council of Trent itself, did use this place to prove the sacramental confession; that also Cajetan, Michael a Palatio, and Andreas Vega think so; lastly, that it is not probable that those newly converted Christians did, so soon after baptism, Paul with his companions being as yet present and daily preaching, return to their old sins, and among them to their magical arts, and to have gotten magical books, and read them. "Grant that confession to have been after baptism," saith most famous Heidegger,[2] "yet Cajetan will answer for us, 'that here are described some confessing their sins in general, or publicly, and that it was not a sacramental confession, but a profession of repentance for their former life.' That if they did also confess some special sins, yet they did not either mumble them over in the ear of any priest as judge, nor confess all their sins with their circumstances, but those grosser ones or curious arts, which are mentioned in the following nineteenth verse." See what we have noted upon Matt. iii. 6, about auricular confession.

19. *Many also of them which used curious arts.* That is, who applied their mind to the study of magic. So in Augustine, curious

[1] So Chrys. Hom. 41, upon the Acts. [2] Upon the Council of Trent, Sess. 14, 9, 7.

visions seem to be put for magical visions.[1] That the Ephesians were given to these damnable studies, the ancient naming "The Ephesian Letters" doth show, by which certain characters and small magical words were signified, whereby the magicians used to free those from the power of demons, who were vexed with them. Plutarch, in Alexandro, makes mention of the magicians which were at Ephesus. And about the beginning of Nero's empire, as Philostratus witnesseth in his life, Appollonius Tyanæus, a famous magician, set up a public school of magic art at Ephesus.

*Brought their books together.* In which, to wit, their curious things, or magical subtleties, were written.

*And burned them before them all.* Freely, that they might leave it witnessed in men's mind, that now being converted to Christ they willingly and heartily hated those magical curiosities. But it does not follow hence, as some think, that the books which are accounted heretical, are to be forcibly taken from their possessors, and with public censure burned. For, first, it is harder to judge of heresy and errors respecting heads of faith than of magic, which is plainly diabolical, and many a one's judgment is condemned for erroneous and false, because of divers preconceived contrary opinions, which are evidently disproved as false and erroneous. Further, there is a vast difference, in that the Ephesians of their own accord and without any violence burned those books, which they themselves acknowledged unworthy of light or reading, and that books, against the owner's will, without being convicted of their impiety, should by violence be forced from them, and cast into the fire. This they used to do who cannot find out good reasons to confute the arguments of such books.

*And they counted the price of them.* Of the books, to wit, which the Ephesians who were sincerely converted to Christ, did consume with fire.

*And found it fifty thousand pieces of silver.* The Greek hath word for word, "They found it fifty thousand myriads of silver or money." Silver is used by the Greek interpreters as in Hebrew, כֶּסֶף, for any money, because as Isidore saith, their money was first coined of silver. So in the common French tongue, *argent* signifieth any money, as *argentum* in Plautus is frequently put for any money; while in other authors of the Latin tongue, *æs* is commonly taken for any money. Therefore, ἀργύριον, "silver," when Jewish

[1] Confess. x. 42.

money is spoken of, as Matt. xxvii. 15, after the Jewish custom, denotes a shekel of silver, which was every way equal to the Athenian stater, and valued at two shillings and sixpence of the now English money. Hence Eusebius [1] transcribed that τριάχοντα στατήρας, which Matthew called τριάχοντα ἀργύρια, which are three pounds fifteen shillings sterling. But here ἀργύριον signifieth the Greek coin, and is of the value of an Attic drachma, which was the fourth part of a Jewish shekel, and of the same value with the Roman penny, and with sevenpence farthing of our English money. "For the Greeks," saith learned Brerewood, "numbered the sums of money by drachmas, as the Jews did by shekels, and the Romans by sestertios; but Ephesus, whose those pieces of money were, was a Greek city, a colony of the Athenians, as Strabo and Pausanius write." Fifty thousand Attic drachmas are equivalent to one thousand five hundred and sixty-two pounds ten shillings, English money.

20. *So mightly grew the word of God and prevailed.* That is, the gospel of Jesus Christ did daily get itself new disciples, who profited more and more in the obedience thereof. See above, ch. vi. 7; xii. 24.

21. *After these things were ended.* As much as to say, when the Christian faith had taken deeper root at Ephesus.

*Paul purposed in the spirit.* That is, Paul gave his mind to it. The spirit is put for the mind, as John xiii. 21; Rom. i. 9; 1 Cor. ii. 11; v. 5; vi. 20; vii. 34; Ephes. iv. 23; Phil. iii. 3; Col. ii. 5. Yet it is not to be doubted, but Paul did take upon him this resolution, by the instinct of the Holy Ghost, as himself witnesseth in the like matter, below, ch. xx. 22, and as at length the thing itself doth show, ch. xx. 1.

*When he had passed through Macedonia.* Wherein he planted Christianity in Philippi, Thessalonica, and Beræa; he would therefore return to see the Christian inhabitants there. Above, chap. xvi., xvii.

*And Achaia.* A region of Peloponnesus, whose metropolis was Corinth, where also Paul taught the gospel long enough. Achaia here is by some taken for the whole of Greece; the ancient Romans called all Grecians by the name of Achæi and Achivi. Also the proconsul of Achaia governed both Peloponnesus and Greece.

*To go to Jerusalem.* To visit the chief church, and to carry the

[1] Demonst. Evang. lib. iv.

alms collected in the Grecian, Macedonian, and Achaian churches. See Rom. xv. 25, 26.

*Saying.* By the impulse of the Holy Ghost.

*After I have been there.* To wit, at Jerusalem.

*I must also see Rome.* That is, go to Rome, that also in this metropolis of the world I may gain some to Christ. See Rom. i. 10, 11, 13; xv. 15, 23.

22. *So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him.* As much as to say, Having sent two of his helpers in preaching the gospel into Macedonia, whither he himself was to go.

*Timotheus.* Of whom before, ch. xvi. 1; xvii. 14, 15; xviii. 5. None liker Paul for holding, adorning, professing, teaching, and defending the Christian faith, than Timothy; hence the apostle calls him *his beloved son*, or as the Greek text hath it, "his own son in the faith," 1 Tim. i. 2, "Because," saith Chrysostom, "of his exact likeness to him in the faith," whence love ariseth. For otherwise Paul had not made, but found Timothy a believer, as is clear from 2 Tim. i. 5.

*And Erastus.* It seems to be he of whom mention is made, Rom. xvi. 23; 2 Tim. iv. 20.

*But he himself stayed in Asia for a season.* To wit, at Ephesus, as appears from what follows, which was the chief metropolis of Asia, more strictly so called.

23. *The same time.* To wit, when Paul stayed at Ephesus.

*No small stir.* That is, a great uproar.

*About the way.* That is, Because of that doctrine of Christ, which Paul preached. See above, ver. 9. So by occasion of good doctrine, evil men stir up evil tumults by which that doctrine is opposed.

24. *A silversmith.* Who works in cutting, engraving, and moulding of silver; such workmen, from the excellency of the matter in which they work, we call goldsmiths.

*Which made silver shrines for Diana.* That is, little houses of silver, wherein Diana's little images, which were commonly bought by them who visited Diana of the Ephesians, were laid up. "And, perhaps," saith Casaubon, "these little houses resembled the cunning work of the temple of Ephesus." The caskets, or little boxes in which the images of the gods or goddesses were kept, were called *ædiculæ*, "shrines." Petronius: "Moreover, I saw a big cage in a corner, in whose shrines were silver

household-gods." Apuleius:[1] "I beheld at the middle pillar, which upheld the beams of the stable, almost in the very midst, the image of the goddess Hippona, dwelling in a shrine." Pliny, speaking of the image of Venus carved by Praxiteles at Gnidos, saith,[2] "While its shrine is opened, that the image of the goddess may be seen round about, which is believed to have been made by her own help; it is equally admired on every side." See also Juvenal in his eighth Satire. Tertullian;[3] "If you furnish its temple, its altar, or its shrine, it is no matter whether you build or adorn it." Tibullus calls a shrine, *exigua ædes*, "a little house." "The wooden god stood in a little house." By Arnobius these shrines or little houses are called little cottages, conclaves, little cells, *tuguriola, conclavia, cellulæ.*

*For Diana.* The daughter of Jupiter by Latona, brought forth in the same birth with Apollo upon Mount Cynthus, situated in Delos, an island in the Ægean sea. She is said, for love of her virginity, to have shunned the company of men, and to have lived in woods hunting, contented with the company of a few virgins; she is in hell called Hecate, in the woods Diana, in heaven Luna, Phœbe, Delia, Cynthia. Labouring women invoked her by the name of Juno Lucina. She had a famous temple at Ephesus, which is said to have been one of the seven wonders of the world, whose architect was Chersiphron, as Strabo saith.[4] Pliny saith,[5] that in four hundred years time, (all Asia building it,) it was finished, and seven times repaired; but he agrees not with himself, for, book xxxvi. ch. 36, he saith it was finished by all Asia in the space of two hundred and twenty years; there also he draws the structure of it. This so sumptuous and magnificent a temple Herostratus burned, that the memory of his wickedness might spread his fame, as Solinus saith, whose words out of his forty-third chapter I will here subjoin: "The temple of Diana, the ornament of Ephesus, the building of the Amazons, so magnificent that Xerxes, when he burned all the temples of Asia, he spared this alone. But this Xerxes' clemency kept not the sacred house long from evil; for Herostratus, that the memory of his wickedness might spread his fame, did with his own hands fire this noble fabric, out of a desire, as he himself confessed, of acquiring greater fame. It is observed that the temple of Ephesus was burned the same day on which Alexander the Great was born at Pella; who, as Nepos saith, was born when

[1] Miles. lib. iii. [2] Nat. Hist. xxxvi. 5. [3] De Idol. cap. 8.
[4] Lib. 14. [5] Nat. Hist lib. xvi. cap. 40.

M. Fabius Ambustus and T. Quinctius Capitolinus were consuls, three hundred and ninety-nine years after the building of Rome. When the Ephesians rebuilded this temple for a more reverent worship, Dinocrates was the chief workman over the work; which Dinocrates, we [have] told already, did, by Alexander's orders, measure out Alexandria in Egypt." Timæus said wittily in his history, as Cicero relates,[1] "It is no wonder if Diana's temple at Ephesus was burned the same night that Alexandria was born, because that when she should be at Olympias's labour, she was from home."

*Brought no small gain to the craftsmen.* That is, to the masters of the same craft with Demetrius.

25. *Whom.* To wit, his colleagues.

*With the workmen of the like occupation.* That is, with the workmen which Demetrius with his colleagues, the masters of the craft, made use of, in working those silver shrines for Diana.

*By this craft.* That is, by the gain of this trade.

*We have our wealth.* That is, we grow rich. So riches is their goddess, and to this goddess they spread their sails under colour of Diana's sacredness.

26. *Ye see.* That is, you see what is done in your presence before your eyes.

*And hear.* What is done elsewhere.

*That not only at Ephesus.* Where we live and exercise our trade.

*But almost throughout all Asia.* More strictly so called, of which our Ephesus is chief metropolis.

*This Paul.* This wanderer.

*Hath persuaded and turned away much people.* That is, by his persuasion took off very many from worshipping their gods.

*Saying*, &c. That is, denying that there was any divine virtue in images of either gods or goddesses, which are made with hands.

27. *So that not only this our craft.* That is, our trade by which we have our gain.

*To be set at nought.* That is, become a reproach as if it were a wicked and detestable thing, to our great loss.

*But also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised.* That is, should be neglected and forsaken. Diana is called a great goddess, because that among the great and indefinite number of gods, which the Gentiles religiously worshipped, she was of

[1] De Nat. Deor. lib. ii.

the twelve chief gods, which Ennius comprehends in these two verses: —

"Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Jovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo."

*And her magnificence should be destroyed.* That is, and the very majesty of the goddess herself will be vilified.

*Whom all Asia and the world worshippeth.* Apuleius expressed this in these words, "Whose sole deity is worshipped through the whole world, though not under the same name, nor figure, neither with the same rites." This erroneous superstition and abominable idolatry, did reign so far, that it was thought by the inhabitants of the habitable world the catholic or universal religion, as popery is this day.

28. *And when they heard these things.* From Demetrius.

*They were full of wrath.* That is, the tradesmen, Demetrius's colleagues, and the workmen, were stirred up with fury.

*And cried out.* They defend not their idolatry with reasons, but with clamours, as also the papists do theirs this day.

29. *And the whole city was filled with confusion.* The whole multitude of the people running together to such crying, as above, ch. ii. 6.

*They rushed with one accord.* That is, and they run in together with force.

*Into the theatre.* Where shows, comedies, and tragedies used to be acted.

*Having caught Gaius.* This Gaius or Caius, is reckoned with the Macedonians, because although he seems to have been born in Derbe, which is a city of Lycaonia, yet he dwelt in Macedonia; below, ch. xx. 4.

*And Aristarchus.* A Thessalonian, of whom, below, ch. xx. 4; xxvii. 2; Col. iv. 10; Philemon 24.

*Men of Macedonia, Paul's companions.* As much as to say, who went from Macedonia, that they might accompany Paul, see 2 Cor. viii. 19, who wandered and travelled over divers coasts preaching the gospel.

30. *And when Paul would have entered in unto the people.* That with vehement discourse he might defend his followers.

*The disciples suffered him not.* That is, the Christians, which Paul, by the doctrine which he preached, converted to Jesus Christ at Ephesus, dissuaded his going into such a tumult of the

incensed and raging people, where he might hazard his life without doing any good.

31. *And certain of the chief of Asia.* These Asiarchæ or chief men of Asia, were men chosen by common consent of the Asiatic cities, for managing their public affairs.[1] This word is used in law books, as also "Syriacs," for so were some priests called whose office was to act stage-plays in honour of the gods, whom therefore Ruffinus in Eusebius interprets "makers of shows," as Cujacius, a learned lawyer observeth. Their office was called Asiarchia, as that of the Bithynarchs Bithynarchia, and Lyciarch Lyciarchia, they also were called presidents: also princes partly from their name, and partly from their dignity, which was more eminent and of greater honour; the same word frequently signifieth as well princes as priests. Hence at Athens the βασιλεύς, at Rome the king, managed holy things. See Selden's Marmora Arundeliana.

*Which were his friends.* Although they did not wholly assent to the doctrine of Christ, so as to join themselves to his disciples.

*That he would not adventure himself into the theatre.* Whither the raging multitude tumultuously did run together.

32. *Some therefore cried one thing, and some another.* As it useth to be in tumults.

*For the assembly was confused.* That is, a mixed multitude without any order.

33. *They drew Alexander.* That is, some drew him out to a place whence he might be heard by all.

*Alexander.* Some think this to be he of whom Paul afterwards complains that he made shipwreck of faith, 1 Tim. i. 20; 2 Tim. iv. 14; there he is called the coppersmith.

*Out of the multitude.* That is, out of the multitude of the people.

*The Jews putting him forward.* Some think this man, being a Jew, as in the following verse he is called, that therefore he was by the Jews thrust forward into the midst of the Assembly, that by pleading the common cause, he might pacify the multitude. But others that, seeing he was of a Jew become a Christian, and at that time Paul's companion, the Jews being enraged against Paul and the Christians, would expose him to the incensed multitude to be abused: and that they, though otherwise enemies to the idols of the nations, might show themselves averse from Paul and his companions, and free from those things which were objected against them. Lastly, others, that they would that he, to excuse the Jews in this matter, though in a common cause with the Christians,

[1] Strabo, lib. xiv.

should lay the whole accusation upon Paul, and the Christians his companions.

*And Alexander beckoned with his hand.* See above, ch. xii. 17; xiii. 16.

*Would have made his defence unto the people.* To take away the accusation.

34. *But when they knew that he was a Jew.* By birth, and as others also would have it, by religion.

*All with one voice cried out.* That is, all the Ephesian idolators cried out together.

*For the space of two hours.* That they might deafen such as opposed their idolatry.

*Great is Diana of the Ephesians.* See what we have said above, ver. 28.

35. *Clerk.* That is, the public notary of the city, or skilful in the law, as it were an advocate, a man of no small authority among the citizens, and as appears by his speech, both a wise man and a friend to Paul and his companions, as those Asiarchs, of whom above, ver. 31.

*Ye men of Ephesus.* So their orators used to accost them.

*What man is there,* &c. As much as to say, Ye have no reason to mutiny, seeing none calls it in question, but that the Ephesians are the wardens of the great goddess Diana, and of her image, which was not made with hands, but fell down from heaven.

*That the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper.* The Greek hath it, πόλιν νεωκόρον, "a city of ædiles," or "the adorners of the temple." It is so called because the care of sweeping and cleaning the temple was committed to its citizens, from ναὸς, "a temple," and κορέω, "to adorn, or sweep with besoms." Cicero saith of Enna, a city in Sicily, "That they seemed not to me citizens of that city, but all of them priests, all of them neighbours, all of them rulers of Ceres." Grotius addeth, that the word νεωκόρος is also used in this sense upon the marbles of Arundel, and often upon coins.

*Of the image which fell down from Jupiter.* It is common with the Greeks to put Jupiter for heaven. Hence Horace said also, *sub Jove frigido,* which is rendered, "under the cold heaven." The idolatrous priests, promoters of Diana's idols, feigned that its idol, which was possessed and worshipped in Ephesus, was not made with human hands, but that it miraculously fell from heaven, as was reported of the Trojan Palladium, or the image of Pallas.

Cicero of the image of Ceres at Enna, saith: "It was such that men thought, either they saw Ceres herself, or an image of Ceres, not made with human hand, but fallen from heaven." Pliny admires[1] that Mutianus, who was three times consul, who says: That the name of the artist, who engraved Diana's image at Ephesus, was Demonicos, seeing he said that this image was not only ancienter than Father Bacchus, but than Minerva also, whose figment they report, not being made by the hands of any artist, to have fallen from heaven. Many of the ancients doubted what matter the Ephesian idol of Diana was made of, many gave out that it was of wood, but differed about the kind of wood. But Xenophon reported it was of gold, which is made the more probable, seeing that when Diana's temple at Ephesus was burnt, that image was not consumed by the fire, neither was it ever changed, though the temple was seven times repaired.

36. *Seeing then that these things cannot be spoken against.* As much as to say, Whatever be said of images made with hands, cannot prejudice the image of Diana of the Ephesians, since it is manifest that it was made by the hands of no artist, but fallen from Jupiter.

*You ought to be quiet.* That is, to quiet the multitude.

*And to do nothing rashly.* Without full discerning and clear knowledge of the cause.

37. *For ye have brought hither these men.* To wit, Gaius or Caius, and Aristarchus, of which see above, ver. 29.

*Neither robbers of churches.* To wit, of Diana's temple, seeing they were never within it.

*Nor yet blasphemers of your goddess.* To whose image, since it was sent from heaven, its worship is beyond debate, although it were granted they are no gods, nor to be worshipped for gods, which are made with hands, as has been said, ver. 26.

38. *Wherefore if Demetrius,* &c. Most like to which, is that of Horace:—

"If any make lew'd verses againt any, there is law and judgment."

*The law is open.* That is, there are times and places appointed, in which justice is done, and controversies decided.

*And there are deputies.* There used to be one deputy in each province, but here are more mentioned, either because at divers times one succeeded another; or because that with the proconsul his vicar or lieutenant judged.

[1] Nat. Hist. lib. xvi. cap. 40.

*Let them implead one another.* To wit, Demetrius those men which ye brought hither, or they him. Quintilian:[1] "We have received magistrates and laws from our predecessors for this end, that every man may not be judge of his own wrong, and the daily complaints of mischief should refute themselves, if revenge resemble the crime."

39. *But if ye inquire any thing concerning other matters.* That is, if beside your private quarrel, ought else come in controversy.

*It shall be determined.* That is, the controversy shall be ended.

*In a lawful assembly.* That is, not in a tumultuary concourse, but in an assembly of the people lawfully called.

40. *For we are in danger*, &c. As much as to say, For it is to be feared lest we be accused of sedition for this day's tumultuary concourse, seeing there is no cause for it, which can in reason justify it.

*He dismissed the assembly.* So by God's providence this tumultuary convention of the people is dissolved, and the tumult, stirred up by Demetrius against Paul and his companions, vanished without effect.

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## CHAPTER XX.

1. *And after the uproar was ceased.* Which Demetrius stirred up in Ephesus against Paul and his companions.

*Paul called unto him the disciples.* That is, Paul called the Christians who were at Ephesus unto him.

*And embraced them.* Having by that sign of brotherly love wished them health, and bidding them farewell; and also, as is probable, (as was the custom of those nations,) kissed them. Hence the Syrian, instead of "embracing them," translates here, "kissed them." Neither is it to be doubted, but Paul being to depart from the Ephesian Christians, did when he wished them health, exhort them to the duties of piety, and to constancy in the faith of Christ, which they had received.

*And departed.* From Ephesus.

*For to go into Macedonia.* In which at Philippi, Beræa, and Thessalonica, he had converted some to Christ.

[1] Declam. 13.

2. *And when he had gone over those parts.* To wit, the cities of Macedonia.

*And had given them much exhortation.* To wit, to the Christians who lived in Macedonia, that they should retain the faith and persevere in godliness.

*He came unto Greece.* That is, to that part of Greece where Athens and Corinth were. "Greece," saith Augustine Lubine, geographer to the French king, in his geographical index to Usher's Annals, "the most famous country in Europe, which of old was by its inhabitants called Hellas, containing Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Achaia, which is properly called Greece, Peloponnesus and neighbouring islands about it, is, for its bounds, enclosed upon the east by the Ægean sea, upon the south by the sea of Crete, upon the west by the Ionian sea, upon the north it is parted from Illyria and Mæsia by the Scardonian mountains, and from the Thracians by the river Strymon; it is now commonly called Roumeli by the Turks, to whom it is subject."

3. *And there abode three months.* That is, and spent three months there.

*And when the Jews laid wait for him.* The unbelieving Jews being incensed against him, for that he led away many from the law of Moses to the faith of Christ.

*As he was about to sail unto Syria.* Toward Judea.

*He purposed,* &c. As much as to say, to the end he might shun the snares laid for him, he takes a very wise resolution, not to sail directly from Achaia, or Greece, properly so called, unto Syria, but to take his way back again through Macedonia, from whence he came to Achaia three months ago.

4. *And there accompanied him into Asia.* Strictly so called, whose chief metropolis is Ephesus.

*Sopater.* This Sosipater, and by syncope Sopater, is reckoned among Paul's kindred, Rom. xvi. 21.

*The son of Pyrrhus.* This is wanting in the vulgar Greek copies.

*Of Berœa.* Of the number of those noble men spoken of above, ch. xvii. 10—12.

*And of the Thessalonians.* That is, those of Thessalonica, a city of Macedonia.

*Aristarchus and Secundus.* The Syrian thinks that there were only these two Thessalonians. Aristarchus also accompanied Paul not only to Asia, but even to Syria also, yea and to Rome; below, ch. xxvii. 2, (see also, Col. iv. 10.)

*And Gaius of Derbe.* Of this Gaius, or Caius, see what we have said above, ch. xix. 29.

*And Timotheus.* Born, if we believe Gesnere, in the same city of Derbe, see above, ch. xiv. 6. The Syrian and Arabian interpreters add, "who was of Lystra." This excellent youth Timotheus, of whom above, ch. xvi. 1, 2; xvii. 14, 15; xviii. 5; xix. 22; Paul afterward left at Ephesus, that there he might oversee the church in teaching and governing it.

*And of Asia.* Strictly so called, and also its chief city Ephesus; for a most ancient copy, which most famous Beza used, hath for Asians, Ephesians.

*And Tychicus.* This man is commended by Paul, Ephes. vi. 21, and Col. iv. 7; is sent to Ephesus, 2 Tim. iv. 12; to the isle of Crete, Tit. iii. 12. The supposititious Dorotheus, in his synopsis of the lives of the prophets and disciples of Christ, writes, that this Tychicus was at last created bishop of Chalcedon in Bithynia.

*And Trophimus.* Of whom below, ch. xxi. 29; and 2 Tim. iv. 20.

5. *These going before.* Whither Paul was a going.

*Tarried for us at Troas.* That is, waited for Paul and me Luke, the writer of this history. This Luke, who spake otherwise in the foregoing chapters, because that perhaps he was sent by Paul somewhere else, shows that he was then returned again to Paul to accompany him in his journey, as also afterward in the following.

*From Troas.* Troas in this place is not taken for that country which was called Teucris, and Dardania, and Xanthe, but for a city of the same country which was also called Troas. See what we have said above, ch. xvi.

6. *And we.* That is, I, Luke, and Paul.

*From Philippi.* A city of Macedonia, of which we have spoken above, ch. xvi. 12.

*After the days of unleavened bread.* That is, after the Jews' feast of the Passover, which as yet Paul, with the other Jews who were Christians, seems to observe, that he might lawfully accommodate himself to the Jews: and doubtless he neglected not the occasion of preaching Christ to the Jews at that feast.

*Unto them.* Our fellow travellers, who went before us.

*To Troas.* A city of the country of the same name.

*In five days.* That is, within five days.

*Where we abode seven days.* That is, we passed seven days in the city called Troas.

7. *And upon the first day of the week.* That is, "that day," as

Sozomen saith,[1] "which is called the Lord's day, which the Hebrews called the first day of the week, but the Greeks dedicated it to the sun." See what I have noted upon Matt. xxviii. 1. The table of the canons lately published by the famous John Baptist Cotelerius:[2] "It was not, before Christ's resurrection, called the Lord's day, but the first day; but after the resurrection it was called the Lord's day, the lady of all days and festivities." We have the name of the Lord's day in Rev. i. 10. In Ignatius's epistle to the Trallians and Magnesians, and sometimes in Clement's Institutions, also in that place of Irenæus, which the writer of the answers to the orthodox in Justin Martyr hath preserved to us. The edict of Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria: "Both custom and honesty require of us that we should honour the Lord's day, and celebrate it, because Christ our Lord upon that day executed the eminent office of his resurrection." Sedulius:[3] "In the meantime after that sad sabbath, the happy day began to dawn, which being most welcome to the triumphing Lord, did take its name from his Majesty, called for this honour the Lord's day; being a day that attained to the dignity to be the first that beheld the original of the rising world, and the virtue of Christ rising again." St. Augustine:[4] "The Lord's day has been by Christ's resurrection declared not to the Jews but to the Christians, and from him it began to have its festivity." And, [5] "this day is called the Lord's day, because upon this day the Lord rose again; or to teach by the very name of it, that it ought to be wholly consecrated to the Lord." St. Maximus Taurinensis:[6] "The Lord's day is therefore venerable and solemn to us, because upon it our Saviour, as the rising sun having driven away the infernal darkness, shined with the light of his resurrection; and therefore by the common speech of the world, it is called Sunday, because Christ the sun of righteousness being risen, did enlighten it." The Roman order and Isidore:[7] "The apostles therefore did with religious solemnity ratify the Lord's day, because upon that day our Lord and Redeemer rose again from the dead; and which also is called the Lord's day, that in it, abstaining from earthly works or worldly enticements, we should give ourselves only to divine worship, giving, to wit, honour and reverence to this day, for the hope of our resurrection, which we have in him." Gregorius Turonensis:[8] "This is the day of the resurrection of our Lord Jesus

[1] Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 8. [2] Cap. 4, 16. [3] Paschal. Operis, lib. v. cap. 20.
[4] Epist. 119. cap. 13. [5] Serm. 15. de Verb. Apost. [6] Hom. 3. in Pentecost.
[7] De Eccl. Offic. lib. ii. cap. 24. [8] Hist. lib. i. cap. 22.

Christ, which we properly call the Lord's day, for his holy resurrection."

*When the disciples came together.* From this place, and that which is written, 1 Cor. xvi. 2, is gathered that the Christians did then use upon the first day of the week to keep solemn meetings. Justin,[1] "Upon the day called Sunday, all that live in cities or country meet in one place."

*To break bread.* To wit, that was consecrated to be a symbol of the body of Christ, offered for us upon the cross. Hence the Syrian rendered it, "That we might break the eucharist." The Arabic, "That we might distribute the body of Christ." The Ethiopic, "To bless the table." All understood it of this holy rite by which the Lord Jesus would have the memory of his bitter death to be celebrated by his disciples. See what we have said above, chap. ii. 42, 46. Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24, 26.

*Paul preached unto them.* The word of God to wit, before they celebrated the eucharist, which is denominated from the breaking of bread.

*Ready to depart.* From the city Troas.

*On the morrow.* That is, the day immediately following.

8. *And there were many lights.* To wit, to dispel the darkness of the night, or as Jerome saith against Vigilantius, "For their comfort in the darkness of the night."

*In the upper chamber.* Which, as Juvenal speaks, the roof only covers. In this, as in the least esteemed part of the house, men of mean fortunes used to live; also in the time of the apostles the church assembled there, and in it performed their worship, not in magnificently built temples.

*Where they were.* To wit, the Christians of Troas.

9. *Fell down from the third loft.* That is, he fell from the third frame or third floor. Servius:[2] "The houses of old were made *de tabulis*, 'of boards,' whence at this day we say in houses, that are builded high, the first and second *tabulatum*, 'story;' but the highest that which supports the roof;" whence what Juvenal calls *tabulata tertia*,[3] "the third story, or loft," is expounded by the scholiast, "upper rooms."

*And was taken up dead.* As much as to say, And when some of them who saw Eutychus fall, had run from that upper room of the house, to take him up, they found him already destitute of all strength, and without life.

[1] Apolog. 2. [2] Ad 3. Eneid. [3] Sat. 3.

10. *And Paul went down.* His holy discourse being interrupted, that he might restore Eutychus to life, who was by an unexpected fall killed.

*And fell on him.* As Elias, 1 Kings xvii. 21, and Elisha, 2 Kings iv. 34, fell upon them whom they were about to restore to life.

*And embracing him.* Eutychus, by the middle.

*Said.* To them who lamented Eutychus being dead.

*His life is in him.* That is, now his body begins to grow warm and revive.

11. *When he therefore was come up again,* &c. As much as to say, When therefore Paul was again gone up to that loft, where he had preached, and had there celebrated the rite of the eucharist, and taken meat, he with unwearied zeal spent the rest of the night until day-light in preaching.

*So.* That is, the night being spent. After the same manner the particle *so* is used as a note of what was done; above, chap. vii. 8; xvii. 33; below, chap. xxviii. 14; John viii. 59.

*He departed.* From the city Troas and that on foot, the rest being to go in a ship, as is told below, ver. 13.

12. *And they brought.* They, to wit, who came down to take up Eutychus, who had fallen from a window of the highest frame of the house, brought him alive to the rest of the disciples, who were assembled in the upper room whence he fell, to hear Paul preach, and to celebrate the rite of the eucharist.

*Alive.* That is, marvellously restored by Paul unto life.

*And were not a little comforted.* As much as to say, the sight of so great a miracle brought great comfort to all.

13. *But we.* That is, I, Luke, with others of Paul's fellow travellers.

*Went before to a ship.* To go before Paul.

*And sailed unto Assos.* A fit port for ships. To this sea-town of the country of Troas, the way was but short from the city Troas, either by sea or land. Strabo saith,[1] that this was a famous city, and upon the side that looketh to the sea, exceeding strong both by nature and art. Pliny[2] mentioneth the same city was otherwise called Apollonia.

*There intending to take in Paul.* To wit, into the ship.

*Minding himself to go a foot.* From Troas to Assos, a neighbouring city of the same country.

[1] Lib. v. [2] Lib. xiii. cap. 30.

14. *And when he met with us at Assos.* To wit, Paul.

*We took him in.* Into the ship.

*And came to Mitylene.* The chief city of the island Lesbos, which Vitruvius saith,[1] was magnificently and stately built, but not wisely situated: in which, when the south wind blows, men are sick: when the north-west, they cough; when the north, they are restored to health. This city was famous for Pittacus, one of the seven famous wise men of Greece; Alcæus, a noble lyric poet; the famous poetess Sapphus, and that excellent rhetorician Diophanes, who was master to Gracchus, and to that Theophanes who wrote the exploits of Pompey the Great, and was very familiar with him, and received of him the freedom of the city in an assembly of soldiers, as Cicero saith in his oration for Archias, a poet of Antioch.

15. *Over against Chios.* Which is an island in the Ægean Sea, about nine hundred furlongs in compass, bordering upon Ionia, between the islands Samos and Lesbos. This island was famous for wine, figs, and marble. Its wine was the best of all the Greek wines, as Strabo[2] and Horace[3] do witness. The Chian fig is commended by Martial,[4] who for its excellency calls it Chia. Pliny[5] commends the Chian marble: also the Chian earth is by him said to have the same effect in medicine, as the Samian earth. It had famous men, Ion, Orchomenis's son, a tragic and lyric poet, and a philosopher; Theopompus, the son of Damasistratus, both an orator and an historian; Theocritus, of the same age as Theopompus, and emulating him in governing the commonwealth. The Chians also challenged Homer as theirs, by an argument from the family of the Homerides, famous among the Chians, who boasted they were of Homer's lineage; and also Prodicus the philosopher, who said that such things as were profitable for man's life have been esteemed to be among the number of the gods, of which Strabo in the forecited book and Cicero,[6] are evident witnesses.

*We came to Samos.* That is, we arrived at the famous Samos over against the island Caria. "Samos," saith Thomas de Pinedo, "Same, and Samothrace, or Samothracia, were different islands, although of old Samothracia was also called Samos; for Samothracia was in the Ægean Sea, Same in the Ionian, near Zacynthus; but Samos, of which we now speak, lies in the Icarian Sea. And as Lemnus worshipped Vulcan, Delus Apollo, so Samos

[1] Lib. i. [2] Lib. xiii. [3] Epod. ix. [4] Epig. vii. 24. [5] Lib. v. cap. 31. [6] De Nat Deor. lib. i.

peculiarly worshipped Juno, as the learnedest of poets doth witness;[1] and therefore the Samians imprinted a peacock, a bird sacred to Juno, upon their coin, of which matter Atheneus is a clear witness.[2] Bochart does most ingeniously deduce its original from the Phœnician language; but since the ancient Greeks did call high places Σάμους, as appears out of Strabo,[3] and Constantine Porphyrogeneta,[4] there is no need to derive its original from the Phœnician language. Archestratus the poet[5] praiseth the tunnies which were taken about this island. Pliny[6] commendeth the Samian tile, wherewith the priests of the mother of gods, which priests were surnamed Galli, from a river of that name, cut off their genitals, neither could they do it otherwise without hurt, as the same author reports out of M. Cœlius. Which I easily believe; for their knives, made of stone, were fitter for circumcision than iron ones, because of the swelling which sometime happens when the wound is made with iron knives. Therefore in Joshua v. 2, חַרְבוֹת צוּרִים must be rendered 'knives of stone,' which some wrongfully render, 'sharp knives:' for which you may consult D. Laur. Ramirez.[7] The Samian earthen vessels are also famous, and the physicians say that the Samian earth is fit for medicine. In this island reigned Polycrates; that tyrant, so happy, that when he threw the ring that he admired in the sea, he afterward found it in the midriff of a fish. But none can be called happy before his death; forasmuch as this same Polycrates was by Orontes Darius, his general, hanged, as Cicero saith.[8] But Pythagoras made Samos much more renowned, who therefore was called the old Samian."

*And tarried at Trogyllium.* Strabo[9] mentions Trogilios the promontory of Mycale. "And the very promontory Trogilios," says he, "is indeed the foot of Mycale stretched forth." "But Mycale," saith Herodotus,[10] "is a promontory of the continent towards the west wind, belonging to Samos, at which promontory the Ionians, gathering together out of all their cities, solemnized their feast which they called 'panionia.'"

*And the next day.* That is, the day after we loosed from Samos.

*We came to Miletus.* A most famous city in Caria of the Ionians, the first of all Ionia in the arts both of war and peace, the metropolis of eighty and more cities, and deservedly renowned for

[1] Æneid. lib. i. ver. 20. [2] Lib. xiv. [3] Lib. x. [4] 1 Them. 16.
[5] In Atheneus, lib. vii. [6] Lib. xxxv. cap. 12. [7] De Prado Pentecontarcho suo, cap. 4.
[8] De Finibus, lib. v. [9] Lib. xiv. [10] Lib. i. cap. 148.

the excellent disposition of its citizens. To this purpose Apuleius saith,[1] "Samos is a small island in the Icarian sea, situated just against Miletus, upon the west side of it, neither is it divided by much of the sea from it; two days' gentle sailing will bring one to either of the ports." Among the illustrious men who were born in this city Miletus, the most famous were that Cadmus, "who," as Pliny saith,[2] "was the first who began to compose speeches in prose." Thales the son of Examius, the most famous of the seven famous wise men of Greece, who was the first among the Greeks that discoursed about nature. He was the first who searched into the secrets of Astrology; the first, as Laërtius reports in his Life, who said that the souls of mortal men were immortal. And Anaximander the disciple of Thales, that first invented the sphere, as saith Pliny,[3] and the first that published a geographical map, as Strabo saith.[4] The inhabitants of Miletus acquired great fame by the first called the Branchides, then Apollo Didymæus's oracle, which Xerxes, the son of Darius and grandchild of Cyrus by his sister Atosa, burnt, as he did all the rest of the temples, that of Ephesus only excepted; and because, that after Xerxes burnt the temple, they built it the highest of all, that for its height it remained without a roof; and Strabo reports,[5] that it was most sumptuously adorned with gifts of divers ancient arts. It was also famous for its most precious wool, of which carpets were made, which for their exceeding softness became a proverb. Historians tell us that the Milesians of old were stout warriors; but afterward being addicted to their pleasures, they lost their warlike virtues, with their riches and reputation, whence comes the proverb, "The Milesians were stout of old." Hence also the Milesian speech is taken by Apuleius for a wanton and merry speech:[6] "But I will set out various fables for you in this Milesian speech, and will soothe your benevolent ears with a pleasant whisper."

16. *For Paul had determined to sail by Ephesus.* That is, beyond Ephesus.

*Because he would not spend time in Asia.* As much as to say, Lest if he should go then to the chief metropolis of Asia, strictly so called, he should by the Christian brethren inhabiting there be detained too long.

*For he hasted, if it were possible for him.* To wit, for the shortness of time, which was to Pentecost or the fiftieth day from the

[1] Floridorum lib. ii. [2] Nat. Hist. lib. v. cap. 29. [3] Lib. vii, cap. 56.
[4] Lib. i. [5] Lib. xiv. [6] In Asino Aureo.

feast of the Passover, which day was festival, and in it the first fruits were offered by the Jews, to whom the same day the old law was promulgated upon Mount Sinai.

*To be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost.* That is, that he might be at Jerusalem, against the frequent concourse of the Jews from divers coasts, to the approaching feast.

17. *And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus.* Some one or more of his fellows and companions.

*Called.* That is, sent for.

*The elders of the church.* That is, such as were set over the government of the church of Ephesus, who were so called because they were of greater age, or because by the gravity of their manners they did resemble old men, when they were set up like senators to govern the Christian commonalty, without whose advice the church acted nothing. Jerome[1] says, "We have in the church our senate, a company of elders." See what is noted below, ver. 28; and above, chap. xiv. 23; xv. 2, 4, 6, 28.

18. *And when they.* The elders of Ephesus having the same fellowship of power and honour.

*Were come to him.* To wit, to the apostle Paul.

*He said unto them.* To wit, Paul himself to the same elders of the church of Ephesus.

*Ye know.* That is, ye are witnesses.

*From the first day that I came into Asia.* Strictly so called, whose chief metropolis is your Ephesus.

*After what manner I have been with you at all seasons.* That is, how I have behaved myself among you. See the like phrase, 1 Thess. ii. 5, 10.

19. *Serving the Lord.* That is, with all my might promoting the glory of God, in preaching the gospel holily, and performing duties of charity towards God and my neighbour.

*With all humility.* That is, with perfect humility and such modesty of mind, as did not despise others, neither usurped any dominion over my brethren, over which I was set a teacher.

*And tears.* Breaking out from my heart, pitying those who were more negligent in their station.

*And temptations.* That is, vexations and afflictions, with which the devil, who is called by antonomasia, "the tempter," 1 Thess. iii. 5, useth by wicked men, his instruments, to solicit and tempt believers to fall away from faith and godliness; by God's per-

[1] In Is. 3.

mission such things come to pass, to try and prove the faith and piety of his own. Likewise by *temptations* are understood vexations and afflictions, or the things which are called adverse. Luke xxii. 28; 1 Cor. x. 13; Gal. iv. 14; Jam. i. 2; 1 Pet. i. 6; 2 Pet. ii. 9; Rev. iii. 10.

*Which befell me by the lying in wait of the* Jews. Obstinate and unbelieving Jews, persecuting the disciples of Christ with deadly hatred. See above, ver. 3; ch. ix. 24; xiv. 2, 5.

20. *And how I kept back nothing.* That is, hid nothing from you, either for fear of dangers or hope of gain.

*That was profitable unto you.* That is, of such things as I thought to conduce to your salvation.

*But have shewed you.* That is, I preached unto you those wholesome doctrines.

*And have taught you.* That is, and diligently instructed you in them.

*Publicly.* In the assemblies of the believers.

*And from house to house.* That is, and privately, while I visited the believers in every house.

21. *Testifying both to the Jews and also to the Greeks.* That is, earnestly teaching as well the Jews by birth, (who were long ago esteemed the Lord's people, but by their sins were turned away from God, and would not acknowledge Jesus to be the Messiah, nor believe in him,) as [well as] them who were born of the Gentiles, being aliens from the people of God, and were called Greeks, as above, ch. xviii. 4; xix. 10. 17.

*Repentance toward God.* That is, conversion from an evil and vicious life, to a good and laudable manner of living, pleasing God and conformed to his precepts, and meet of repentance. See below, ch. xxvi. 20.

*And faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ.* That is, that all your confidence should be placed in that Jesus of Nazareth, who is the Messiah promised in the law and in the prophets, now become the author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him. Heb. v. 9.

22. *And now behold, I go bound in the Spirit unto Jerusalem.* As much as to say, And now the fourth time since my conversion to Christ, by a certain instinct and command of the Holy Ghost, see above, ch. xiii. 4, I go to Jerusalem. So Paul saith of his other journey to Jerusalem, that he went up thither by revelation, Gal. ii. 2, which, to wit, was made to him by the Holy Ghost. So our

Lord Jesus is said, *to be led of the Spirit unto the wilderness to be tempted by the devil,* Matt. iv. 1.

*Not knowing the things that shall befall me there.* That is, knowing nothing certainly of these tortures which I am to undergo at Jerusalem.

23. *Save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city.* That is, in every city where I came since I directed my course towards Jerusalem.

*Witnesseth.* That is, positively foretells me.

*That bonds,* &c. That is, that at Jerusalem, where of old I greatly persecuted the church of Christ, I shall for the same church be bound in chains, and all manner of ways tortured.

24. *But none of these things move me.* As much as to say, There is no kind of torment which I must bear to perform my duty, that I shall either deprecate or shun.

*Neither count I my life dear unto me.* That is, neither do I value the loss of my life. The Hebrews say, that unto him who spares this temporary life his soul is esteemed precious. "No man is so fearless of death as that man that is crucified to the world, and hath mortified his inordinate desire of worldly things. If in the whole course of our life we give up ourselves to the laws of Christ, if we exercise ourselves to patience and self-denial, to meekness and long-suffering, to temperance and chastity, to contempt of the world, and a heavenly mind, we shall find it a very easy task, when we shall be required, to resign up our mortal life for the sake of our Lord Jesus. He that obeyeth Christ in all his holy and strictest precepts, will be in great readiness and preparation of mind to lay down his life for him. He that dares kill his lusts, and crucify the old man, will not think much to resign this moral life, that he may be clothed with immortality." Thus much that most famous man for his learning and piety, the reverend canon of Norwich, Richard Kidder, in chap. x. of his book, concerning the grounds of Christian fortitude, which not long ago that pattern of an upright and godly conscience, the noble Lady Viscountess Katherine Ranelagh lent me.

*So that I might finish my course with joy.* That is, that with that cheerfulness and earnestness which becomes me, I might run toward the mark which Christ the judge hath prefixed for me.

*And the ministry,* &c. As much as to say, And might discharge my apostolical office which Christ from heaven committed to me,

that I might bear witness to that joyful and happy message of the exceeding great grace of God towards men, to wit, of the most happy everlasting life, which is to be received in heaven of the great and liberal God, through men's lively faith in Christ Jesus without the works of the law. Hence the gospel is called grace. John i. 17; Rom. vi. 14, 15; Heb. xii. 15, xiii. 9; 1 Pet. v. 12.

25. *And now, behold, I know.* By revelation from the Holy Ghost, by whose impulse I go from hence to Jerusalem.

*That.* After my departure from you now.

*Ye all,* &c. That is, none of you shall see me henceforth.

*Among whom I have gone.* That is, through whose countries and cities I have travelled.

*Preaching the kingdom of God.* That is, that most blessed and worthy state, which, by the grace of God, believers in Christ are to enjoy in heaven.

26. *Wherefore I take you to record this day.* That is, I take you all to witness.

*That I am pure from the blood of all men.* That is, that I am not the cause of their destruction, who among you have forsaken the Christian faith and godliness. See what we have noted concerning this phrase above, chap. xviii. 6.

27. *For,* &c. As much as to say, For in my sermons I unfolded to you all and everything which God commanded to be by men hoped, believed, and done, that through Jesus Christ the only Saviour of men, they might attain to eternal life.

*The whole counsel of God.* This universal saying must be restrained to his office of apostleship, as much as to say, All God's commands revealed through Jesus Christ about these things, which are necessary to be hoped, believed, and done to salvation. Thus, Luke vii. 30, *counsel of God* is taken for God's commandment made to the Pharisees.

28. *Take heed therefore unto yourselves.* As much as to say, Therefore above all, listen diligently to yourselves how ye live, that ye decline not from the true faith and piety, nor be careless in them. A most learned anonymous author, in a theological treatise called, The Mischief of Impositions, p. 29, edit. 2nd, observes that in the old ordination of presbyters of the church of England, they were enstated in their whole office by reading this verse.

*And to all the flock.* As much as to say, Then be watchful and diligent about the care of the souls of the whole company of the disciples, that they may so behave themselves as becomes them.

The church of believers is, by a metaphor, called a flock, as of sheep, that from this appellation we may learn, that Christ's faithful ones should frequent the holy assemblies, and not to be wandering all alone. Luke xii. 32; John x. 16; 1 Pet. v. 2.

*Over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you.* That is, Over which, by our ministry and imposition of hands, he did set and constitute you. See above chap. xiv. 23; 2 Tim. i. 6.

*Overseers.* Augustine saith,[1] "*Episcopus* is a Greek word, and thence brought, because he who is set over, oversees them over whom he is set, to wit, taking care of them; for *epi* is 'over' and *scopus* is 'intention;' therefore, if we please, we may call the office of a bishop in Latin *superintendere*, 'to oversee diligently,' that he may know he is not a bishop that delights to be over, but not to profit." Erasmus, in his Ecclesiastes,[2] "Bishop is a name of an office not of dignity, also it is a military word, hence derived, because he who professeth himself the captain of an army should ἐπισκοπεῖν, that is, look down that there be nothing wanting to the soldiers under his standard." Whence also Homer[3] calls Hector ἐπίσκοπον, "bishop." Further, they who above, ver. 17, were in the same city of Ephesus called elders or presbyters; the same are now called bishops, because in the apostles' time a bishop, and a presbyter or an elder, were one and the same, one was the name of their age, the other of their office; as Jerome in his Commentary upon the Epistle to Titus, and in his epistles to Oceanus and Evagrius, proves from Acts xx. 17, 28; Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iv. 14; Tit. i. 5; Heb. xiii. 17; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2; 2 John 1; 3 John 1. Therefore the most learned and incomparable Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, in his Apology for the Church of England against Harding,[4] when Harding said, 'They were condemned of heresy who denyed the distinction of bishop from presbyter,' he sets in the margin, "It is false, for then St. Paul, Jerome, and other good men are condemned of heresy." Neither is Bishop Morton of Durham's answer, in his Catholic Apology,[5] unlike this. "Jerome," says he, "perhaps, was of the same judgment with Aerius, neither did the other fathers think otherwise." Lastly, that Theodoret, Ambrose, Augustine, also Chrysostom, Primasius, and Sedulius had the same opinion as St. Jerome about the equality of elders, or presbyters and bishops, which opinion was condemned in Aerius, then in the Waldenses, and lastly in Wickliff, Michael de Medina

[1] De Civit Dei lib. 19, cap. xix. [2] Lib. i. p. 47. [3] Il. ii. ver. 729.
[4] Part 2, cap. 9, pg. 173. [5] Part i. cap. 33.

not only said in his book[1] of the original and continency of sacred men, upon which account he was miserably abused by the Jesuit Dionysius Petavius;[2] but also the same Medina affirmed the same openly in the Council of Trent, neither did he stick (though many fretted at it) publicly to contend, that so far Jerome and Augustine had an heretical opinion, the matter, to wit, not being altogether clear. Which as it moved others not a little, "So," saith the writer of the history of the Council of Trent, "this doctor, sticking close to his own opinion, maintained it with his might." Neither is there aught that makes against it in Sforza Pallavicini's history of the Council of Trent, against Paulus Venetus, published at Rome, Anno 1657. Further, Petavius himself doth also witness, that Medina was not the only man among the papists who was of this judgment, but that others also did ascribe the said heresy to the forecited fathers. And Morton in the forementioned place of his Apology[3] does adduce some of them. Rivet also:[4] "Therefore, although according to the terms of honour, which the church now useth, as saith Augustine in his epistle to Jerome, the episcopacy be greater than the presbytery, yet Richard of Armagh said truly, There is no difference found in the evangelical or apostolical scriptures betwixt bishops and simple priests, who are called presbyters; whence it follows that there is the same power in both." "Whether," saith Cassander,[5] "the episcopacy ought to be put among the orders of the church, is not agreed upon betwixt the theologues and the canonists; but it is agreed upon among all, that in the age of the apostles, there was no difference betwixt bishops and presbyters; but that afterward, to evite schism a bishop was set over presbyters." But as Musculus, in his common places, saith excellently of the ministers of the word:[6] "Whether this counsel whereby such bishops are more by custom introduced, to use Jerome's words, than by the truth of the Lord's appointment, to be greater than presbyters, be profitable for the church of Christ or not, hath been better manifested in the following ages, than when this custom was first introduced," &c. See what follows there, and the history of episcopacy written in English not long ago, by that indefatigable preacher of God's word, the Rev. Richard Baxter, famous for knowledge and piety.[7]

*To feed.* That is, to rule as pastor does his flock, and it is

[1] Cap. v. [2] Dissert. de Epic. Dignit. et Jurisdict. lib. i.
[3] Theol. Dogm. tom. iii. de Eccles. lib. ii. cap. viii. [4] Sum. Contra. Tract. ii. quæst. 22.
[5] Ad Quæt. Arm. lib. ii. cap. v. Consult Art. 14. [6] Page 246.
[7] Also Greg. Naz. Orat. 28. Angust. in Psal. cv. Whitaker Quæst. i. de pont. Rom. cap. 3.

extended to every part of managing the flock, such as to lead, defend, rule, and direct them. "The care of the church is equally divided among many," saith Jerome. For as he saith, "Before that by the instigation of the devil, there were parties made in religion, and it was said among the people, *I am of Paul, I of Apollos, but I am of Cephas,* the churches were governed by the common advice of presbyters." Those spiritual pastors set up by God to feed not their own flock, but the flock of their Lord and Supreme Pastor, ought to consult the good of the flock, and procure their salvation, feeding the people with divine oracles and healthful admonitions, and by strong reasons refelling the opposers of the Christian faith. See Tit. i. 9; 1 Pet. v. 2—4.

*The church.* That is, a company of men professing the saving doctrine of Christ. Behold here, as also Phil. i. 1; the church is distinguished from the presbyters, who had the oversight of it, which oversight is in the Greek called ἐπισκοπὴ, "episcopacy;" above, ch. i. 20; therefore the overseers of the church, who are frequently called presbyters in the New Testament, and four times bishops from their office, are not alone the church, much less any bishop of bishops. 1 Cor. i. 2; x. 32; xi. 16; 2 Cor. i. 1; 1 Pet. v. 1—3.

*Of God.* The Christian multitude is the church or flock of God, and the church of the Lord Jesus Christ. Beza witnesseth that he read in five copies, "of the Lord and of God." Many other Greek copies have only "of the Lord;" by which "Lord," after the apostolic manner of speaking, is deservedly meant Jesus of Nazareth, Matt. xvi. 18; Rom. xvi. 16; because, as it is said above, ch. ii. 36, *God made him Lord and Christ,* which excellently agrees with what followeth.

*Which he purchased.* That, to wit, it might be to him a peculiar people.

*With his own blood.* Poured out upon the altar of the cross. But if by the word "of God," be understood God the Father, it is the same as if he should say, with the bloody death of his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ. Hence saith Beza it is read in one Greek copy, "By this blood, of this his own," viz., Son. "The strength of that article," saith Beza, "is to be observed, whereby the excellency of this blood, and the antithesis is declared, which is more copiously expounded, Heb. ix. 12. For this blood was truly holy, yea, a truly purifying and sanctifying blood, flowing out of him, who as he truly is a most pure Man, so is he also truly, and in the most perfect manner, God. We ought to make much of what God has

bought so dear. See Eph. i. 12, 13; Col. i. 14, 20; Heb. ix. 12, &c.; 1 Pet. i. 18, 19; Rev. v. 9.

29. *I know.* The Spirit revealing it to me.

*That after my departing.* The Greek word ἄφιξις here used, says Ludovicus de Dieu, is in the Glossary rendered, "arrival, departing," and is used in the Attic signification by Demosthenes, as well as here.

*Wolves.* Heretical teachers, who, with their false and deadly doctrine, corrupt and destroy the flock of Christ, are so called by a metaphor. See our literal explanation, Matt. vii. 15. Such spiritual wolves are according to Christ's command to be once and again admonished, Matt. xviii. 16—18; if that do not avail, we ought to break off familiar correspondence with them; but the apostles' institutions and examples forbid to exasperate these false teachers with curses, or to oppress them with carnal violence, or to put them to death. 1 Cor. v. 9; Tit. iii. 10. See 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.

*Grievous.* That is, barbarously and intolerably cruel.

*Not sparing the flock.* That is, who shall have no pity upon the flock. He goes on in his similitude and allegory, begun ver. 28, meaning by the flock, the church or company of believers in Christ, who are frequently called sheep.

30. *Of your own selves.* Lawfully called to the pastoral office, not only the same presbyters to whom the pastoral charge of the church of Ephesus is committed, and to whom Paul then spoke, as appears from ver. 28, are noted, but also such of their equals and successors, as should even in other churches degenerate into wolves.

*Arise.* That is, spring up and appear in public.

*Speaking perverse things.* That is, teaching things contrary to the revealed truth, and wresting the very words of the apostles into a bad sense.

*To draw away disciples after them.* As much as to say, that they may draw away such as embraced the faith of Christ, to follow their own fictions.

31. *Therefore.* The peril, to wit, of the churches making shipwreck of faith by those false teachers who are to arise being at hand.

*Watch.* Lest God's flock be corrupted and destroyed by dangerous doctrines, while either ye sleep or neglect the care of the church.

*Remember that by the space of three years.* About. "To those two years, to wit," saith Ludovicus de Dieu, "in which he taught in the school of Tyrannus, must first be added the three months in which, before these two years, he taught in the synagogue, Acts xix. 8,

10; then that time also, though short, in which he taught at Ephesus, when he came thither with Aquila and Priscilla, Acts xviii. 19; for Paul was come a whole year to Ephesus, with Aquila and Priscilla, before that space of three months, although Paul spent the most part of that year in that third journey of his, wherein he went up to Jerusalem; thence he visited Antioch, Phrygia, and Galatia, before he came to Ephesus the second time." Acts xviii. 21—23; xix. 1.

*I ceased not to warn every one, night and day.* As much as to say, I left not off for one night or a day to warn with tears every one of you of his duty; pitying their lot who were negligent in their pastoral care.

32. *And now.* Being to return to you no more.

*I commend you to God.* That is, I commend and commit you to the care and protection of God.

*And to the word of his grace.* That is, to the gospel in which the saving grace of God is declared unto men.

*Which.* God, by that word of grace, or the gospel.

*Is able.* That is, is willing, for the apostle doth not here speak of an idle power in God, but of an active, which, by the inclination of his will, is bent upon doing good.

*Build you up.* Adhering, to wit, to the evangelical institutions, which I delivered unto you, to perfect and accomplish in you that holiness, which your wonderful calling to the faith of Christ requireth.

*And to give you an inheritance.* That is, a firm possession of eternal life and happiness in heaven. "Because that among the Hebrews, things only fallen by inheritance could not be alienated, therefore they call every firm and perpetual possession an inheritance," saith Grotius.[1]

*Among all them which are sanctified.* That is, among all them, who are by the grace of God separated from the rabble of profane for God himself, and sanctified by his Spirit, that they might continue his obedient sons, in holiness of life. The saints are said to inherit heavenly blessedness, "Because," saith Grotius,[2] "God will bestow upon them not only the fruit, but the very propriety thereof." See below, ch. xxvi. 18; Eph. i. 18; and Col. i. 12.

33. *Silver, &c.* Abraham of old showed a great spirit, coveting nothing for himself of the spoil gotten in battle. Gen. xiv. 22, 23. But Paul, as much greater, in that he neither required, nor would take any salary from the Ephesians, to maintain himself and his

[1] Upon Rom. iv. 18. [2] Upon Eph. i. 18.

companions, for his weighty and saving labours in preaching the gospel among them. So he witnesseth his own abstinence, 1 Cor. ix. 12, 15, 18; 2 Cor. xi. 9; Phil. iv. 15. In like manner Moses protested that he lived among the Israelites, without the least appearance of covetousness, Numb. xvi. 15. Also Samuel, 1 Sam. xii. 3. Gracchus in Gellius, being to leave the province, "I have," saith he, "so behaved in the province, that none can truly say that I have gotten a shilling or more in gifts." Jerome, being to depart from Rome, "Let them tell," saith he to his slanderers, "what they ever found in me otherwise than became a Christian. Whose money did I get? Did I not despise gifts either great or small? Did any man's money sound in my hand?"

34. *That these hands have ministered.* That is, supplied. It is remarkable that one Abdolonymus, a poor man, in Q. Curtius, hath spoken in the same very manner that Paul doth here. "These hands," saith he, "supplied my want." Concerning Paul's earning with the labour of his own hands a living for himself and his companions in the preaching of the gospel, see above, ch. xviii. 3; 1 Cor. iv. 12; 1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 8. Why may not also the teachers among the Christians, like this teacher of the Gentiles, when they can, earn their living by their labour?

*To my necessities.* Food and raiment.

*And to them that were with me.* Rehearsed above, ver. 4.

35. *All things.* By all things, or in all things, or altogether. Such a phrase is in 1 Cor. ix. 25; x. 33; Eph. iv. 15.

*I have shewed unto you.* In myself as a pattern. See 2 Thess. iii. 9.

*How that so labouring.* Night and day unto weariness. See 1 Cor. iv. 12; 1 Thess. ii. 9.

*Ye ought to support the weak.* That is, to hold up as it were with the right hand the scrupulous, who have not as yet a firm and strong understanding, or have not as yet apprehended what is sound in the faith, that they fall not. For such novices and young men in faith and piety, are, I know not how, more suspicious, and do easily believe that such as they mistrust do all things for bodily gain, and that for this end the gospel itself is preached by them.

*And to remember the words of the Lord Jesus.* That is, the apophthegm of the Lord Jesus.

*How he said.* That is, used to say, as I have it by tradition from those who heard it from the Lord himself. Or, he is said to have said it, because that, although it be not expressed in the same very

words, yet that it was his doctrine is gathered from his sayings, which are mentioned by the evangelists.

*It is more blessed to give than to receive.* First because, to give is a sign of abundance, but to receive a sign of want, as Augustine writes. Next because, to give is more honest and a mark of a virtue, to wit, bounty or liberality, but to receive is no sign of virtue, but either of necessity or of covetousness. Which Aristotle also observed when he wrote,[1] that it was more proper for virtue to bestow a benefit than to have one bestowed upon it. Lastly, chiefly because he that liberally gives help to the indigent, shall, for that he gave, have a great reward from God; but he who receives a benefit shall for the receiving of it have no reward. Luke xii. 33; xvi. 9; xviii. 22; 1 Tim. vi. 19. But yet it is neither unhonest nor unconvenient, if one shall receive a reward as due to him, for that which by his honest labour he deserved, provided that this receiving may be without offence. See Matt. x. 10, and our literal explanation there; Luke x. 7; 1 Cor. ix. 14; 1 Tim. v. 17, 18.

36. *He kneeled down and prayed.* It is a great sign of submission to God and reverence towards him, that one who prayeth should kneel. Solomon prayed fervently with bended knees, 1 Kings viii. 52; 2 Chron. vi. 13. Also Daniel, Dan. vi. 10. And Jesus Christ, Luke xxii. 41; and Stephen, above, ch. vii. 60; and Peter, above, ch. ix. 40; and Paul here, and below, ch. xxi. 5; and Eph. iii. 14. But that to pray standing was the most commonly received custom among the Jews is clear by that in Nehemiah, ch. ix. 5, the people are commanded to stand at prayer; and Gen. xviii. 22, where it is in the Hebrew, Abraham "stood before God," the Chaldean renders it "prayed." Neither is the verb standing, otherwise used in Jer. xv. 1; xviii. 20; and Job xxx. 20. So Mark xi. 25, *When ye stand praying.* And Luke xviii. 11, *The pharisee stood and prayed.* See our literal explanation, Matt. vi. 5.

*With them all.* To wit, with the elders or bishops of the church of Ephesus, whom he sent for from Ephesus to Miletus, to instruct them with wholesome admonitions, above, ver. 17; doubtless, among other things, Paul, in this prayer to God, prayed for divine assistance, that he would help the elders of the church of Ephesus to perform these things of which he admonished them.

37. *And they all wept sore.* To show their sorrow for his future absence.

[1] Eth. Nicom. lib. iv. cap. 1.

*And fell on Paul's neck and kissed him.* As a token of their affection to him.

38. *Sorrowing most of all for the words,* &c. As much as to say, they were affected with grief that they could scarcely be comforted, for that discourse of Paul's, by which he cut them off from all hopes of ever seeing him from that time.

*And they accompanied him unto the ship.* That they might see him and speak to him as long as they could.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

1. *And it came to pass after we—had launched.* I Luke, and Paul, and the rest of his companions in his journey, were carried forth in the ship.

*Having gotten from them.* Either simply parted, as Luke xxii. 41; or as it were forcibly taken from our friends the elders of the church of Ephesus.

*We came with a straight course unto Coos.* Cous or Coos, or by a synæresis, as Eustathius will have it,[1] Cos, is an island in the Ægean Sea, on the confines of Caria, as Pomponius Mela affirms.[2] Its inhabitants were anciently called Meropes, and the island itself Meropis, as saith Stephen.[3] It became famous by the birth of Apelles, that most excellent painter; whence he is called by Ovid,[4] Coan. It was yet further nobilitated by being the native soil of that divine old man (so do the physicians call Hippocrates), on whom there is extant a distich singular for its antistrophe.[5] Pliny reports that Greece instituted honours to this prince of physicians, equal to those of Hercules. In this island was that famous temple of Esculapius, as also that of Juno, of whose ornaments Theodorus wrote, as Vitruvius declares.[6] The islanders were very eloquent; hence the proverb, "A Chian will not suffer a Coan to speak," is applied to those, who being like the Chians addicted to prating, with their talkativeness hinder others, that are eloquent in their speech, from speaking. The finest apparel, which was wont to be made of silk, for the ornament of women, but not that which is consistent with modesty, is said to have come first from this island, and they were called substantively in the Latin, *coa*, in the plural

[1] On Il. B. ver. 667. [2] Lib. ii. cap. 7. [3] In Merops. [4] Art. Am. lib. iii. [5] Florileg. Var. Epigr. lib. i. cap. 39. [6] Lib. i.

number. Aristotle saith,[1] that Pamphila the daughter of Latous, of the same island, was the inventrix of these garments. The reason why they were invented was, that women might be as little covered with their garments, as if they were naked. To which Tibullus seems to allude. And Pliny, in the aforesaid book, saith:[2] "Nor were men ashamed to make use of these garments by reason of their lightness in summer. So far are they from wearing armour, that their very clothes are a burden to them." At this day this island is called Lango.

*And the following day unto Rhodes.* A most famous island, which, according to Ptolemy, lib. v. 2, is situated betwixt Icaria and Lycia. It was renowned for these cities, Lindus, Camirus, and Rhodes, as Pliny relates, lib. v. 31, in which the day is never so cloudy, but the sun shines bright some hour or other of it; witness the same Pliny, lib. ii. 62, whence the poets called it bright.[3] Rhodes was of old very rich in shipping, as appears by Strabo.[4] Its inhabitants built Parthenope, i. e. Naples, among the Opici, and Rhoda in Spain. They first taught the Spanish mariners to make ropes and maps, very useful for man; they also first imported into Spain money, beaten out of brass, as Strabo in the forecited book, and Mariana testify.[5] Rhodes was beautified with one hundred colossi, one of which was reckoned among the seven wonders of the world. Now these colossi were piles of statues exactly devised, equal to towers; for which cause, as many are of opinion, the Rhodians were called Colossians, to whom the Epistle of St. Paul was written, entitled to the Colossians. Rhodes has been subject to several vicissitudes; after this it was subject to the Romans; the Saracens took it in the year of our Lord 615. The Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem recovered it in the year 1308, and kept it till the year 1602; in which year Solyman the Second defeated them, and retook it; in lieu whereof Charles, fifth Emperor, gave the Knights of St. John the island of Malta; whence they are commonly called the Knights of Malta.

*And from thence unto Patara.* A city of Lycia, according to Hecatæus in his Asia, which still retains its name, as Niger affirms,[6] describing the situation of Lycia, and, as he says, not far from the sea, where there is a sea-port town eleven miles distant from it, named Phœnix, very dangerous by reason of the rocks

[1] De Art. Am. lib. iii. Horat. Sat. lib. i. Sat. ii. ver. 109. Hist. An. lib. vi.
[2] Plin. lib. xi. cap. 22. cap. 23. [3] Hor. Car. lib. i. Od. vii. Lucan. Pharsal. viii.
[4] Lib. xiv. [5] De Reb. Hisp. lib. i. cap. 14. [6] Geog. Asiæ Com. 1.

hanging out from the mountain Taurus. It was first called Sataros, as Pliny relates;[1] afterwards by Ptolomæus Philadelphus, after he had enlarged it, it was named Arsinoë of Lycia, in honour of his wife: but the name it had from the beginning prevailed, saith Strabo.[2] From this city Apollo had the epithet of Pataræan; for that in the winter half year he gave responses here, as he did at Delos in the summer, according to Servius.[3] His temple made Patara a city of great note, being of equal esteem with that at Delphos, both for its riches and veracity of the oracle; witness Mela.[4] Hence possibly the Spaniards call fictions Pataratas; for the oracles of the Greeks were mere delusions.

2. *And finding a ship sailing over.* That is, having got the opportunity of a ship that was about to cross.

*Unto Phœnice.* Or Phœnicia, a most noted country of Asia, not far distant from Rhodes, by the Ethnic historians comprehended under Syria, but by the writers of the New Testament under the land of Canaan. Hence Stephen affirmeth that it was anciently called Chna, which is nothing else but the word Canaan cut short. This is also confirmed by St. Augustine in his exposition on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans: "Whence our countrymen, being asked what countrymen they are, while they answer in the Carthaginian tongue Canani, with the corruption only of one letter, which in such cases usually happens, what else do they say but Chanannites?" The learned are also agreed that the Pœni, that is, the Africans or Carthaginians, were at first inhabitants of Phœnicia, though they differ much in their etymology. Aristotle[5] deriveth it from Phœnixai, which in the lingua of the Perrhæbi signifies to kill, because that when they first crossed the seas, at whatsoever place they arrived they put all to the sword. "But I," saith the most learned Thomas de Pinedo, "cannot assent to it, though the opinion of so great a man, while reason so loudly speaks against it; for if they were desirous of commerce, after they had spread their colonies, it is not likely they would kill the inhabitants of the countries they came to. And although for some time they were pirates, as Thucydides affirms,[6] yet it is not probable that they had that name from the Perrhæbi. Others, among whom Callisthenes, whose opinion I willingly embrace, deduce it from Phœnix, which signifies a palm-tree, which Aristotle opposes, though against reason; in which particular Fuller

[1] Lib. v. cap. 27. [2] Lib. xiv. [3] Ad Æneid. lib. ix. ver. 143. Vide Horat. iii. Car. iii. Od. iv. [4] Lib. i cap. 15. [5] Lib. de Mirabil. [6] Lib. i.

and Scaliger, though otherwise very learned men, show themselves very ridiculous, while he derives that name of Phœnicia from Phinesias, and the other from Pinnek. Stephanus deduces it from Phœnix, the son of Agenor or Neptune, by Libye. Dionysius Periegeta asserts, that the Phœnicians owe their original to a people that dwelt by the Red Sea; that they first invented the arts of navigation and astronomy, and did traffic, says he, in that never to be enough praised treatise of his, intituled Periegesis. In steering their course they observed Cynosura, that is, the Lesser Bear, whereas the Grecians took their directions from Helice, that is, the Greater Bear, as Ovid has accurately expressed both of them.[1] The Phœnicians were the first inventors of letters, for Cadmus is reported to have been the first that transported them from Phœnicia into Greece; witness Diodorus Siculus. Of our writers Pliny speaketh thus of Phœnicia, and the inventions of the Phœnicians: 'Those who divide critically will have Phœnicia to be encompassed by Syria; that it is the maritime border of Syria, a part of which is Idumea and Judea, then Phœnicia, finally Syria. All the sea that lies before it has the name of the Phœnician Sea. The people of Phœnicia were of great account of old, for that they invented letters, knowledge of the stars, and naval and military arts. Hence Lucan:[2]—

> Phœnicians first adventured, if we may credit fame,
> To eternize the voice, to grave't on an unpolish'd frame.

I am fully persuaded that those Phœnician letters were the same which of old the Canaanites and ancient Hebrews, and the Samaritans at this day use, whatever the followers of the Jews' Rabbis say to the contrary." Thus far Thomas de Pinedo. See what we have said above, ch. xi. 19.

*We went aboard, and set forth.* That is, having got aboard that ship we were carried forth.

3. *Now when we had discovered Cyprus.* That is to say, When the island Cyprus appeared to us, or was within the reach of our sight. Of this island, which was inferior to none in fertility of wine and oil, and affluence of all necessaries, see above, ch. iv. 36.

*Having left it on the left hand.* That is, having left this famous island of Cyprus on our left hand.

*We sailed into Syria.* Which the ancients divided into Phœnicia, Palestina, and Cæle, as a certain anonymous author published by Gothofred affirms.[3]

[1] Fast. lib. iii. ver. 107. [2] Lib. iii. [3] Cap. 17.

*And landed at Tyre.* The metropolis of Phœnicia. See what we have said of Tyre and Sidon, Matt. xi. 21.

*For there the ship was to unlade her burden.* That is, the ship was to be emptied of her goods wherewith it was laden, that they might be exposed to sale in this flourishing merchant town.

4. *And finding disciples.* That is, some Christians that dwelt at Tyre; see above. Beza conjectures that the word *disciples* denoted those that followed Christ, when they were dispersed, and had not yet churches appointed, ch. ii. 19, 26; but that the word *brethren* signified those that had settled churches. But that this distinction is without any solid foundation is apparent from ch. ix. 26, and ch. xi. 29, of the Christians of Jerusalem; of those of Antioch, ch. xiv. 28, &c.; xv. 1, 10, 36; of those of Philippi, ch. xvi. 40.

*We tarried there seven days.* Being not a little solaced with that intimate fellowship we had with the Christians at Tyre.

*Who said to Paul through the Spirit.* As if he had said, When by the revelation of the Holy Spirit they were informed what great hazards Paul would undergo if he went up to Jerusalem, being at the same time ignorant that Paul was constrained thereto by an impulse of the same Spirit, they dissuaded him from going thither, not by the indictment of the Holy Spirit, but only from a principle of love to Paul.

5. *And when we had accomplished those days.* The seven above mentioned at Tyre.

*We departed.* From Tyre.

*And went our way.* That is to say, Proceeded on our journey to Jerusalem.

*And they all brought us on our way.* The Christians at Tyre, who had an entire affection to Paul.

*And we kneeled down.* Seeing this [was] done within that interval of time which is betwixt Easter and Whitsuntide, it plainly appears that it was after the times of the apostles that the primitive church did introduce the custom of not worshipping on their knees, as Tertullian and Jerome express it, all Quinquagesima over, or the fifty days which intervene betwixt the paschal feast and Pentecost, as the most learned Christopher Justellus, father to the very learned Henry, hath observed.[1]

*On the shore and prayed.* On the sea-sand in a solitary place, apart from the city, occasioned indeed by reason of Paul's journey,

[1] Ad. Can. xx. Concil. Nicen.

but also agreeable to the custom of the Jews, who were wont on their fasts to pray on the shore, as may be seen in Tertullian.[1]

6. *And when we had taken our leave one of another.* Embracing one another, as was usual, with a kiss of charity. See above, ch. xx. 1.

*We took ship.* We who were to accompany Paul farther.

*And they.* The Christians who inhabited Tyre.

*Returned home again.* Every one to their own houses.

7. *And when we had finished our course.* That is, got farther on our voyage.

*From Tyre we came to Ptolemais.* A town of Phœnicia, formerly called Ace, or with a Latin termination Aca. It is mentioned by Pliny in these words:[2] "Ptolemais, which was formerly called Ace, was a colony of Claudius Cæsar." Delecampius takes notice that it was named Acon in an ancient manuscript, which cometh nearer the original name of that town Acho, or Accho, which we read, Judges i. 31, in the Hebrew text, and here in the Syriac version. It is said by Josephus[3] to be a city of Galilee, but that part of Galilee belonged to Phœnicia, and Phœnicia and Palestine were comprehended under Syria; whence writers ascribed their cities sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other. It was an ancient and great city, which the Persians made use of as a seat of war against Egypt, as Strabo relateth.[4] The coast betwixt this and Tyre, was encompassed with banks of sand, whence they were furnished with sand for making of glass, as Strabo and Josephus report in the forecited places; the latter of whom calls it Arce and Actipus,[5] which Fuller alleges[6] ought to be utterly exploded as monsters of words, but without any solid ground; for, according to Justus, the Hebrew in Acho, this city was likewise called Arce. Ace, therefore, and Arce, was the same individual town, as Dameshek and Darmeshek was the same city which the Latins called Damascus. By Ptolemy it was called Arca,[7] and reckoned among the Mediterranean towns of Phœnicia. Elius Lampridius, in the life of Alexander Severus, calls it Arca Cæsarea and Arcena, who likewise says that this emperor was born there, and that on his birth-day there was seen in the same city a star of the first magnitude from morning till night. Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in the first book of his Chronicles reports, that Alexander the emperor,

[1] De Jejun. et lib. i. adv. Nation. [2] Lib. v. cap. 19. [3] De Bel. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 7. [4] Lib. xvi. [5] Antiq. Jud. lib. v. cap. 1. [6] Miscel. Sacr. lib. iv. cap. 15. [7] Geograph. lib. v. cap. 15.

son to Mammæus, was also born there, in which place he calls this same city Arcas in the plural number. But Actipus is derived from the Hebrew Kepitha, which was a part of the city Acho, as appears by the Jerusalem Talmud, in the treatise entitled Shemuoth, cap. 6, where you will meet with these following words:—"Rabbi (that is, Jehuda Hanasi, or the prince of the great Sanhedrim, whom by way of excellency they call Rabbi without any additament,) was in Acho, and there he saw a certain man ascend from Kepitha." Hence Josephus formed Actipus, which is changed by Ptolemy and Pliny unto Ecdippa.[1] It is true that the same Pliny mentioneth Ace and Ecdippa as two distinct cities, and Ptolemy Ecdippa, and Ptolemais, and Arca, as different cities of Phœnicia. But in this case more credit is to be given to Josephus, who affirms that Arce, Actipus, and Ptolemais, are one and the same city, in the portion of the tribe of Asher or Asser. Bochartus saith of the same city,—"The Neoterics call it Acre, which is most known: therefore it is read in Benjamin, 'From Tyre it is a day's journey to Acre,' which is Accho, not to Acde, as vulgarly." In 3 Macc. chap. the last, towards the close, it is called Ptolemais the Rosary, from the nature of the place.

8. *But another day.* That is, "and the next day," as it is in the common English translation.

*Departed.* From Ptolemais. In the Greek is added here, as also in the English translation, "They that were with Paul," that is, Paul and his companions in his journey. The like expression is extant above, ch. xiii. 13. See our commentary there.

*We came.* A few days after.

*Unto Cæsarea,* &c. Of Palestine; of which see above, ch. viii. 40.

*And we entered into the house of Philip.* Who had gone thither long ago, after that he had baptized the Ethiopian eunuch above, ch. viii. 40.

*The evangelist.* That is, the preacher of the gospel. They are called evangelists in the New Testament, who having been set over no particular church, assisted the apostles in spreading the gospel of Christ. But in succeeding times it grew out of use, so that they were only called evangelists who committed the life and doctrine of Christ to writing. And of those four penmen of the gospel, John is in a peculiar manner surnamed the evangelist, to distinguish him from John the Baptist.

[1] Lib. xcv. cap. 15. lib. v. cap. 16.

*Which.* Philip, a preacher of the gospel. See above, ch. viii. 3.

*Was one of the seven.* Deacons, or stewards of the church goods at Jerusalem, chosen above, ch. vi. 5; see there.

*And abode with him.* That is, were friendly entertained in his house.

9. *And the same man.* Excellent preacher of the gospel.

*Had.* Not shut up in a monastery, but abiding at home with him.

*Four daughters.* Beyond all controversy procreated in and by lawful marriage.

*Virgins.* Who at that time were not married, but that they were afterward given in wedlock, writeth that incomparably learned man Clemens, a presbyter, of Alexandria.

*Which did prophesy.* That is, did foretell things to come by divine inspiration, as Deborah the wife of Lapidoth, Judg. iv. 4; and Holda, or Hulda, the wife of Sellum or Shallum, 2 Kings xxii. 14; and Anna the prophetess, Luke ii. 26.

10. *And as we tarried there many days.* At Cæsarea of Palestine, in the house of Philip the deacon, refreshing ourselves after our late voyage.

*There came down from Judæa.* That is, from the province belonging to the tribe of Judah.

*A certain prophet named Agabus.* See of him above, ch. xi. 28.

11. *Bound his own hands and feet.* It was usual with the prophets, that what they predicted in words to be perceived by the ear, they also represented to the eye, by obvious and palpable things; as you may see, Isa. xx. 2, 3; Jer. xiii. 1, 4; xxvii. 2; Ezek. iv. 5—12.

*Thus saith the Holy Ghost.* That is, The Holy Spirit hath inspired me from heaven to foretell these things to come.

*The man.* That is Paul. This prophecy of Agabus is eventually fulfilled below, ver. 33.

12. *He besought.* Luke, Aristarchus, Trophimus, and the rest of Paul's attendants in his journeys.

*And they of that place.* That is, the Christians who dwelt at Cæsarea of Palestine.

*That he should not go up.* To wit, Paul.

*To Jerusalem.* The cruel murderess of the prophets, and who stoned them with stones that were sent unto her, Matt. xxiii. 37.

13. *Then Paul answered.* To give a check to their unseasonable affection to him wards.

*What mean ye to weep, and to break my heart?* As if he had said, Alas! my heart is rent, while I see you thus, though to no purpose, endeavour to deter me from going to Jerusalem.

*Not to be bound only, but also to die.* Not only to endure the bitterness of bonds, but even that of death itself.

*In Jerusalem.* That is, at Jerusalem, where our Lord Jesus underwent the infamous death of the cross for my salvation's sake.

*I am ready—for the name of the Lord Jesus.* That is, that I may glorify the Lord Jesus by my death. One's name is usually put for one, as we have observed before.

14. *And when he would not be persuaded.* That he should not go to Jerusalem, and expose himself to such imminent dangers.

*We ceased.* To wit, to dissuade him any further from this journey.

*Saying, The will of the Lord be done.* Submitting our affections to the Divine will; praying that the event may be, not according to our wills, but God's. So Epictetus divinely said: "I had rather alway what God willeth come to pass, than what I. I will be joined and cleave to him, as a servant and waiting-man; with him I long, with him I desire, and simply, and in a word, whatever God willeth that I will."

15. *And after those days.* Which we passed at Cæsarea of Palestine.

*We took up our carriages.* Things requisite for our journey.

*And went up to Jerusalem.* That is, took our journey to Jerusalem. Some think that by the word "ascend," in journeying toward Jerusalem, it is implied, that Jerusalem lies higher than other places. But this word is used to denote a similar journey to any place whatever, as you may see, Gen. xxxv. 1; xlv. 9; xlvi. 29, 31.

16. *There went also certain of the disciples.* That is to say, Christians.

*Of Cæsarea.* Of Palestine, where we lodged, at Philip the deacon's house.

*With us.* That accompanied Paul to Jerusalem.

*And brought with them.* That is, were accompanied by him, who possibly had come from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, and was thence returning home to Jerusalem.

*With whom we should lodge.* That is, that I, Luke, and the rest of Paul's companions, and Paul himself should sojourn at his house at Jerusalem at the feast of Pentecost now approaching.

*Mnason of Cyprus.* Born in the island Cyprus.

*An old disciple.* That is, who now for a considerable time had been a Christian. Hence we may conjecture that all the Christians dwelling in Jerusalem, did not sell their houses above, ch. iv. 32, 34; for this Mnason, an old disciple of Christ, who possibly heard Jesus Christ himself teach, seems to have had a house of his own at Jerusalem, in which he could lodge a great many together.

17. *The brethren received us gladly.* That is, the Christians that dwelt at Jerusalem saluted us most lovingly, and congratulated our coming.

*With us.* That is, with me, Luke, and other companions of Paul in his journey.

*Unto James.* The son of Alphæus. Of whom see above, ch. xii. 17, and xv. 13. See also Gal. i. 9; ii. 12, 19. There is no mention made of Peter here, nor of the other apostles; whence it appears, that they had before that gone from Jerusalem unto other places, to preach the gospel to them.

19. *And when he had saluted them.* With brotherly embraces.

*He declared particularly.* That is, he gave an account of every thing in order, or of all, one after another.

*What things God had wrought among the Gentiles.* That is, among the nations which were aliens to the common-wealth of Israel.

*By his ministry.* Converting them to the Christian faith.

20. *And when they heard it.* How great things God had wrought by the ministry of Paul among the foreign nations.

*They glorified the Lord.* That is, they gave thanks, and ascribed the praise to God, the Author of those good things in propagating the gospel, and bringing men to salvation.

*And they said unto him.* To wit, Paul.

*Thou seest, brother, how many thousands,* &c. As if they said, you are not ignorant, brother, how great a multitude of Jews there is, who, although they have embraced Christianity, yet are all so fervently zealous for the legal ceremonies, that if there be any neglect of them, will be highly offended. Of such zeal or fervent affection, see Rom. x. 2; Gal. i. 14.

21. *And they are informed,* &c. As if they said, It has been reported to those zealous avouchers of the Mosaic rites, that thou teachest the Jews that dwell dispersed among the Gentiles, that the statutes that Moses appointed, are to be rejected, nor are their sons to be circumcised, nor other rites prescribed in the law to be observed. So they calumniated Paul, that being instructed by

Christ, he taught that the legal ceremonies, now when Christ is revealed, were not necessary to salvation, though in such things, now not necessary but instituted by God of old, he thought fit for a while to bear with them, who being not fully enlightened, did think that they were still in force, and accommodated himself to them in such things by Christian charity as you may see above, ch. xvi. 3; 1. Cor. ix. 20. See above, ch. xv. 2, 8.

*Neither to walk after the customs.* That is, nor observe other rites appointed in the law.

22. *What is it therefore?* Supply "to be done;" that the affections of so great a multitude of believers may be reconciled to thee.

*Must needs,* &c. That is, it cannot otherwise be, but that a multitude of Jews converted to Christ will come together to visit you, when they have heard, which cannot be concealed, that you are come hither to Jerusalem.

23. *Four men which have a vow on them.* That is, who have bound themselves with a vow of a Nazarite. Of these Nazarites, see Numb. vi.

24. *Them take, and purify thyself with them.* That is, add thyself a fifth to these four men, who of believing Jews have taken a vow of a Nazarite, and be thou with them a Nazarite to the Lord, or abstain from worldly business; the Hebrew noun *nazir* signifieth one sanctified, or separated and consecrated to the Lord. Numb. vi. 2, 5.

*And be at charges with them, that they may shave their heads.* That is, and when the time of the said vow of a Nazarite is fulfilled, add also thy share of the charges for oblations, which these four Nazarites shall offer to God, that when they have offered them, they may leave their hair at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation. Numb. vi. 18, 19.

*And all may know.* Judaizing Christians, who by reason of their number ought neither to be despised, nor offended.

*That those things whereof they were informed concerning thee.* That is, the rumour, whereby it was reported to them that thou art an enemy to the law of Moses.

*Are nothing.* That is, to be a lying and malicious defamation.

*But that thou thyself also walkest orderly, and keepest the law.* Seeing thou art an observer of the rites of the law.

25. *As touching the Gentiles,* &c. As if they said, there is no cause why you should fear, lest, if thou observe these rites of the

law, those of the Gentiles who have embraced the faith of Christ, should by your example be persuaded, that they also are obliged to observe the rites of the law of Moses; for, as you very well know, we have sent unto them a synodical epistle by the unanimous judgment of the church, wherein we have signified, that no legal rites are necessary to be observed by them, save abstaining from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication. See what we have said above, ch. xv. 1, 5, 20—23, 28—30.

26. *Then Paul.* Hearkening to the advice of the brethren, that he might avoid giving of offence.

*Took the men.* Viz., those four Nazarites, of which above, ver. 23.

*And the next day purifying himself with them.* That is, being together with them separated from them who were accounted common or unclean.

*He entered into the temple.* Of Jerusalem.

*To signify,* &c. Declaring to the priests in how many days the vow of a Nazarite taken by him and his companions would be fulfilled, that having finished it, the sacrifices appointed by the law might be offered for them. Numb. vi. 14, 15.

27. *And when the seven days were almost ended.* That is, when those seven days were now near fulfilled, after which Paul and the other four Nazarites were to quit their vow of Nazarite.

*The Jews which were of Asia.* Viz., who had come from Ephesus, the metropolis of Asia, strictlier so called, to Jerusalem, to celebrate the feast of Pentecost there.

*When they saw him in the temple.* That is, beheld Paul in the temple of Jerusalem.

*They stirred up all the people.* That is, the multitude of people that were there present.

*And laid hands on him, crying.* That is, and they laid hold on him violently, thus complaining.

28. *Against the people.* Of Israel.

*And the law.* Delivered by God to Moses.

*And this place.* That is, this holy temple of Jerusalem.

*Teacheth all men everywhere.* This false accusation and reproach was thrown upon Paul here and above, ch. xvii. 6, because he taught that not only the Jewish nation were to be accounted the people of God, but all who of what nation soever believed in Christ and lived soberly, righteously, and godly; that the force and

obligation of typic ceremonies, or those which were previous to the coming of Christ, had ceased; that since the time that the evangelic law began to be promulged, the worship of God, who must be worshipped in spirit and truth, was not restricted to the temple of Jerusalem. On the same cause and occasion they accused and calumniated Stephen; above, ch. vi. 13.

*And Greeks also.* Profane, and aliens to the people of God.

*He hath brought into the temple.* Viz., into that part of the temple into which it was lawful only for the Israelites, or those that were initiated in the Israelitic holy mysteries to enter. Otherwise there was an outer court, which was apart from the temple, and that court was open to Jews and Gentiles alike; nor were any shut out of it, save women lately delivered of a child, and those that were troubled with an issue of blood, or monthly flowers.

*And hath polluted this holy place.* That is, and so he hath defiled and profaned that stately temple of Jerusalem, consecrated for the worship of the divine Majesty.

29. *For they had seen.* Viz., some of those Jews of Ephesus, Paul's accusers, or rather calumniators.

*Trophimus, an Ephesian.* Known by them that he was a heathen by birth, nor had he been initiated in the Jewish religion. Of this Trophimus there is mention made above, ch. xx. 4; 2 Tim. iv. 20.

*In the city.* Viz., Jerusalem.

*With him.* Viz., Paul.

*Whom.* Paul's very intimate friend.

*They supposed.* Viz., being blinded with an insatiable desire of mocking and calumniating Paul.

30. *And all the city was moved*, &c. As if he said, In the meanwhile, by the outcry of those Ephesian Jews, the report of Paul's accusation, was come to the ears of almost all citizens and inhabitants, and those who at that time sojourned at Jerusalem, whereby the people being incensed, run together, and with a mad violence rush upon Paul and draw him forth out of the temple with design to kill him there, and lest the Gentiles should make an irruption into the temple on his revenge, when they had drawn him out of the temple, the Levites, the porters, immediately shut the gates of the temple.

31. *And as they went about to kill him.* That is, but when the enraged multitude attempted to beat Paul to death.

*Tidings come unto the chief captain of the band.* That is, the colonel of that regiment, which on festival days, and therefore also

in Pentecost, kept a guard in the porches of the temple, for the appeasing of all tumults, if any should arise; see John xviii. 22.

*That all Jerusalem was in an uproar.* That is, in a furious tumult.

32. *Who.* Viz., the governor or colonel of the regiment, or, as he is called by the Greeks, *chiliarchos.* It was an order in the Roman militia that the soldiers should meet together in the morning to salute the centurions, and they the tribunes or colonels. Now *hecatontarchi* were called the centurions, who were set over a hundred men; *pentecontarchi,* who were over fifty; *decarthi,* or decurions, who were set over ten.

*Ran down.* Possibly from the castle.

*To them.* Viz., the tumultuous Jews.

*They left beating Paul.* Being frightened with the coming of the colonel, who had brought with him both common soldiers and captains for the appeasing of the uproar.

33. *Then,* &c. As if he said, But when the colonel was come to that place in which the Jews beat Paul, with so great an uproar, having delivered him out of the Jews' hands, he commanded him to be bound with chains, and having bound him hand and foot, he asked who he was, and what he had done, that he might know the cause why the Jews hated him so extremely, that they went about to kill him with stripes, with so great a hubbub.

34. *He commanded him to be carried into the camp.* The English translation renders here the Greek word παρεμβολὴν, "into the castle," as Lud. de Dieu interprets it. *Castrum,* in the singular number, is a place fenced with walls, otherwise called a castle or tower; but *castra,* in the plural, denotes the place where soldiers fixed their tents, or the tents themselves in which soldiers lie. Παρεμβολὴ signifieth both; but since camps used not to be set up in a city, it seems here rather to signify a castle, or that castle which is said to have been called Antonian, built by Herod the Great in honour of Antony.

35. *And when he came upon the stairs.* By which they went up to the Antonian castle.

*So it was,* &c. That is, by reason of the great crowd of the multitude that pressed after and followed, he was rather carried by the soldiers than led by them.

36. *For there followed.* Paul.

*Away with him.* That is, punish him with a deserved death. Eusebius relateth[1] that the heathens used to cry out to the judge

[1] Hist. iv. 14.

against the Christians, when they would have them speedily put to death, ἆῖρε τοὺς ἀθεους, "Take away these wicked men."

37. *And as Paul was to be led into the castle.* That is, while he was yet upon the stairs, in the entry of the Antonian castle, in a more open place.

*He said unto the captain.* In the Greek tongue. After the Macedonian conquest, the Greeks having extended their dominion over several nations, the Greek language was become, as it were, common among the nations of Asia and Egypt.

*Who.* The chief captain hearing Paul ask in the Greek tongue leave to speak.

*Canst thou speak Greek?* In the original it is curtly expressed, "Knowest thou Greek?" The full speech is extant, Neh. xiii. 24, *And they could not speak Hebrew.*

38. *Art not thou that Egyptian?* False prophet.

*Which before these days.* In the beginning of Nero's reign.

*Madest an uproar.* That is, stirredst up sedition.

*And leddest out into the wilderness.* Such impostors used to draw men out into desert places, that there they might safely join their forces, as you may see frequently in Josephus. See Matt. xxiv. 26.

*Four thousand men.* At the first, indeed, that false prophet had but so many followers, but afterwards they increased to almost thirty thousand, whom he led from the wilderness to Mount Olivet, promising himself, that at his command the walls of Jerusalem would fall down, whereby he would have an easy entrance into the city. But while he was thus puffed up with the vain hopes of those golden mountains he promised himself, his forces were routed by Felix's army, four thousand of them being slain, two thousand taken prisoners, and the rest, together with the false prophet put to flight. This story is related by Josephus and Eusebius.[1]

*Murderers.* To express this, a Latin word is made use of in the Greek text, derived from *sica*, which word has great affinity with the Hebrew סכין, signifying a knife; they were called *sicarii* who used to assail innocent men unawares, and run them through the breast with a short sword. "Some are of opinion," saith the very well learned Drusius, "that the *sicarii*, who were of the followers of Judas of Galilee, did acknowledge no Lord but God only, of whom Josephus speaketh.[2] Others will have them to be the same with the Hessæi, of which number is Theophylact. It is possible

[1] Ant. lib. xx. cap. 6. Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 12. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 21. et in Chronic.

[2] Orig. Jud. lib. xviii. cap. 2, et lib. xx. cap. 7.

that some of this sect were *sicarii*. For the Hessæi did fight very fiercely against the Romans, and rather than they would call Cæsar lord, did choose to undergo most bitter tortures, yea, made no scruple of losing their dearest blood, and willingly gave themselves over to death. Of these *sicarii* Scaliger writeth.[1] Josephus saith that the followers of Judas, save in this that they would give no man the title of lord, were in other points Pharisees. On the other hand, Rabbi Abraham Zacuth of Salamanca, in the book Johasin, affirmeth that Judas of Galilee was the author of the sect of the Essenes, who are commonly called Nazarites, that is, holy; and Assideans, that is, godly. And also that it was by the instigation of the Essenes, that the Jews rebelled against the Romans; for they said that God only had right to dominion over men, nor ought any other to assume the title of lord, but God, who alone is blessed and to be praised."

39. *But Paul said, I am a man who am a Jew.* And not an Egyptian.

*Of Tarsus*, &c. As if he said, But a citizen of Tarsus, a city of considerable note in Cilicia. See what we have said above of Tarsus, and of Cilicia, ch. vii. 58; ix. 30; vi. 9.

*Suffer me to speak unto the people.* That I may vindicate my innocency as to the crimes they charge me with.

40. *And when he.* Viz., the chief captain of the regiment.

*Had given licence.* To Paul to plead his cause with the people.

*Paul stood on the stairs.* Of the Antonian castle, whither by the chief captain's order he was brought.

*He beckoned with the hand to the people.* That is, by the beck of his hand requiring silence.

*He spake.* To the people of the Jews.

*In the Hebrew tongue.* Which was then in use among the Jews, that is, the Syro-Hebræan, as appears from a great many places in the New Testament, where several sayings of our Lord Jesus and his apostles are expressed in their mother tongue. But it seems that Syro-Hebræan speech, or the Hebrew mixed with the Syrian dialect, was not unknown at that time to the Jews that were dispersed among other nations. For seeing very many used to come to Jerusalem on days of greater solemnity, they learned that speech that was usual in that city, which was the metropolis of all the Jews, wherever their place of abode was.

[1] Animadver. Euseb. p. 117. col. 1.

## CHAPTER XXII.

1. *Men, brethren, and fathers.* See above, ch. vii. 2.

*Hear ye my defence which I now make unto you.* That is, my defence, whereby I vindicate myself from the accusation of my adversaries.

2. *And when they heard that he spake in the Hebrew tongue.* See above, ch. xxi. 40.

*They kept the more silence.* Because the Hebrew was more acceptable to them, as being Hebrews.

*And he saith.* Paul further continued his discourse thus.

3. *I am verily a man which am a Jew.* Deducing my original from Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

*Born in Tarsus, a city of Cilicia.* See above, ch. vii. 9; vii. 58; ix. 30.

*Brought up.* Not from his childhood, which it is probable he passed at Tarsus in his own country, but from his youth, viz., that Paul having been from a child carefully brought up in the Greekish learning, now become a youth, came to Jerusalem, in regard he was a Jew by nation, that he might be there instructed more fully in sacred learning in the company of Gamaliel, by him. Of this Gamaliel see above, ch. v. 34.

*In this city.* Jerusalem, the chief city of the Jews.

*At the feet of Gamaliel.* A very modest self-extenuating of himself. "For he does not," as the excellently learned John Christopher Wagenseil observes, "arrogantly make his boast that he had been his companion and familiar, and had participated with him in sacred and profane things as his fellow; but rather humbly professes that he was prostrate as it were at the feet of that great doctor, and whose memory, being lately deceased, was in high veneration among all the Jews, and that in this low state he took his entertainment of him. This is usual among the Jews, that speaking reverently of others, they lay themselves as it were at their feet. Abigail is an excellent instance of this, 1 Sam. xxv. 41; *And she arose and bowed her face to the earth, and said, Behold let thine handmaid be a servant to wash the feet of the servants of my Lord.* To the same purpose is that excellent saying of Jose, son of Joeser, in Pirke Avoth, 'Let thy house be a receptacle for the wise, and roll thyself in the dust of their feet.' For this saying has no other sense than what the commentators have expressed it in, that is, by

the words, 'and wallow thy self in the dust of their feet:' this is enjoined, 'Be humble and attend constantly on the wise.'" Thus far the learned Wagenseil.[1]

*Taught.* Interpreters commit an error while they connect the words, *at the feet of Gamaliel*, with the word *taught*, because it rather agreeth with the foregoing words, *brought up in this city*, and Paul signifies, that he was fed and was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, but not that he was instructed in learning at Gamaliel's feet. The Syrian interpreter takes the words in the same sense, whence it is that he is so careful in leaving a difference between Paul's nativity, education, and instruction, by copulative and disjunctive particles. He translateth the words thus: "I am a man, a Jew, and was born in Tarsus of Cilicia, but brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel: and I was perfectly instructed in the law of our fathers." Furthermore, in Gamaliel's time, the scholars stood as they were taught by their masters, who used to sit. For so the rabbins deliver in Megilla, p. 21, *a*, that from the time of Moses to that of Gamaliel, scholars in no other postures save that of standing, attended the instructions of their masters, who taught sitting. But that after the death of Gamaliel, the world was more than ordinarily infested with diseases, and so that custom was introduced for scholars to sit by their masters as they imbibed their instructions. Whence it is said in Mishna, "that after Gamaliel's death the reverence of the law vanished." But that this was a custom amongst the ancient Jews, that the teachers sat, and the scholars and other auditors stood upright on their feet, appears plainly from the gospel, as you may see, Matt. v. 1—3; xxiii. 2; and if we credit the authority of the Syrian interpreter, Mark iv. 1. But since the time that it became a custom for scholars to sit by their masters, to wit, after Gamaliel's decease, a little before the destruction of the second temple, the master used to sit at the head, and the scholars, in time of teaching, used to sit by him on each side semicircle-wise; nor did any sit behind the back of the teacher, "that they might all behold their master, and hear his discourse," saith Maimonides.[2] But though none of the Pharisees or scribes before the decease of Gamaliel, used sitting as a common posture both to teacher and hearer, yet that Christ sometimes used it, and out of tenderness to his hearers, sometimes permitted them, contrary to the received custom, after they had stood longer than ordinary, to sit down, that they might refresh

[1] Confut. impii Carminis R. Lipman. [2] In Hilchot. Talmud. Tora. cap. 4. num. 2.

their limbs that were fatigued by long standing, that they might be able more attentively to give ear, appears from Mark iii. 32, 34.

*According to the perfect manner of the law of our fathers.* In the Greek it is, as the learned Beza interprets it, "According to the exact form of the law of our fathers." Where the learned Lud. de Dieu, extraordinarily well versed both in the holy tongues and learning, by *the law of our fathers* does not simply understand that law which their fathers had received from God by Moses, but that tradition which they had received from their fathers: "It," saith he, "denoteth the religion of the Pharisees, which in a great measure consisted of the traditions they had from their fathers, of which Paul says, Gal. i. 14, that in times past he was a great zealot; and when he attributes strictness to that sect, he saith the same as below, ch. xxvi. 5. The meaning therefore is, that he was instructed in Pharisaism, which is the most accurate form of the law of the fathers." Now this Gamaliel was a very famous master, among others, of the sect of the Pharisees.

*Zealous towards God.* The Vulgate Latin interpreter reads it "zealous of the law," whereas the common reading in the Greek text has it zealous towards God. Paul professes that he was a zealot of God, by a Hebraism very usual in scripture, that is, that he was moved with a hot zeal against those who did not observe the law of Moses, as it is augmented by the traditions of the Pharisees. See Gal. i. 14.

*As ye all are this day.* Paul compareth himself, when in this hot zeal, to the Jews that were risen up against him; to whom also he attributeth a zeal of God, or ardent study towards the observation of the law, though not according to knowledge. Rom. x. 2.

4. *This way.* That is, the Christian religion, for which I am now in bonds. So is *way* taken above, ch. ix. 2; xviii. 25—28; xix. 9, 25.

*I persecuted unto the death,* &c. That is, I contemned it, and abhorred it as a loathsome and pernicious plague, so that I cast the professors of it into prison without regard to sex, and caused them to be cruelly murdered. See above, ch. vii. 48; viii. 1—3; ix. 1, 2.

5. *As also the high priest.* That is, the prince of the great Sanhedrim. See above, ch ix. 1.

*Doth bear me witness.* That is, who knowing these things very well, can bear witness to the truth of them.

*And all the estate of the elders.* That is, and the rest of the sena-

tors of the great Sanhedrim. "St. Luke," saith Selden, "both in the gospel, and also in the Acts, made use of the word presbyterion, which the Vulgate Latin interpreter rendereth seniors or elders, to signify the great sanhedrim. See Matt. xxvi. 59; Luke xxii. 66.

*From whom*, &c. See above, ch. ix. 1, 2.

*I received letters.* That is, when I had received letters or having received letters, whereby power was given me to do that which I designed.

*Unto the brethren.* That is, to other Jews and their synagogues.

*To be punished.* That is, that they might be cruelly tortured and put to death.

6. *And it came to pass, that as I made my journey.* That is, hurried on with a blind rage, I might bring my hot zeal against the disciples of Jesus to effect.

*And was come nigh unto Damascus.* See above, ch. ix. 2, 3.

*At noon.* The Greek hath as the English translation, "about noon."

*Suddenly.* That is, in a trice, beyond my expectation.

*Shone from heaven.* Like lightning.

*Me.* Supply from ch. xxvi. 13, *And those who were journeying with me.*.

*A great light.* Much surpassing the noon-day brightness of the sun, as you may see below, ch. xxvi. 13.

7. *And I fell unto the ground.* That is, but when I was stricken with that sudden light, I fell to the ground. See above, ch. ix. 4.

*I*, &c. See above, ch. ix. 5.

9. *And they that were with me.* My companions in that journey to Damascus.

*The light.* Which descended from heaven, shined about me and them.

*But they heard not the voice.* That is, they understood it not. See above, ch. ix. 7.

10. *What shall I do?* That is, what wouldst thou have me do? See above, ch. ix. 6.

*Arise.* Viz., from the ground on which thou liest prostrate.

*Go to Damascus.* That is, continue thy journey to Damascus, which thou undertookest with design to deliver over to punishment those who are addicted to my worship, changing only thy purpose thou hadst in thy journey.

*And there it shall be told thee.* By Ananias my disciple.

*Of all things which are appointed for thee to do.* That is, which I have revealed to him as by me constituted and ordained, what thou shouldest do. See above, ch. ix. 6.

11. *And when I could not see,* &c. See above, ch. ix. 8.

12. *Ananias.* Of him see above, ch. ix. 10.

*A devout man according to the law.* That is, who adores and worships God rightly, according to the tenor of the law delivered from God by Moses.

*Having a good report.* Viz., of his devotion to God.

*Of all the Jews which dwell.* Supply "there," viz., at Damascus.

*Came unto me.* Into the street of Damascus which is called Straight. See above, ch. ix. 11, 17.

*And stood and said unto me.* That is, having laid his hands upon me, as appears above, ch. ix. 17.

*Receive thy sight.* Which thou hadst lost, and look upon me.

*The same hour.* That is, the same point of time. See ch. ix. 18.

*I looked up upon him.* That is, having my sight, which I had lost, restored again, I beheld him.

14. *The God of our fathers.* That is, the true God, who of old adopted our forefathers the patriarchs maintainers of his worship.

*Hath pre-ordained thee.* The Greek, as the English translation have, *he hath chosen thee.* For the Greek word properly signifies to take that in your hands which ye would make use of, whether it have a reference to the thing or person. Hence the Hebrew word לָקַח "to take," is by the Greek interpreters translated by this word, Josh. iii. 12, *Take unto you twelve men.* See also, 2 Mac. iii. 7; viii. 9. The famous Beza is of opinion that this manner of speaking is borrowed from artificers, who take the thing that is to be made into their hands, having before deliberated what to make, and for what end. See above, ch. ix. 15, and beneath, ch. xxvi. 16.

*That thou shouldest know his will.* Revealed by Jesus Christ touching the things which are necessary to be believed and done in order to eternal life.

*And see that Just One.* To wit, the Messiah promised in the law and the prophets, risen from the dead, whose brightness did so dazzle thy eyes, that thou thereby becamest blind. See what we have said above, ch. iii. 14; vii. 52.

*And shouldest hear the voice of his mouth.* Directed to you while enlightened with a heavenly light, in your journey to Damascus, ye saw him.

15. *For thou shalt*, &c. As if he had said, And for that end the Lord Jesus exhibited himself, to be heard and seen by thee, that before all nations whither thou shalt happen to go or converse with, thou mayest bear witness that he is risen from the dead, and was seen by thee in the splendour and brightness of that heavenly light, which being darted on thee, did grievously dazzle thy eyes, and that by his own mouth he commanded thee to preach that gospel, the knowledge of which thou receivedst from himself, among all nations. See below, ch. xxvi. 17, 18.

16. *And now*, &c. As if he had said, Now, therefore, without delay be thou initiated by baptism, instituted by Christ, and by this dipping of thy body in water, profess that by faith in Jesus Christ thou art washed, or to be washed, from the inward defilements of thy mind, or from the pollutions of sin. See what is said on ch. ii. 38. "Baptism is a dipping, and was celebrated of old according to the import and notion of the word; now only rhantism is in use with the generality in the west, not immersion or dipping," saith the learned Salmasius.[1]

*Calling on the name of the Lord.* To wit, the Lord Jesus Christ. Those that believe in Christ, and are obedient to him, and profess his worship, are described thus; that they are those who call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, as you may see above, ch. ix. 14, 21; 1 Cor. i. 2. Hence in the invocation of the name of Christ are comprehended faith in Christ, a religious profession of his worship, and an unfeigned obedience to his commands.

17. *And it came to pass that when I was come again*, &c. As if he had said, It happened to me after I had returned to Jerusalem, on the fourth year after my conversion to Jesus Christ, that my bodily senses being benumbed, I had been in a rapture out of myself, when embracing an occasion of conferring with the Jews about faith in the same Jesus Christ, I prayed in the temple of Jerusalem, in which the solemn worship of God used to be performed by the Jews. See above, ch. ix. 26; x. 10.

*In a trance.* This ecstasy of his must not be confounded with his rapture into the third heaven, 2 Cor. xii. 2.

18. *And saw him*, &c. As if he had said, And so the Lord Jesus, whom I saw while enlightened with divine light, as I was sojourning to Damascus, appeared again a second time to me, being as it were in a rapture beside myself, and commanded me to depart quickly from Jerusalem, because the Jews, the inhabitants

[1] In Ep. ad Andr. Colv. Script. Kal. Jul. 1644.

thereof, would stubbornly withstand my preaching of him, and bearing witness to his apparitions to me. See above, ch. ix. 29.

19. *And I said*, &c. As if he had said, But I, being very desirous of preaching the gospel there, where I had opposed it before, did urge that I might be permitted to stay longer at Jerusalem; saying, Lord Jesus, may not some of the Jews at Jerusalem, attributing my faith in thee to a great and just cause, embrace it when preached by me, seeing they all know that I was an inveterate enemy to thy servants, that so far as I could or had liberty, I beat and imprisoned them cruelly and unmercifully in every synagogue or juridical congregation. See above, ver. 4, and Grotius in Matt. x. 17.

20. *And when the blood of Stephen was shed.* By stoning him. Of which above. ch. vii. 59.

*Thy martyr.* That is, who was the first of the martyrs or witnesses peculiarly so called, who not only witnessed with a verbal confession, as those did whom the ecclesiastic historians called confessors, but also sealed and confirmed their testimony with their blood, that was violently shed by their adversaries for their testimony of Christ and his doctrine.

*I.* Supply, "As the Jews at Jerusalem know very well themselves."

*Was standing by and consenting.* That is, I stood by, not only as a spectator, but also as an approver of what was done.

*And kept*, &c. As if he had said, And that I approved it, I plainly demonstrated, in that I kept the cloaks, or upper garments of those that stoned him, when they were laid down at my feet. See above, ch. vii. 58.

21. *And he said.* The Lord Jesus, reiterating his command.

*To me.* Wrangling.

*Go.* That is, be gone quickly from Jerusalem.

*I will send thee far off unto the Gentiles.* That is, I will have thee presently to go to the nations far distant from Jerusalem, as my peculiar apostle and ambassador to them, that there thou mayest preach the gospel among the nations, aliens to the common-wealth of Israel, living without the covenant of God, without the promises, destitute of the knowledge of God's will, and that thou mayest convert them to me, who am rejected indeed by the Jews, but the author of eternal life to all those that are obedient to me; see Gal. i. 16; ii. 8; Eph. ii. 12, 13; iii. 8; 1 Tim. ii. 7; 2 Tim. i. 11.

22. *And they gave audience unto this word.* That is to say, The Jews who were there present were attentive, until Paul, in the now mentioned words, had intimated, according to the prophecy of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 21; Isa. lxv. 1, that the Jews being rejected as unworthy because of their unbelief, the Messiah, who is promised in the law and the prophets, would cull out to himself a people out of those strange nations, which they bore such a deadly hatred to.

*And then lifted up their voices.* As if he had said, But as soon as Paul had said these things about the conversion of the Gentiles to Christ, the Jews that were hearing him could not refrain from exclaiming against him, out of a bitter hatred and detestation.

*And said.* Viz. to the chief captain of the soldiers.

*Away with such a fellow from the earth.* That is, punish this base and wicked villain with a deserved death.

*For it is not fit that he should live.* That is to say, He is unworthy that he should live a minute longer.

23. *And as they cried out,* &c. As if he had said, While these Jews, by their outrageous outcries, casting off their garments like madmen, and throwing of dust into the air, bewrayed minds more than ordinarily provoked and enraged.

24. *The chief captain commanded him to be brought into the castle.* See above, ch. xxi. 34.

*And bade that he should be examined by scourging.* That is, that they might extort a confession of the truth from Paul, by inflicting of stripes on him.

*That he might know.* That is, that having wrested a confession from Paul, the chief captain might be informed.

*For what cause.* That is to say, for what crime. Cause is frequently put for crime. Matt. xxvii. 37; Mark xv. 26.

*They cried so against him.* That is, the Jews cried out so madly against him, when yet they could not charge him with any particular crime.

25. *And as they bound him with thongs.* In the Greek it is, "stretched him out with cords." That is, but when the soldiers had stretched forth Paul, according to custom, bound with ropes. "In the Talmud,"[1] saith the most famous Lud. de Dieu, "where the rites are described that were used to be performed to him that was to be scourged, it is read, How is he scourged? Both his hands were bound to a column on either side." That column was a piece

[1] Lib. מכות, cap. 3.

of wood fastened in the ground, of the height of a cubit and a half, that he that was to be scourged might lie bent upon it. For as the Mishna expresses it, he was not beat standing or sitting, but bowed downwards, because it is written, *the judge shall cause him to lie down*, Deut. xxv. 2. And that the executioner might the more conveniently beat him so ordered, a stone was set behind the criminal, on which the minister of the synagogue stood. By reason of this rite possibly, Luke used this word προέτειναν, that the preposition πρὸ may denote, that Paul was so stretched out that with the upper part of his body he lay prone on the pillar. "The Arabian," saith the now cited Lud. de Dieu, "seems to have had respect to another ceremony, also in use among the Eastern nations, with whom the criminal being prostrate was so stretched out, that on both sides the officers did hold his head and feet, that he might not evade or decline the stripes of him he was scourged by. Hence he translateth it: 'And when they had stretched him out between the lictors,' some of whom, to wit, held the criminal with cords at the head, others by the feet. Nor does the Ethiopic much recede from it; 'and when having bound him they drew his feet.'"

*Paul said unto the centurion that stood by.* Paul, bound with cords, and stretched forth, straight ready to be scourged, repelled the injury by lawful helps administered by God, saying to the centurion whom the chief captain had left in charge with this torture for the extorting a confession of the truth from Paul.

*Is.* That is, whether, as elsewhere frequently.

*A man that is a Roman.* That is, who has a right to the privilege of the Roman city. "Tarsus, Paul's native city," saith Grotius, "was not a colony, but a free city, according to the testimony of Pliny. Appianus saith this freedom was conferred by Antonius. And Dion Chrysostomus, relateth several privileges that Augustus bestowed on the city of Tarsus, but not the right of a colony, or freehold, as belonged to Roman cities, nor does Ulpianus mention Tarsus among the colonies of Cilicia. It remaineth, therefore, that some of Paul's predecessors procured that privilege to himself, in the civil wars, that happened betwixt Cæsar Augustus and Brutus and Cassius, or betwixt the same Cæsar and Antony."[1]

*Uncondemned.* Greek, "unjudged." That is, without knowing the cause. See above, ch. xvi. 36.

[1] Lib. v. cap. 27. Civil. 5.

*Is it lawful for you to scourge?* The Porcian and Sempronian laws exempted a Roman citizen from stripes in a Roman judicatory, but not so in a Jewish, if any of the Jews were to be beat according to their own laws. Hence Paul, who by birth was a Roman citizen, yet as a Jew he received of the Jews five times forty stripes save one, 2 Cor. xi. 24. Learned Selden proves that by the favour of the emperors, the Jews were allowed even in Rome to put some of their judicial laws in execution among themselves.[1]

26. *The centurion.* That is, the captain of a hundred soldiers, of whom see in the preceding verse.

*Went and told the chief captain.* The prefect of a thousand soldiers, of whom above, ch. xxi. 31.

*For this man.* Of whom ye commanded me to extort a confession by inflicting stripes on him.

*Is a Roman.* Whom the law forbids to be scourged.

*Said unto him.* Viz., to Paul who was bound with cords.

*If.* That is, whether, as above, ver. 25, and frequently elsewhere.

*A Roman.* That is, endowed with the privileges of the Roman city. For the chief captain knew very well by Paul's speech that he was not born at Rome, but at Tarsus.

28. *I.* Chief captain.

*With a great sum.* That is, with great difficulty, and not without paying a great sum for it.

*Obtained this freedom.* That is, the privilege of the Roman city. This privilege that before used to be freely given, through the avarice of the Claudian times, as Tacitus expresses it,[2] began to be sold. Salvianus saith, that the title of Roman citizen was purchased at a great rate.

*And Paul said, But I was free born.* That is, it is not a late purchase hath made me a Roman citizen, but my very birth. For I am descended of progenitors that were free-born citizens. See what we have said above, ver. 25.

29. *When straightway.* By the chief captain's command.

*They departed from him.* Viz., from Paul, by birth a Roman citizen, and therefore exempted from being scourged by the Porcian law.

*Which should have examined him.* That is to say, who by the said chief captain, before he knew that Paul was a Roman citizen

[1] Ex. C. Tit. de Jud. lib. viii. Dion. lib. xxxvii. et Xiphilin in Pomp. [2] Lib. v.

were commanded by scourging to extort from Paul a confession of his crime, for which the Jews did in so great a rage exclaim against him.

*And because he had bound him.* The word *and* redounds here. For the meaning is not that the chief captain also knew that he had bound Paul, for this he could not be ignorant of; but that he feared, when he understood that Paul was a Roman citizen, lest he should be called to account for that he had commanded a Roman citizen to be bound with chains. See what we have observed above, ch. xxi. 33.

30. *The certainty.* That is, the certain truth, ch. xvi. 37, 38.

*He loosed him.* That is, he commanded Paul's chains to be loosed, with which he, when he knew not that he was a Roman citizen, had caused him to be bound.

*And he commanded,* &c. As if he had said, And he called together the chief priests, and the other senators of the Jewish Sanhedrim, and having brought forth Paul, he set him before them, that he might determine of him and his cause.

*The priests.* In the Greek it is the "chief priests."

*Among them.* That is, *before them,* as it is in the common English translation.

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## CHAPTER XXIII.

1. *And Paul earnestly beholding the council.* That is, fastening his eyes stedfastly on those senators who were present at the council. *The wicked flee when no man pursueth, but the righteous are bold as a lion, and shall not be afraid,* Prov. xx. 1.

*Said.* Being without doubt permitted to give in his defence to those things which his adversaries objected against him before the council. See above, ch. vi.; Stephen is brought before the council and accused. When his accusation had been heard, together with the depositions of the false witnesses, he was asked by the president of the council whether these things were true which were laid to his charge? ch. vii. 1. Then Stephen having liberty to plead his own cause, he vindicated himself in that admirable apologetic discourse before the council, of which St. Luke has related the substance above, ch. vii. 2, &c.

*Men, brethren.* See above, ch. xxi. 1. The prophet Isaiah,

speaking of the Jews, whom he foresaw would reject the Messiah promised in the law and the prophets, with ungrateful minds and stubborn obstinacy, he calls them the brethren of those Jews who were to embrace him by faith, Isa. lxvi. 5. *Hear*, saith he, *the word of the Lord, ye that tremble at his word, your brethren that hated you, that cast you out for my name's sake, said*, &c. The African fathers had an eye to his place, while they called the Donatists, the most malicious enemies of the church, *brethren*.

*I.* Paul, who now am brought before you as a criminal.

*Have lived in all good conscience before God until this day.* I have so behaved myself in my ministry entrusted to me, that my conscience beareth me witness before God, that I, whether in Judaism, or Christianism, have always until this day endeavoured

To know no guilt; grow pale for no offence.

See below, ch. xxiv. 16; 2 Cor. i. 12; 2 Tim. i. 3. But how Paul, now a convert to Christianity, could glory of his life while in Judaism, and of a good conscience that he had kept in the time of his ignorance, when, notwithstanding he afterwards confesseth, 1 Cor. xv. 9; 1 Tim. i. 13, 16, that he was a blasphemer, a persecutor, yea, the chief of sinners, the famous Curcellæus hath explained most perspicuously and plainly, by distinguishing betwixt a good and right conscience. A conscience may be good though it be erroneous; and evil, though it be right; or follow a good law in judging its actions. Paul therefore appealeth to his good conscience, because he did that which his erring conscience dictated he ought to do, to wit, that he should persecute the Christians, who, he was persuaded, were apostates and revolters from the law of Moses. Yet he was not innocent, because when he had sufficient occasion of informing his conscience better, he neglected to do it. Wherefore he that will be free from sin must take no less care that he instruct his conscience about the will of God, than that he do nothing contrary to its dictates.

2 *And the high priest.* Offended, possibly, at Paul's constancy; or that his exordium was more frank than the pride of the council, and the high priest himself, could bear.

*Ananias.* This high priest was the son of Nebedæus, than whom none was more daring for any enterprise. Of him see Josephus.[1]

*Commanded them that stood by him.* His servants ready to obey his commands.

*To smite him on the mouth.* Viz., Paul, as if uttering villanous

[1] Lib. xviii. 20.

and notorious lies. This was an unjust act of proud tyranny to cast such a reproach on a man who was not yet judged nor convicted of a crime, before sentence was pronounced against him. To smite one's mouth, or, as Juvenal expresseth it, "To give one a blow," was, by all people and in all ages, accounted a great affront, see Matt. v. 39; 1 Cor. iv. 11; 2 Cor. xi. 20; xii. 7; 1 Pet. ii. 20. Hence he is said to beat one with blows, or, as Terence speaketh it, to give one a box on the ear, who vexeth one grievously and spitefully. That inhuman false prophet Zedekiah, the son of Chanaanah, smote Michaiah, the son of Imlah, the true prophet of the Lord, on the cheek, in the presence of two kings, Jehosaphat and Ahab, because he said that a lying spirit was in his and the other false prophets' mouths, 1 Kings xxii. 24. The spiteful priest Pashur smote Jeremiah as he prophesied, Jer. xx. 2. Finally, that rude servant of Caiaphas officiously smote our Lord Jesus, when he had no order to do so, John xviii. 22.

3. *Then Paul.* As Peter, above, ch. viii. 20; and Paul himself elsewhere, 1 Tim. iv. 14, prompted by divine instinct and a prophetic inspiration, like Noah, Gen. ix. 25, Michaiah, the son of Imlah, Elisha, Jeremiah, and David, frequently in the Psalms, 2 Chron. xviii. 23; 2 Kings ii. 24; Jer. xx. 3, &c.

*Said unto him.* Viz., that spiteful, barbarous, and rude high priest Ananias, the son of Nebedæus.

*God shall smite thee.* Who, according to the saying of Christ, uses to measure again unto men the same measure they mete out unto others, Matt. vii. 2. So Pharaoh, at whose command the male children of the Israelites newly born were drowned, was himself, together with all his army, drowned, Exod. i. 22; xiv. 28. The same instances of justice you may see in Adonibezek, Agag, king of the Amalekites, David, Joab, Judges i. 7; 1 Sam. xv. 32, 33; 2 Sam. xii. 9—12; xvi. 22; in those men that cast Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego into the fiery furnace, Daniel's accusers, and in that most inveterate enemy of Mordecai, Haman, Dan. iii. 22; vi. 24; Esth. vii. 10.

*Thou whited wall.* He upbraids Ananias's hypocrisy with an apostolic and prophetic authority, in the same kind of speech which Christ did that of the Scribes and Pharisees, when he foretold that they would be punished by a special providence, Matt. xxiii. 27. It is the duty of prophets to reprove vices and sins, whosesoever they are, as you may see, 1 Kings xviii. 18; 2 Kings iii. 13; Jer. i. 10, 17, 18; Ezek. iii. 8, 9. "A whited wall," saith

St. Augustine, in Psalm ciii., "without is plaister, within, clay." Theophylact, on this place: "He calls him a whited wall, because he had a fair aspect, as an asserter of the law, and one who pretended to judge according to the law: but his mind was full of wickedness." Truly and elegantly said Seneca,[1] "We admire walls covered over with thin marble: when we know what it is that is hid under it, we impose upon our eyes; and when we value things covered over with gold, what else do we but delight in a lie, for we know that that under that gold, base wood is hid? Nor are walls and beams the only things that are set out with ornaments; the seeming happiness of all those who are exalted to high promotion is but gilded; look into them and you will perceive how much evil lies hid under that thin membrane of dignity."

*For thou.* Among the senators of the council.

*Dost thou sit to judge me after the law?* That is, that thou mayest judge according to the judicial law appointed by God in the books of Moses. "The judicial law," saith Grotius, "was in force as long as the commonwealth of Israel was in being, and the Hebrew judges were obliged to give judgment according to it, within those bounds of cognizance, which the Romans allowed them."

*And contrary to the law.* Unjustly beginning process of judgment at execution: whereas the law enjoins to prosecute that which is just justly, and not to commit iniquity in judgment. Lev. xix. 15; Deut. i. 16; ch. xvi. 18—20.

*Commandest.* Actuated by a barbarous cruelty and tyrannical rage against the professors of Christianity.

*Me.* Without hearing my cause.

*To be smitten.* Contumeliously, viz. on the mouth.

4. *And they that stood by.* Possibly the very same men who were commanded by the high priest Ananias to smite Paul on the mouth.

*Said.* Vindicating the high priest's honour.

*Revilest thou God's high priest?* That is to say, Thou foul-mouthed railer, dost thou call him a painted and whited wall, whom God has set over his Divine worship?

5. *I wist not.* Having been a considerable time absent from Jerusalem. Others will have *I wist not* to import the same as, I did not consider; viz., being hurried with a sudden perturbation of mind, when Ananias commanded me, without cause, to be smitten on the mouth.

[1] Ep. cxv.

*That he was the high priest.* That is, that this Ananias is now high priest. It is evident by Josephus,[1] that at that time there was so great a confusion in the government at Jerusalem, th atat every turn the high priests were deposed at the pleasure of the Roman governors, and others substituted into their places: "Than which confusions," saith the generally learned Heinsius, "as nothing was more detestable, so nothing was more just, seeing that by the faction and lies of the high priests, the truth was condemned, the hope of the fathers was condemned, our great high priest was condemned."

*For it is written,* &c. As if he had said, If I had known or called to mind, that the dignity of high priesthood, now become cursory, had been conferred on Ananias the son of Nebedæus, I would not in any wise have so sharply upbraided him with hypocrisy, as that my words should have been construed slander and railing; for it is written, Exod. xxii. 28:

*Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.* That is, do not cast reproaches upon the life of him who holds chief place and dignity among thy people.

6. *But when Paul perceived that the one part.* Viz., of those of which the great council consisted.

*Were Sadducees.* Of these and the Pharisees, see what we have said in our literal explanation on Matt. iii. 7.

*And the other Pharisees.* These two sects, though otherwise disagreeing among themselves, agreed together to oppose Christ and destroy his disciples. Paul therefore when he saw they had conspired together to condemn him unjustly, he wisely, without prejudice to the truth, cast among them an apple of contention or discord.

*He cried out in the council.* That he might be heard by all the senators of the council, and all the multitude that was present.

*I am a Pharisee the son of a Pharisee.* Or as some copies have it, "of the Pharisees." As if he had said, I have even from my forefathers led my life according to the ordinances of the Pharisees. See after, ch. xxvi. 5; Phil. iii. 5.

*Of the hope.* Of the reward which the just shall receive in the other world, which the Hebrews call, "the age of retribution." For then every man shall be rewarded according to his deeds. The Sadducees denied that there was any such state, who maintained that there were no punishments or rewards after this life.

[1] Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 6, 7.

*And the resurrection of the dead.* Whom that they should be raised again to life the old Sadducees also denied.

*Am called in question.* That is, called to judgment.

7. *There arose a dissension between the Pharisees and the Sadducees.* While those approved of Paul's opinion, that there should be a resurrection of the dead; and these condemned it.

*And the multitude was divided.* Both the senators and the standers-by, while some took part with the Pharisees, others with Sadducees.

8. *The Sadducees,* &c. As if he had said, But the Pharisees and the Sadducees were at great variance and discord among themselves; for whereas the Sadducees denied the resurrection of the dead, and stiffly avouched that there was no angel and spiritual or incorporeal substance; but that those things that went under the denomination of angel or spirit, were nothing else, but either the motions which God implanted in men, or the demonstrations he exhibited of his power; the Pharisees, on the contrary, stoutly maintained the resurrection of the dead, and the existence of angels and spirits, or substances distinct or separate from matter.

*Nor spirit.* Some restrict this to the spirit of man, or the soul; which also elsewhere is called "a spirit," as you may see above, ch. vii. 59; Matt. xxvii. 50; Luke xxiii. 46: Heb. xii. 23. "This," say they, "the Sadducees conjecture not to be any spiritual substance, which could subsist separate from the body, but only to be a certain crasis and temperament of the body and its humours, and therefore that when a man dies it is destroyed, vanishes, and dies with the body." Others by *spirit* here understand, the Holy Spirit, as John iii. 5; iv. 24; Rom. i. 4[1]; viii. 14—16; 1 Cor. iii. 4. Epiphanius truly writeth thus of the Sadducees: "But they are ignorant of the Holy Spirit, for they are unworthy of him." And Theophylact, reciting these words of the verse immediately following: *But if a spirit or an angel hath spoken to him,* saith, "It is manifest that he was taught the resurrection either by the Holy Spirit or by an angel." Joseph Scaliger declares, that as angel in this verse is put indefinitely for all angels, so spirit is to be taken indefinitely: for angel is the species, spirit the genus; forasmuch as angels are comprehended under it. "St. Luke's meaning," saith the most learned Scultetus, according to Scaliger, "will be, 'They are so far from believing the existence of an angel, that they do not indeed believe there is any spirit.' This opinion,

[1] Hær. xiv.

doubtless, is the truest. For they who affirmed God himself to be corporeal, as Nicolaus writeth, and Theophylact,[1] possibly they did not so much as know God, being too gross, and therefore by consequence must altogether deny a spiritual creature." Theodore Beza observes that there are some among the Jews who are not ashamed to say that angels are natural causes, performing the will of God, or producing good or evil effects.

*But the Pharisees confess both.* Viz., That there is to be a resurrection of the dead, and that angels, and the soul of man, or a spiritual substance, subsist separate from the body. Because angels, which are a species of spirit or incorporeal substance, and the soul of man, are comprehended under the same genus, whosoever grants the existence of angels, seems, by the same confession, to acknowledge that of souls, or of a substance separated from the body.

9. *There arose,* &c. There being a great outcry among the enraged multitude, the rabbins, or doctors and interpreters of the law, who maintained the opinion of the Pharisees, rising up from their seats, out of a hatred to their opposite sect the Sadducees, vindicated Paul's integrity and innocence to the utmost of their power.

*Certain of the Pharisees.* In the Greek it is, "Those of the scribes that were of the side of the Pharisees." For there were other scribes and doctors of the law who had espoused the tenets of the Sadducees.

*Strove.* That is, contended against the Pharisees.

*We find no evil in this man.* To wit, Paul, who was brought before their judgment.

*If a spirit.* That is, some incorporeal substance; or, as Theophylact will have it, the Holy Spirit.

*Hath spoken to him.* That is to say, Hath revealed something to him about the resurrection.

*Or an angel.* In the Greek is added, as also in the English translation, *Let us not fight against God,* viz., by despising an angel speaking in his name, things agreeable to the holy scriptures. "Here," saith Beza, "the word *angel,* as more familiar, seems to be added to explain the word *spirit.*"

10. *A great dissension.* That is, a most fierce contention betwixt the Pharisees and Sadducees touching Paul's innocence.

*The chief captain, fearing lest Paul should have been pulled in pieces by them.* Chiding and scolding one with another.

[1] On Act. xiii.

*He commanded soldiers.* That is, a company of soldiers.

*Into the castle.* As being a place where he might be free from danger of the Pharisees and Sadducees, who were contending most spitefully and maliciously.

11. *The Lord stood by him.* That is, the Lord Jesus, who has all power in heaven and earth given him, appeared to Paul unawares.

*Be of good cheer.* That is, trust with a firm confidence.

*For as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem,* &c. As if he had said, For as you have borne witness the day before to the Jews of me and my heavenly glory at Jerusalem, the metropolis of Judea, by far the most famous city of the east, so must you give the same testimony in the most famous city of Italy, Rome, which at this day has extended its dominion over most countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa, ch. xx. 6, *et seq.* "Hence," saith the most learned Lightfoot, "Paul had both liberty and intimation of appealing to Cæsar. It was very seldom that a Jew appealed to a heathen tribunal, and it bewrayed the height of malice that the Sanhedrim delivered our Saviour to a Gentile judge. Paul therefore is instructed by this vision what he must do when he saw no means or way of escaping."

12. *And when it was day.* But when the day was risen that succeeded that night in which Jesus said these things to Paul.

*Certain of the Jews banded together.* That is, some of the Jews, especially the Sadducees, Paul's fiercest enemies, met and entered into a conspiracy.

*And bound themselves.* With a curse, to wit, that they would neither eat nor drink till they had murdered Paul, whom they judged to be a vile apostate from the law of God. The form of this oath, as says Tertullian, was a solemn imprecation of divine vengeance in these or the like words, "God do so to me and more also," 1 Sam. xiv. 44; xx. 13; xxv. 22; 2 Sam. iii. 8, 35; xix. 13, &c. The acts of St. Valerian and Tiburnius, Num. 14, "Then Maximus bound himself with a vow, saying, Let me be struck with thunder, if," &c.

13. *Had made his conspiracy.* To kill Paul before they would either eat or drink.

14. *Of the priests.* That is, of the families of the priests.

*And elders.* That is to say, Some of the rest of the senators of the great council, or Sanhedrim.

*With a vow we have vowed.* A Hebraism; that is, as it is in the

English translation, *We have bound ourselves under a great curse.* Josephus calls such imprecations of divine revenge "horrible oaths."

*That we will taste nothing.* Viz., either of meat or drink.

*Till we have slain Paul.* Now was the time in the which they that killed the disciples of Christ did think they did God good service, as Christ himself had foretold, John xvi. 2.

15. *Now therefore ye.* Chief priests and senators of the great council, who are here present.

*Signify to the chief captain.* That you desire of him.

*With the council.* That is, not ye by yourselves, but together with your colleagues, declare ye to the chief captain that it was not requested of him by the private will of a few, but by the unanimous desire of the great council.

*That he bring him down unto you.* In the Greek, as also in the English translation, it is added, *to-morrow.* That is, that he would command Paul to be brought down to you to-morrow from the castle, or tower, which is called Antonia, as he did before, ch. xxii. 30.

*As though ye would inquire something more perfectly concerning him.* That is to say, As if ye were desirous to learn, and be better informed as to the truth of those things of which Paul was accused. It was usual for the guilty now and then to have a hearing, either that they might discover something new of him, or that they might try whether he would be constant in the same answer to his charge.

*And we, ere ever he come near.* To your council chamber.

*Are ready to kill him.* That is, we will kill him by the way, so that ye can no ways be charged with his death. So bloody men, and those that are hurried by a foolish zeal, think they may lawfully assail those that differ from them in opinion with lies or violence, and so they plainly discover themselves to be the children of the devil, who is a liar and a murderer, according to Christ's saying, John viii. 44.

16. *And,* &c. As if he had said, But when Paul's sister's son had notice of the ambush they had laid to take away his life, he went to the castle or tower, Antonia, where his uncle was kept prisoner, and declared unto him what his malicious enemies had attempted and undertaken against him.

17. *Bring this young man unto the chief captain.* Paul prudently took care to discover unto the chief captain what conspiracy they had entered into against him, by whom he hoped to escape that impending danger, according to the Roman equity. Hence it

appears, that the godly, although they have a firm confidence of divine protection, may yet avert dangers by the honest service and ministry of men.

18. *So he.* The centurion who was called on by Paul.

*Taking him.* That is, taking Paul's sister's son.

*Brought him to the chief captain.* Granting Paul's just and honest demand.

19. *Then the chief captain took him by the hand.* That is, when he had taken the young man, who was Paul's sister's son, by the hand, as they used to do who will take any aside into a more secret place, and speak with them privately.

20. *And he.* Led apart into a more secret place.

21. *But do not thou believe them.* That is to say, Do not suffer thyself to be persuaded by them to yield to their request.

*For there lie in wait.* To kill Paul by an ambush, while he is brought from the prison to the council privy chamber.

*Looking for a promise from thee.* As if he had said, For they do not in the least doubt but that you will promise to perform their request, to wit, that you will command Paul to be brought from the prison to the council chamber.

22. *Charging,* &c. The governor would have this secret that was declared unto him, kept close, that the Jews might not have notice that their conspiracy against Paul was discovered, lest they should take new projects against him. It is of great concern that secrets be kept, lest they be divulged.

23. *Make ready two hundred soldiers.* To wit, foot.

*To go to Cæsarea.* Situate on the Mediterranean Sea; of which see above, ch. viii. 40; x. 1; xii. 19; xviii. 22; xxi. 8.

*Spearmen.* Greek, δεξιολάβους, "holding the right hand," that is, the guards who guard one's right side, or who take those with their right hand who are ordered to be apprehended, or who take and carry arms with their right hand only, not also with their left, as the target-men use, so that they were spear-men. The Syrian interpreter seems to have read it, δεξίβολους, "throwing with the right hand," such as the light-armed soldiers are said to have been, who did throw darts not with a bow or sling, but with their hand.

*At the third hour of the night.* That is, three hours after sunset, that it might not be done openly and manifestly, but clancularly, and so might escape the knowledge of the Jews, Paul's enemies.

24. *To Felix the governor.* That is, procurator, or vice-governor of Judea. This man, who had been the late servant of Claudius

Cæsar, was by the emperor made governor of Samaria, and not long after, Ventidius Cumanus the procurator of Galilee and Judea being sent into exile, he was made procurator of the same provinces of Judea and Galilee, and he held that office of procurator also under Nero, Claudius's successor, until Porcius Festus was substituted into his place.[1] "He exercised the royal power according to his servile disposition with all cruelty and libidinousness; he took into marriage Drusilla, niece to Cleopatra and Antonius; so that Felix was nephew-in-law to the same Antonius, nephew to Claudius by his daughter," saith Tacitus.[2] He married successively three wives of the royal race, as Suetonius declareth, who, in the life of Claudius, calls Felix the husband of three queens. Josephus and Suidas call him Claudius Felix, making an addition of this first name to his name from Claudius Cæsar, who of a slave made him a freeman. Tacitus gives him the first name of Antonius, from Antonia, Claudius's mother, whom he had served. Pallas, brother to this Felix, who was made a free-man by Claudius Cæsar before him, is reported to have had so great influence on Claudius Cæsar, that he could obtain anything of him; he is also said to have been richer than Crassus, by nineteen thousand five hundred thirty-one pounds five shillings sterling.[3]

*For he feared,* &c. What is here added in most Latin books of the Vulgate edition,[4] is not to be found in the Greek copies, nor in the English translation.

*As if he were to receive money.* That is, as if, for that he had money promised him by Paul's adversaries, he had no regard to the safety of a Roman citizen.

25. *Writing,* &c. As if he had said, Having written a letter to Felix the procurator to this purpose.

26. *To the most excellent.* He gives the usual title of dignity to a magistrate, whereby they were used to be saluted. See what is said above, ch. i. 1, on these words, *O Theophilus.*

*Governor.* The word *præses,* which the Greeks commonly render ἡγεμὼν in general, being that whereby any magistrates or governors of provinces were called, but especially those who were set over them, with power of inflicting capital punishment. This power was, for the most part given to the procurators of lesser provinces, though their proper office was to receive and lay out the

[1] Joseph. Ant. lib. xxxii. cap. 5, 6, 7. et de Bel. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 11, 12. [2] Lib. 5.
[3] Lee Pliny, lib. xxxiii. cap. 10: Tacit. Annal. lib. xii. Plin. Jun. viii. Epist. 5.
[4] [The Latin Vulgate adds the following words: Timuit enim me fortè râperent eumJudæi, et occiderent, et ipse postea calumniam sustineret, tanquam accepturus pecuniam.]

emperor's money, as Dion expresseth it. Such procurators are said to supply the place, and discharge the office of a governor.

*Greeting.* In the Greek χαίρειν, "rejoice." See what we have said above, ch. xv. 23. Horace saluteth Celsus Albinovanus in this form of salutation that was usual with the Greeks.[1]

27. *This man.* To wit, Paul, whom I send to thee.

*Taken of the Jews.* Tumultuously.

*And like to have been killed by them.* That is, designed by them to a present death.

*Having understood that he was a Roman.* But he did not, therefore, deliver Paul from the Jews that were attempting his death, seeing he did not know that he was a Roman citizen, till after that he had commanded him to be bound and racked, as you may see above, ch. xxii. 25, 27. The chief captain therefore conceals that for which he might deservedly have been reprehended, and turning aside from the truth he seeketh his own praise. "Except," saith Beza, "after 'him' joining a point to it you read: 'But having known that he was a Roman, desirous to be informed,' &c. But," continues Beza, "I neither dare, nor would I make any alteration by a mere conjecture."

28. *The cause wherefore they accused him.* That is, the crime wherewith they charged him. See above, ch. xxii. 30.

29. *Whom,* &c. As if he had said, and so I found no such crime charged on Paul by his adversaries, as deserved to be chastised by bonds or punished by death, but only a false interpretation of the Jewish law in points controverted, and debated among the Jews themselves.

30. *When it was told me how that the Jews laid wait for him.* That is, had designed against Paul. For their conspiracy was discovered to the chief captain when it was only agreed upon, being not yet brought to pass, for it was not to have been accomplished till the day after.

*I sent him to thee.* In the Greek is added, "from that same," to wit, hour, that is, immediately without delay I commanded Paul to be carried from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, to thee who dischargest the office of governor.

*Giving also commandment to his accusers.* To wit, Paul's.

*To say.* To wit, what they have against him.

*Before thee.* A higher judge than a chief captain is.

*Farewell.* The chief captain wisheth Felix the governor health

[1] Epist. 8. lib. i.

and happiness in that accustomed conclusion of letters. See above, ch. xv. 29.

31. *Brought him by night.* To wit, the same night in the which they who were to carry Paul to Felix the procurator or vice-governor of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, set out on their journey from Jerusalem to Cæsarea at the third hour.

*To Antipatris.* The apostle was ordered to be carried to Cæsarea by the command of the chief captain, as above, ver. 23. But because that Cæsarea, which is situate by the sea, and is commonly called Cæsarea of Palestine, and lies within the limits of the half tribe of Manasseh, is distant from Jerusalem thirty leagues, which could not be travelled over in one night, they rested first at Antipatris, which was anciently called Capharsaba, as Josephus testifieth,[1] and, as some will have it, it is the same city with that called Capharsalama.[2] The same Josephus telleth us,[3] that the distance betwixt Joppa and Antipatris is one hundred and fifty furlongs, that is, seventeen miles. He also saith,[4] that this beautiful and pleasant city was built by Herod the Great in a large field called Capharsaba, in a watery ground and excellent soil, encompassed with trees and a river, and called Antipatris, after the name of his father. And, book i. chap. xvi. of the Wars of the Jews, speaking of the cities and edifices, repaired and built by Herod the Great, he saith, as Ruffinus Aquileiensis interprets him, "He built a city in the best field of the kingdom, in memory of his father, very rich in rivers and trees, and called it Antipatris." Antipatris which lies west from the river Jordan, is mentioned by Ptolemy the geographer,[5] among the cities of Judea. I cannot therefore conceive on what ground and by what authority they commonly ascribe it to the half tribe of Manasseh, which is on this side of Jordan, and will have it situate almost in the middle of Samaria.

32. *On the morrow.* To wit, of that night in the which Paul, defended with a guard of soldiers, was brought to Antipatris, when now they were got a great way from Jerusalem, where they were who had entered into a conspiracy to kill Paul.

*They left the horsemen to go with him.* To Cæsarea. A guard of horse was sufficient to defend him from the ordinary hazards that were incident in journeys.

*And they returned.* The two hundred footmen that were heavily armed, and the same number of spearmen.

[1] Ant. lib. xiii. cap. 28. [2] 1 Mac. vii. 31. et Jos. Ant. lib. xii. cap. 17.
[3] Ant. lib. xiii. cap. 23. [4] Ant. lib. xvi. cap. 9. [5] Lib. v. cap. 16.

*To the castle.* That is, to the tower, which was at first built by the Maccabees in the north-west corner, contiguous to Mount Moriah, or the mount whereon the temple of Jerusalem was built; it was called Antonia by Herod the Great, in honour of Marcus Antonius the triumvir, whereas at first it was called Baris.

33. *Who.* To wit, the horsemen that were left to carry Paul to Cæsarea.

*When they came to Cæsarea.* That maritime city in which Felix resided as vice-governor.

*And delivered the epistle.* Written by Claudius Lysias.

*To the governor.* That is, to Felix, discharging the office of governor.

*Presented Paul also before him.* That is to say, They also brought Paul before Felix, who was delivered from the conspiracy of the factious Jews, by benefit of the public protection. The fathers in the African council, c. 83: "Against whose fury we may obtain defence which is neither unusual nor repugnant to the holy scriptures; even as the apostle Paul, as it is to be known in the faithful Acts of the Apostles, avoided the conspiracy of his factious enemies even by military succour."

34. *And when he had read.* Felix had read the epistle directed to him from Lysias the chief captain.

*And asked of what province he was.* To wit, Paul.

*And when he understood that he was of Cilicia.* That is, and when he was informed that Paul was of Cilicia, of which we have spoken above, ch. vi. 9.

35. *I will hear thee, said he, when thine accusers are also come.* That having attentively heard both the accusation and defence, I may give judgment.

*In Herod's judgment-hall.* That is, which Herod the Great, who repaired Cæsarea, caused to be built. "The Latin word *prætorium*," saith the learned Grotius, "has its name from the Roman prætor, that is, emperor; but as it usually happens, the use of this word was extended more largely, to signify all the houses of famous men. Prætorium is by Quintilian otherwise called Augustale." With the writers of husbandry, it is that part of the farm where the lord uses to reside when he is in the country.

*Him to be kept.* To wit, by some soldiers or other keepers, that he might not make his escape. Paul, as it seems, was kept at Cæsarea in an honourable place, not in a prison.

[1] See Joseph. Ant. lib. xv. cap. 14.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

1. *And after five days.* Accomplished, viz., from the time that Paul was brought into Cæsarea.

*Descended.* From Jerusalem to Cæsarea.

*Ananias the high priest.* Of whom see above, ch. xxiii. 2.

*With some of the elders.* That is, with the elders of the great Sanhedrim.

*And Tertullus a certain orator.* That is, a most excellent pleader of causes.

*Who informed the governor against Paul.* That is to say, they signified to Felix that they would prove Paul guilty.

2. *And when Paul was called.* To judgment by a herald or apparitor.

*Tertullus began to accuse him.* That is to say, Tertullus accused Paul most grievously. In holy writ, often he is said to begin to do a thing who already does it.

*Seeing that by thee we enjoy great quietness.* As if he had said, With a full acknowledgment of thy worthy deeds to us-ward at every time and in every place, we profess, that by your unparalleled vigilance and wisdom, the robberies that used to be committed in Judea are quelled, the murders are repressed in many places, and peace is settled through all the province which you are set over. Felix indeed did overthrow Eleazar, that famous robber, and that Egyptian impostor, mentioned above, ch. xxi. 8, together with their forces, to the unspeakable advantage of the Jews, as Josephus declares;[1] but otherwise he governed Judæa with covetousness and cruelty. He caused the high priest Jonathan, son to Annas, to be murdered by assassins, because he used frankly to reprove him when he did amiss; he also suffered them to commit several insolencies upon the Jews without punishment, as the same Josephus testifies in the place but now cited. And so the mercenary Tertullus seeks to get the favour of Felix by an intolerable flattering.

*Many things are amended.* In the Greek is added, as also in the English translation, "unto this nation." As if he had said, The outrageous wickednesses and corruptions, which had crept into this nation, are by thee amended and rectified with great vigour and happiness.

3. *We accept.* That is, we acknowledge.

[1] Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 6.

*Most excellent Felix.* He flattereth Felix with that title that was usually given to magistrates, and those that were placed in dignity. Hence they are also called *optimates.*

4. *Notwithstanding, that I be not further tedious unto thee.* As if he had said, That I may not hinder thee more than is needful, with far-fetched speeches; that I detain thee not with troublesome discourse, nor circumlocutions and tedious exordiums; lest I should trespass against the public good, if I should take up thy time with a prolix harangue.

*I pray.* Thee encumbered with multitude of businesses.

*Briefly.* That is to say, We, being resolved to despatch the heads of our accusation laid against Paul in a few words.

*That thou wouldest hear us.* With a favourable ear. "The first thing requested by an orator is, that he may have audience in a bad cause," saith Donatus on Terence.

*Of thy clemency.* That is, with thy wonted courtesy and humanity. Readiness to hear does exceedingly commend a judge. Cicero to Quintus his brother, proconsul of Bithynia, saith, "Ye must moreover conjoin readiness to hear with lenity in passing judgment."

5. *We have found.* And deprehended.

*This man a pestilent fellow.* Orators frequently call that man a pest, who acts perniciously to the commonwealth. But this foul-mouthed slanderer was not ashamed to asperse Paul with this odious name; when, notwithstanding he exhorted all to forsake wicked courses, and embrace earnestly the virtues that lead to salvation. So at this day very many are called plagues and pestiferous, who are falsely branded with the reproach of perverse heresy, because they reject the doctrines and commandments of men, in matters of faith and divine worship, that they may stand fast to that alone most wholesome doctrine, delivered in the holy scriptures.

*And a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world.* They falsely accuse Paul of stirring up sedition in all the countries through which the Jews were dispersed. But so it uses to be, that truth, thwarting the received opinions and customs of men, when it is not received by men who account nothing unlawful, provided they can varnish it over with a counterfeit pretence of zeal, but is stiffly opposed, seems to stir up riotous tumults and pernicious seditions. But those very Jews, that falsely accused Paul before Felix, did frequently stir up seditions against Paul, as

you may see above, ch. ix. 23; xiii. 50; xiv. 5; xvii. 5, 13; xviii. 12; xxi. 30, 31. Here we may appositely use that of Juvenal, Sat. xx. ver. 24.

Who the seditious Gracchi can sustain,
Of others for sedition to complain?

*And a mover of sedition.* That is, a leader and standard bearer of the sect that professes the religion of Jesus of Nazareth. So St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and a champion for the name of Christ, in the Afric church in those days, in the proconsular decree made against him, is called, "The author and ringleader of that execrable name."

*Of the sect of the Nazarenes.* In the Greek, "Heresy of the Nazarenes." That is to say, Those who follow the sect of the Christians, or embrace their heresy. Heresies are, as Tertullian defines them, "the doctrines of men and devils, springing from itching ears." Heresy, for the most part, is said to be that judgment and opinion which is chosen by any, whether it be invented by us or received from another. Yet use has prevailed now, especially among Christians, that this word, that before was used either in a good or bad sense, is, for the most part, now used in a bad, to wit, for the choosing of a false and perverse opinion plainly and altogether repugnant to the word of God; see above, ch. v. 17; Gal. v. 20; and 2 Pet. ii. 10. The Jews therefore abhorred the doctrine of the Christians, though it was agreeable to the law and the prophets, as heretical and perverse, because it dissented from the common faith of the public church, which at that time was accounted the church of God. So also, at this very day, they who follow the appointments of Christ are called heretics if they vilify and reject the errors of formal Christians that are crept into the church by custom. Moreover, as the learned Lud. de Dieu very pertinently observes, "That Christ was called Ναζαραῖος, or Ναζαρηνὸς, and his followers Ναζαραῖοι, did not proceed from a mistake of the common people, as supposing him born at Nazareth; nor from the mockery of the wicked, as accounting it a reproach to him, but from God's own purpose and will, and the use of the godly themselves. The purpose of God is manifest, Matt. ii. 23. where Joseph, returning from Egypt with the child Jesus, is commanded to fix the seat of his habitation at Nazareth, that, according to the predictions of the prophets, he might be called a Nazarene. And that the godly delighted in the use of this name plainly appears from John i. 45; Acts ii. 22; iii. 6; iv. 10.

Yea, Christ also calleth himself by his name, Acts xxii. 8. This doubtless was his most glorious name, whereby he was declared to be הַנֵּצֶר, 'the branch' promised by the prophets, who was brought up in the city called נֵצֶר, 'Branch,' and brought forth thence to the discharge of his office; he brought forth many נֶצָרִים, 'Nazaræans,' that is, 'sprung out of the branch:' nor will it avail anything to say that the ζ in Ναζαραῖοις seems to evince that it is derived rather from נָזִיר than from נֵצֶר. For it is usual to change צ into ז, as instead of the Hebrew צדיק, 'just,' the Syrians say זדוק. For צוד, whence צֵידָה, 'viands,' the Syrians say זוד, 'he gave viands,' זוּדָא, 'provision.' For צְעִיר, 'little,' the Syrians say זְעִירָא."

6. *The temple.* Of Jerusalem, built by Herod, which surpassed in dimension and magnificence that of Solomon.

*Hath gone about to profane.* That is to say, Endeavour to defile it, bringing strangers within that pale of stone, which was raised to the height of three cubits, and had these words written on its columns, "That a stranger ought not to enter into the holy place."[1]

*Whom we took.* But with a seditious and tumultuous force. See above, ch. xxi. 27, 30.

*And would have judged according to our law.* They lie notoriously, seeing the Jews went about, against all justice and equity, to take away Paul's life without so much as judging him, as ye may see above, ch. xxi. 31.

7. *But the chief captain Lysias came upon us.* Who resided at Jerusalem with the regiments of the Roman soldiers.

*With great violence.* That is, with violent force.

*And took him away out of our hands.* From the time that Archelaus was banished to Vienna of the Allobroges, under Augustus, to the time that Claudius Cæsar added Judea to the kingdom of Agrippa the elder, and from the death of the same Agrippa even till the destruction of Jerusalem, Judea was reduced into a province and added to Syria, and was governed by procurators sent from Rome, who had the power of judging in matters of life and death, which power was taken away from the Jews, as they themselves answered in express words to Pilate when he sought an occasion of setting Christ at liberty, John xviii. 31. Yet they had a general grant from the Romans to put a stranger to death that entered within the partition of the temple. They had also power to scourge the criminals of their own nation, as appears from Matt. x. 17; Acts v. 48; 2 Cor. xi. 24. As also a power to take

[1] Jos. Bel. Jud. lib. vi. cap. vi.

cognizance of, and judge those of their own people that were guilty of any capital offence; otherwise they could not have given an account to a Roman magistrate why they required any to be put to death. So with the Roman inquisitors, to whom the Roman prætor had committed the taking cognizance of any cause; they could determine whether one was guilty or not, but the privilege of passing final sentence was peculiar to the prætor. But if at any time any were put to death by the Jews without the approbation of the Roman magistrate, during that time that the affairs of the Jews were managed by governor, or procurators deputed from Rome, that was done by a popular tumult, although sometimes it was preceded by a rash judgment of the Sanhedrim, whereby they declared that the parties were worthy of death.

8. *Commanding his accusers.* To wit, Paul's.

*To come unto thee.* Who, doubtless, art procurator in the place of the governor.

*By whom.* To wit, Paul.

*Thou mayest.* According to thy singular sagacity in deciding of causes.

*Thy self-judging.* That is, diligently and strictly inquiring into the heads of the accusation that are briefly mentioned.

*Take knowledge of all these things.* That is, be certainly informed.

9. *And also assented.* That is, gave their approbation to that false accusation which Tertullus used against innocent Paul. It was a custom amongst the ancients, that when any orator pleaded a cause in his own and fellow's name they professed themselves his astipulators. As Virg. Æn. i. ver. 163.

"Ilioneus said, the Trojans with one mind gave loud applause."

*The Jews.* To wit, Ananias and the senators, of whom above, ver. 1.

*Saying that these things were so.* That is, affirming that Tertullus had spoken nothing that was false.

10. *Then Paul answered.* Being with his own mouth to repel the malicious and lying accusations of his adversaries brought against him by their advocate.

*After that the governor had beckoned unto him to speak.* That is, having obtained of Felix liberty to speak, who would not pass sentence without hearing both parties.

*Forasmuch as I know, that thou hast been of many years a judge unto this nation.* As if he had said, Being persuaded that you are well seen in the Jewish affairs, seeing now for several years thou

hast ruled Judea. This was now the tenth year of his administration of Judea, according to the universally learned Usher, archbishop of Armagh. See our annotations above on ch. xxiii. 24. But Felix, who was procurator of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, is called by Paul a judge, according to the Hebrew custom of speaking, who call any governor, especially one that was endowed with power of life and death, judge. So of old, they who had the supreme power over the people of Israel before the institution of kings, were called judges. And שָׁפַט, "to judge," is by the Hebrews used to signify to govern.

*I do the more cheerfully.* That is, boldly and freely.

*Answer for myself.* That is to say, I will defend myself who am hunted with calumnious accusations, with the protection of innocence.

11. *Because that thou mayest understand.* That is, search the matter by witnesses.

*That there are yet but twelve days.* Completed but this very day wherein I plead my cause before thee.

*Since I went up to Jerusalem for to worship.* That is, since I went from this maritime town Cæsarea to Jerusalem, to celebrate there the feast of Pentecost, and to worship God, with the rest of the Jews in the temple, reverently and holily. There were but twelve days intervened from Paul's arrival at Jerusalem till that very day which was the next after his accusation, arrived at Cæsarea, wherein he pleaded before Felix, they being to be reckoned from ch. xxi. 17, 18, 26; xxii. 30; xxiii. 12, 30; xxiv. 1.

12. *And they neither found me in the temple.* As if he had said, Not only in these so very few days, which I as a stranger and sojourner passed at Jerusalem, there could not be any such sedition stirred up by me, as they falsely accuse me of; but not so much as the suspicion of it agrees to me, nor can any without prejudice to the truth say, that I, at Jerusalem, either stirred up the people any where to tumultuous assemblies, or gave occasion to any tumult in the synagogues or schools, or disputations of the Jews held either in the temple or without the temple, or in any other place of the city.

13. *Neither can they prove,* &c. As if he had said, And before the faces of my accusers I affirm, that they have no plausible arguments, whereby they can demonstrate and evince, that it is either probable or likely, that either I stirred up sedition, or brought strangers into the temple, as they now falsely accuse me before you.

14. *But I confess*, &c. As much as to say, But I acknowledge and profess that I follow that way of worshiping God, which my accusers brand with the name of the heresy or sect of the Nazarites or Nazarenes. Epiphanius, Hær. xxix.: "All the Christians were then called Nazarenes. But it came to pass, that for a little time the disciples were called Jessei, before they began to be called Christians at Antioch." Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (περὶ Στεφαν.), in his fifth hymn, introduceth Dacian thus accosting the Christians:—

> You Nazarenes be ready bent,
> Your clunish rigidness relent;
> Ye Deities the prince invokes,
> Appease with offerings and smokes.

*Sect.* Greek, "way;" that is, the religion, or manner of divine worship.

*So I worship my Father and God.*[1] In the Greek it is, as also the English translation, *so worship I the God of my fathers.* That is, I devoutly and holily worship God, whom our fathers, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the rest from whom I derive my original, the forefathers of the Israelites, long since worshipped. Paul elsewhere also mentioneth this holy worship performed by him to God, as Rom. i. 9; 2 Tim. i. 3.

*Believing all things.* Without any exception.

*Which are written in the law and in the prophets.* That is to say, Which Moses, and the prophets that came after him, have sealed with their writings. See below, chap. xxvi. 22. Paul doth not challenge them to some uncertain traditions proposed only by word of mouth, and delivered down to posterity by the hands of men not to be confided in, but layeth the holy scripture, as a sure rule, for the foundation of his faith. Athanasius, in his treatise of the synod of Ariminum and Seleucia, saith, "In vain, running up and down, do they pretend that synods were called together for the faith: for the holy scripture is more sufficient than they are all." The same Athanasius against the Gentiles: "The holy and divinely inspired scriptures are indeed sufficient for the declaration of the truth." The same father in the same place: "If ye will speak other things than these that are written, why do ye contend with us, who will not endure either to hear or speak any things save those things that are written?" Eusebius Pamphilius to a philosopher in the Acts of the Council of Nice, part ii. cap. 19.:

[1] [Latin Vulgate: Sic deservio Patri, et Deo meo.]

"Believe those things that are written: what are not written, neither heed them nor search after them." Chrysostom, Hom. of the False Prophets, tom. vii.: "The holy scripture hath left out, nor concealed, any of those things which are profitable for us." Theodoret, Quæst. iv. against the Gentiles: "It seemeth to me a presumptuous thing, to affirm anything of those things of which the holy scripture delivers nothing expressly." Cyril, lib. ii. Glaphyr. in Gen.: "How, I pray, shall we receive, and reckon among the truths, that which the holy scripture hath not spoken of?" See our annotations above, on ch. xvii. 11, and our epistle written in French and English to the honourable Robert Boyle, Esq., a gentleman excelling in all manner of learning and virtue.

15. *Having hope.* As much as to say, And God himself quickeneth me with a lively hope, to expect a general resurrection of the just and unjust, which also the greatest part of the great Sanhedrim themselves, who are come hither to accuse me, do likewise look for the accomplishment of. Hence we may gather, that the Pharisees, who were at variance with the Sadducees, and declared Paul innocent above, ch. xxiii. 9, were now become friends with them again, that they might hasten Paul's death by their most execrable conspiracy. Possibly this reconciliation of them to friendship was effected by those men who had cursed themselves, if they would either eat or drink till they had killed him. See above, ch. xxiii. 12—15.

*That there shall be a resurrection of the just and unjust.* Amongst the Jewish rabbies, there is one of the ancients, Rabbi Eleazar, a Capernaite, who, in the decisions of the fathers, in express words taught, that all the dead, whether just or unjust shall be called to life again. His words are these: "Those who are born, are born that they may die; those who die, die that they may live again; those who live again, live again that they may be judged." Christ himself, without any far-fetched speeches, taught this general resuscitation of the dead to judgment, from which some were to be conducted to everlasting beatitude, others to perpetual and endless punishments. John. v. 28, 29. See also 2 Cor. v. 10; Rev. xx. 12, 13.

16. *In this.* A Hebraism; that is, for this; to wit, because I have a certain expectation, that all the dead shall be raised to life again; the just indeed to a heavenly, everlasting, and every-way blessed life; but the unjust to punishments that are to be inflicted on them by the infinitely just God, for that they obstinately de-

spised his will revealed to them, and were unreasonably injurious to the lovers of truth and holiness. See 2 Thess. i. 6, 7; Rev. xvi. 5, 6; xviii. 20; xix. 1—3.

*Do I exercise myself,* &c. As if he had said, With my whole soul, and all the vigour of my mind, I endeavour after this, that in my religious and civil duties I may never depart a hair's breadth from a right conscience. By these words Paul declareth himself innocent of that profanation of the temple, and stirring up of sedition, of which he was falsely accused above, ver. 5, 6. It is necessary that a Christian, to a true and good faith add also a good conscience, that providing things honest not only before the Lord, but also in the sight of men, 2 Cor. viii. 21, he may be charged with no crime, but most falsely, by that hatred of the godly, that is feared in reprobate minds. See 1 Tim. i. 19; 1 Pet. iii. 16.

17. *Now after many years.* That is, after I had been several years a great way absent from Jerusalem.

*Alms,* &c.[1] As much as to say, I returned thither, not with a design to move sedition, or to profane the temple, but to relieve my poor brethren with contributions that I had gathered among other nations, and to offer sacrifices to God on the solemn feast of Pentecost, in the manner appointed by the law.

*And vows.* Being to pay vows I made to God. These two words are not read in the Greek text, nor in the English translation.

18. *In which.* That is, which things while I was busied with, as below, ch. xxvi. 12.

*They found me purified.* That is, bound by a vow of Nazarite to abstinence from wine, and other things forbidden the Nazarites. See above, ch. xxi, 24, 26.

*In the temple.* To wit, when the seven days appointed by me to my vow of Nazarite were now almost fulfilled. See above, ch. xxi. 27.

*Neither with multitude.* That is, without any train of attendants.

*Nor with tumult.* That is to say, And without any seditious concursion. See above, ver. 12. "It follows," saith John Mariana, "in some books, 'And they laid hands on me, crying, and saying, Take away our enemy.' But this is not in the Greek, nor in the Vulgate Latin. Therefore it is rejected."

*Certain Jews from Asia.* Supply "are." See above, ch. xxi. 27.

19. *Who.* As being authors of the outrage committed against me in the temple.

[1] [Latin Vulgate: Oblationes et vota.]

*Ought to have been here before thee.* That is, it was meet that they, as being the principal actors, should have appeared before thee.

*And object if they had anything against me.* To wit, that was not a crime feigned against me through calumny and malice.

20. *Or.* Supply, "that the absence of those Asian Jews, who were the authors of the outrage committed upon me from thy tribunal, be not suspected."

*Let these same men.* My adversaries, the priests and senators of the Jews, who are here present, and were not present at the beginning of the outrage done against me, but took on trust from others the accusation brought against me.

*Say if they have found any evil doing in me.* That is, let them openly declare if they have found anything wherein I have done amiss.

*When I stood before the judgment.* In the Greek, "I, standing." The Vulgate and Erasmus render it, "while I stand;" as if Paul had spoken of their then present hearing. But the matter itself plainly declares that it is to be understood of the former judgment, when he was brought by the chief captain before the council of the elders, as above, ch. xxii. 30; and so it is to be rendered, "when I stood." The meaning is the same as if Paul had said, When Lysias, the chief captain, had brought me before the Sanhedrim, being desirous to be certainly informed as to the accusations brought against me by the Jews.

21. *Except it be for this one voice.* That is, unless perhaps this true and innocent word be blame-worthy in me.

*That I cried standing among them.* That is, when I stood among them. See above, ch. xxiii. 6.

22. *Felix deferred them.* In the Greek is added, as also in the English, "hearing these things," or rather, when he had heard these things. As if he had said, But when Felix had heard Paul acknowledging that he was of that sect which was called Nazarenes, and defending himself from the crimes of profaning the temple and making an uproar, objected against him, by denial, he was afraid to give sentence, and deferred the judgment by putting it off to another time.

*The uttermost.* In the Greek it is "more certainly, more exactly." The construction is somewhat obscure by reason of the trajection of the participle, "saying," which will be more plain if it be thus paraphrastically digested into order: "Saying, when I shall be

better and more fully informed what this doctrine is, which is objected against Paul under the name of the heresy of the Nazarenes, above, ver. 5, and the chief captain Lysias shall come down from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, I will again hear you who are accusers with the defendant, and will then pass sentence on the cause when debated by both parties."

*Having knowledge of that way.* That is, having further made an inquiry into, and more fully been informed of that way and sect, which, when objected to Paul, he confessed he followed, above, ver. 14. They are the words of Felix delaying to pronounce him guilty. But frequently in the New Testament the doctrine of the gospel, or the Christian religion is signified by this expression, "this way," as ye may see above ch. ix. 2; xix. 9—23; xxii. 4.

*Saying.* "There is no reason," saith the learned Beza, "why any should think that the trajection of this participle is wrested and forced. For neither use these particles ἔφη, ἦν ἐγὼ ἦδ' ὃς to be taken in another sense in Plato's Dialogues; and with the Latins, 'I say,' and, 'he saith.' But also ye may find instances of the like, or even a more harsh transposition in the same verb, below, ch. xxv. 5; Luke v. 24; vii. 42. Yet I confess that this trajection for the most part occurs in the middle of a sentence, whereas here it is used betwixt two sentences; but that exact nicety of speech is not to be expected in inspired writers; and the perspicuity of the sentence seems enough to confirm this exposition, although there were no other proofs for it."

*When the chief captain Lysias.* Who, to wit, being acquainted with all things done at Jerusalem, can fully satisfy me, whether this man who denies that he stirred up sedition, and profaned the temple, be guilty or not.

*Shall come down.* To wit, from Jerusalem to Cæsarea.

*I will hear.* To wit, to decide the controversy.

*You.* To wit, the accusers and defendant in both causes.

23. *And he commanded.* As if he had said, And having deferred the cause, he ordered a certain centurion of Cæsarea, that he would keep Paul in safe custody, but yet that he would let his friends have free access to him, to assist him with their advice and estates.

*And have liberty.* Greek, "releasement," to wit, from bonds, and closer confinement.

*Nor any of his acquaintance.* That is, of those who were his intimate friends.

*Forbid to minister unto him.* In procuring things necessary for

him. In the Greek, as also the English, it is added, *or to come to him*: to wit, to confer with him, or comfort him. Antonia, the younger daughter to Antonius the triumvir, the wife of Drusus, and mother to Germanicus and Claudius, and grandmother to Caius Caligula (who, as Pliny says, Hist. Nat. vii. 19, never did spit), obtained the same privilege from Macro, prefect of the Roman soldiers, by her petition, for Agrippa, the elder nephew to Herod the Great by Aristobulus, when he was cast into bonds by Tiberius Cæsar, as you may see in Josephus, Ant. xviii. 8.

24. *And after certain days when Felix came.* To the place where Paul was kept largely and at liberty.

*With his wife Drusilla.* The fairest of women, daughter to Agrippa the elder (who, above, ch. xii., is called Herod) by Cyrus, the daughter of Phasaelus, whose uncle Herod the Great was, as ye may see in Josephus.[1] This Felix had another wife of the same name, who was daughter to Juba, king of Mauritania, and niece to Anthony the triumvir, and Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. This Drusilla, the daughter of Agrippa the elder, by Cyprus, was six years of age, when her father yielded up the ghost; above, ch. xii. 23. Epiphanes, son to Antiochus, king of Comagena, to whom she was espoused by her said father, Agrippa the elder, refused her marriage, because, that having altered his resolution, he would not embrace the Jewish religion as he had promised to her parents. Whereupon king Agrippa the younger, son to Agrippa the elder, and brother to the said Drusilla, gave her in marriage to Azizus, king of the Emessenes, who was circumcised. But Felix, procurator of Judea, deeply in love or rather lust after Drusilla, sent to her his friend Simon, by birth a Jew of Cyprus, who gave himself out for some great one, who solicited her to forsake her husband Azizus, king of the Emessenes, and be married to Felix; promising that she should be blessed if she did not set light by him. She being one of no great foresight, and desirous to be freed from the disturbance of her sister Bernice, who envied her by reason of her excellent and surpassing beauty, she consented to tread under foot the religion of her fathers, and to be married to Felix.[2]

*Which was a Jewess.* That is, whose paternal religion was that of the Jews.

[1] Ant. lib. xviii. cap. 7, et lib. xix. cap. 7.

[2] See Joseph. Ant. lib xx cap. 5, and Wars of the Jews lib. ii. cap. 10, and our annotations on ch. xxiii. 24.

*He sent for Paul.* That he might inquire diligently of that sect which was objected to Paul as a reproach and crime; above, ver. 5.

*And heard him concerning the faith in Christ.* As if he had said, And Paul perceiving he had a door of utterance opened to him, nothing affrighted with dangers, declareth to Felix in order, what doctrines the Christian religion requires to be believed, what good things to be hoped for, what evils to be feared, and, finally, what things it requireth us to do, and what to eschew.

25. *And as he reasoned of righteousness and chastity.* [Vulg. *castitate.*] In the Greek as also the English it is, *and temperance.* That is, as Paul was declaring the doctrine of the Christian religion, concerning its reverence to all virtues and abhorrence of all vices.

*And of judgment to come.* Wherein the Lord Jesus, who is constituted by the Father judge of the quick and the dead, will righteously judge all men, not excepting the potentates, and those who now sit judging others, then standing before his tribunal, and will render unto every one due rewards; to the just everlasting and inestimable joys, to the unjust, deserved, terrible, and never to be ended punishments. Paul also concluded his oration before the Athenians in Mars Hill, with this tremendous judgment of the quick and the dead, above, ch. xvii. 31. As also the preaching of this judgment, is reckoned one of the chief fundamental points of the Christian religion, Heb. vi. 1, 2.

*Felix trembling.* For the punishment that he was at length like to undergo for his wicked actions, which before he believed he would never account for, as trusting to his power that was so great, as Tacitus writeth of him, Annal. lib. xii.

*Answered.* Confounded with the guilt of his wickedness.

*Go thy way for this time.* That is, at present I am not at leisure to hear you reason of these things.

*When I have a convenient time.* That is, when I shall have respite from other business.

*I will call for thee.* To confer with thee.

26. *He hoped also that money should have been given him of Paul,* &c. As if he had said, Being an unsatiably covetous man, he hoped that Paul would have redeemed himself with money, and therefore sent for him more frequently on pretence to confer with him.

27. *But after two years.* As much as to say, But when Paul

had been kept in free custody by Felix for the space of two whole years.

*He had.* From Nero Cæsar.

*A successor.* In the office of procurator of Judea.

*Porcius Festus.* Porcius was the surname of the whole race of Catos, derived from the word *porcus* signifying a hog. Varro of Husbandry, ch. i. saith, "We have many surnames from both sorts of beasts, the bigger and the smaller: from the smaller, Porcius, Ovinius, Caprilius; from the bigger, Equitius, Taurus."

*Felix.* Accused for his wickedness, as Tacitus testifieth.

*Willing to show the Jews a pleasure.* That is, that he might ingratiate himself to the Jews, whom he had incensed by many oppressions.

*He left Paul bound.* That is, kept in open prison. See above, ver. 23. But this did nothing avail Felix. For the elders of the Jews that dwelt at Cæsarea, went to Rome, and accused him before Nero the emperor for the many injuries he had done them. Whereupon his successor, Porcius Festus, sent him bound to Rome to Nero, who would have put him to death, had not, as Josephus testifies, his brother Pallas, who then was in favour with the emperor, procured his pardon. Although Pallas himself is thought to have been poisoned by Nero not long after, "For that he held a a vast treasure in a long old age." Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

1. *Now when Festus was come into the province.* To wit, Judea, committed to his administration by Nero Cæsar.

*After three days he went up to Jerusalem.* The metropolis of that province, that there he might enter upon and discharge his office of governor.

*From Cæsarea.* Where, by reason of the convenience of the sea, those who were deputed by the Roman emperors to govern Judea, used to have their residence, as Tacitus testifieth, Annal. lib. cxviii. As also it was the first port, as they sailed from Italy to Judea.

2. *And the high priest went unto him.* He seems to be the same Ananias that is mentioned above, ch. xxiii. 2, 24.

*And the chief of the Jews.* These heads of the Jewish people are above, ch. xxiv. 1, called elders, that is, senators.

*Against Paul.* That is, that they might with more advantage accuse Paul before the new governor.

*And besought him.* To wit, Festus.

3. *That he would send for him to Jerusalem.* And there pass a final sentence against him. The Roman magistrates did not always give judgment in one particular city, but wherever they happened to be.

*Laying wait.* As if he had said, Intending to kill Paul by ambush in his way from Cæsarea to Jerusalem.

4. *Should be kept at Cæsarea.* As if he had said, There is no necessity that Paul should be brought from Cæsarea, where he is in custody, hither to Jerusalem, to be judged by me here, seeing I myself am to go shortly into Cæsarea.

*In you.* [*In vobis.*] That is, among you, as it is in the English translation. *In* is frequently put for *inter* among, as above, ch. vii. 44; xviii. 11; xxiv. 21.

*Who are able.* Supply, "to convict Paul of his crimes by solid and strong arguments." "As if he had said," saith John Price, "the accusations of the confused multitude are not worthy the taking notice of, the disordered rabble does destroy the very appearance and form of judgment. Let men therefore be delegated that are more skilful in managing impeachments."

*Go down together.* As if he had said, Let them go down with me from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, and accuse Paul of his crimes.

6. *Among them.* To wit, among the Jews of Jerusalem.

*The next day.* That is, the next day after that Festus returned to Cæsarea.

*Sitting on the judgment-seat.* To give judgment.

*He commanded Paul to be brought.* That he might judge his cause.

7. *Many and grievous complaints,* &c. That is, they laid many grievous crimes to his charge, which yet they could not fix upon Paul by any plausible proofs. Excellent is that of Apuleius; "Any innocent man may be accused of a forged crime, but none but a guilty person can be convicted."

8. *While Paul answered for himself.* That is, while he vindicated his own innocency by most solid and convincing arguments, as above, ch. xxiv. 10, *et seq.*

*Against the law of the Jews.* That is, against the law given by God to the Jews through the ministry of Moses.

*Against the temple.* Of Jerusalem, which my adversaries calumniate me that I went about to profane.

*Against Cæsar.* Those accusers of Paul seem to have laid the same things to his charge, that the Jews of Thessalonica and Corinth did; above, ch. xvii. 7; xviii. 13.

9. *To do the Jews a pleasure.* That is, to curry favour with the Jews.

*And there be judged of those things before me.* That is, be judged by the great council of the Jews in my hearing. "The Sanhedrim," saith Grotius, "had some power of executing the law; but the right of the Roman city was greater than that of the Sanhedrim, therefore Paul could not be compelled to acknowledge them for judges. The governors used sometimes to be present with the senate of the city."[1]

10. *But Paul said.* To wit, when he understood on what design and intent Festus put that question to him, and fearing ambushes laid by the Jews.

*I stand at Cæsar's judgment-seat.* He calls that Cæsar's judgment-seat, which the governor held in the name and by authority of Cæsar. Ulpianus, book i, of the duty of Cæsar's procurator, saith, "What things are acted and done by Cæsar's procurator, are so approved of by him as if they had been done by Cæsar himself."

*Where I.* Seeing I am a Roman citizen.

*To the Jews.* To wit, those mine accusers, to whose importunity you seem to yield.

*I have done no wrong.* That is, in nothing have I given them just cause of offence.

*Better.* [*Melius.*] The comparative is put for the positive "well," or the superlative, as it is in the English, "very well."

11. *I refuse not to die.* Terentius, Phorm. Act. i. s. 5: "If, uncle, Antipho has committed so great a trespass against his own interest I plead for no favour for him, but that he may suffer according to his demerits." On which place Donatus saith, "'Tis a rhetorical theorem, which he uses who is entrusted with a cause proposed: If this or that be, I beg not pardon; I deprecate no punishment."

*But if there be none of these things.* Supply, "wherein I have offended," as I said above, ver. 8.

*Which these accuse me.* A Græcism; for in Latin it is more proper to say, "Of which, or whereof they accuse me."

[1] Lib. i. sec. sed etsi D. quando appellandum sit.

*No man may deliver me unto them.* That is, no man hath power to grant this liberty to the Jews to judge me against my will. "It was," saith Grotius, "contrary to the Roman laws to deliver up a Roman citizen, and that against his will to men of a province, to be judged by them." Pliny, in his epistle to Trajan, of the Christians saith, "There were others possessed with the like madness, whom, because they were Roman citizens, I ordered to be sent back into the city."

*I appeal unto Cæsar.* That is, as Grotius interprets it, "If ye will deliver me to be judged by the Sanhedrim (for Festus seemed to intend it), I appeal to Cæsar Nero." This was allowed by the Roman laws in such a case. For before sentence appeal may be made, if the judge has pronounced an interlocutory on a question to be discussed in a civil action, or does it contrary to law in a criminal."[1]

*With the council.* That is, with the conciliary assistants.

*Conferred.* That he might ask their judgment as to this appeal of Paul's to Cæsar, whether it should be admitted or not.

*To Cæsar thou shalt go.* Festus grants that to a Roman citizen which, if he had not granted, he had been guilty of open violence before Cæsar, whose honour, that was advanced by that appeal, he should have seemed to suppress and make light account of it.

13. *And when a few days were past.* That is, a few days intervening.

*Agrippa.* The younger, whom Herod Agrippa, Aristobulus's son, begot of Cyprus, daughter to Phasaelus.

*King.* The last of the Jews, but not of the province of Judea or Jerusalem, or any part of the two tetrarchies of Archelaus, his grand uncle, but of the tetrarchies of his other grand uncle Philip, and of Lysanias, of whom mention is made Luke iii. 1. Claudius, the emperor, at first would have had this Agrippa the lesser, then a young man, to succeed his father Agrippa, but afterwards looking on him as incapable to govern so great a kingdom, he made Cuspius Fadus procurator of Judea, and of the whole kingdom of Agrippa the elder, which was larger than the kingdom of his grandfather, Herod the Great. And so Judea was again made a province, as it was before; it was added to the kingdom of Agrippa the elder by Claudius Cæsar, since Augustus had banished Archelaus, uncle to the same Agrippa, who was accused of tyranny to Vienna, of the Allobroges. But in the fourth year from the death

[1] Lib. Ante. D. de appel. recip.

of Agrippa the elder, which was the eighth of the reign of Claudius, Herod, brother to the same Agrippa, king of Chalcis, in Syria, died, and Agrippa the younger was by Claudius substituted in the room of the deceased; and, together with the kingdom of Chalcis, he was also invested with power over the temple of Jerusalem and the holy treasury, and with the right of choosing high priests, which the same emperor had granted to his uncle. This was the beginning of Agrippa the younger's reign. But when he had governed Chalcis four years, Claudius, after the twelfth year of his reign, took it from him and transported him into a greater kingdom, constituting him king of the tetrarchy (which was his grand uncle Philip's), to wit, of Batanæa and Gaulanitis, or Auranitis (which countries seem to be the same with Ituræa, Luke iii. 1), and Trachonitis; adding, moreover, the principality which is surnamed Lysanias, because it was of old possessed by Lysanias, Ptolemy's son, of whom Josephus writeth,[1] and more recently by the tetrarch Lysanias, whom Luke maketh mention of. To this greater kingdom of Agrippa the younger, Nero added Tiberias and Tarichæa, cities of Galilee, and Julius, in Ituræa, situated beyond Jordan, with fourteen villages conterminous to it.[2] Eusebius, in his Chronicle, declareth that this Agrippa reigned twenty-six years, to whom all chronologers give credit. But Eusebius committed two mistakes: first, in that he saith that Agrippa the younger reigned immediately after his father's decease, contrary to what Josephus asserts.[3] And also in that he is of opinion that the kingdom of this Agrippa ended together with the miserable destruction of Jerusalem. As if, because twenty-six years intervened between the beginning of the same king and the overthrow of Jerusalem, the king himself had been also destroyed, together with the temple and city. "But," saith the renowned Scaliger, "that Agrippa the younger died in the third year of Trajan, Num. 2,116 of Eusebius's Chronicle, as Justus of Tiberias testified, who presented his chronological works to King Agrippa himself. None, therefore, could more certainly pronounce about this king's death than he who dedicated his work to him. Photius saith of Justus of Tiberias, 'He beginneth his history from Moses, and continueth it even to the exit of Agrippa, the seventh of Herod's family and last of the Jewish kings, who received his kingdom under Claudius, increased it under Nero, and further

[1] Ant. lib. xiv. cap. 23. lib. xv. cap. 4. [2] Joseph. Ant. lib. xx. cap. 5.
[3] Ant. lib. xix. cap. 7.

under Vespasian. But he died in the third year of Trajan, at which time his history likewise concludes.'" "But there was no cause," saith the same Scaliger, "why Eusebius should limit the kingdom of Agrippa the younger with the destruction of Jerusalem. For neither was he king of Jerusalem, nor had he any authority over any part of the tetrarchy of Archelaus. For Cæsar's procurator was always sent to the patrimony of Archelaus and Jerusalem, who was called Epistropus of Judea." Thus Joseph Scaliger, in his animadversions on Eusebius's Chronicle, with whom, notwithstanding, the most renowned Scultetus cannot agree in this that he says: "That there was always a procurator sent to the patrimony of Archelaus and Jerusalem." For when Agrippa the elder reigned and governed Judea itself, he is of opinion that the Jews paid tribute, not to the Romans, but to their own king; nor that any procurator came from Rome to Jerusalem. The same Scaliger, on Eusebius, Num. 2,086: "Agrippa the younger, the seventh and last of the kings of the race of Herod, lived thirty years after the destruction of Jerusalem, his kingdom continuing safe, which he possessed twenty-six years, and increased by the accession of some towns through the favour of Vespasian. So far was the fortune of Jerusalem from causing any alteration in his kingdom. What, therefore, did Eusebius mean? Whether that after the destruction of Jerusalem, Agrippa continued in the station of a private person, or that he was destroyed, together with Jerusalem? But these things are both already confuted, as also they are with this coin: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ. ΟΥΕCΠΑCΙΑΝΟC. ΚΑΙCΑΡ. ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑC. ΕΑΛΩΚΙΑC. ΕΤΕΙ. ΚΑ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠ. Agrippa remained king after Judea was taken. Elsewhere it is ETOYS Kϛ. Eusebius has licentiously enough indulged himself in this fiction. But both the ancient and modern Jews are mistaken who say that their power of judgment was taken away from them by the Romans forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, that is, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, which is ridiculous. For this befell them sixty-one years before the burning of the temple; about the time that Archelaus was banished to Vienna. Whence is that, *It is not lawful for us to kill any man.* For Cæsar's governor, or procurator, devolving all the power on himself, left very few things, and those of very small moment to the consistory of the Jews, with these, moreover, which belonged to their laws, rites, ceremonies, and songs."

*And Bernice.* Sister german to king Agrippa the younger,

widow of Herod king of Chalcis, her uncle. When a rumour went abroad that she lay carnally with her brother german Agrippa, she advised Polemon king of Cilicia, that he would first be circumcised and then marry her, thinking that in so doing she would make it appear to be a lie. Nor did Polemon deny her, being especially induced thereto by her riches; yet that marriage was not of long continuance, by reason of intemperance, as it is said, Bernice departing from him, who presently after he was deserted by his wife, deserted the Jewish religion.[1] The same Bernice, or Berenice, or Beronice, came to Jerusalem barefooted and her head shaven, to pay her vow to God for her safety.[2] Juvenal, Sat. xx:—

> And the rich diamond that fairer showed,
> On Berenice's finger, this bestowed
> The barbarous Agrippa, he to his
> Incestuous sister once presented this,
> Where barefoot kings the sacred Sabbath hold,
> And ancient pity lets the hogs grow old.

*Came down.* Greek, "came unto," as it is in English.

*Cæsarea, to salute Festus.* That they might pay their respects to the new governor or procurator. For those who depended on the Roman emperors as vassals, they officiously insinuated themselves into the favour of the Roman procurators.

14. *Had been there.* That is, Agrippa and Bernice had tarried at Cæsarea.

*Unto the king.* Agrippa.

*Declared Paul's cause.* That is, he related in order all Paul's concern, in what case it was.

15. *Desiring against him.* As if guilty of a notorious crime.

*Judgment.* Without telling the cause why. Greek, δίκην, "sentence," that is, a juridical condemnation, as appears by Festus's answer subjoined to it. "Δίκη," saith Ribera on Hos. xiii., "is a law-term, and signifieth a cause which is pleaded before the judge, and decree of the judge, and right or an action to do or ask any thing, and the punishment which is inflicted, which also the Latins sometimes call *dica* using a Greek word for one of their own." Some Greek copies, instead of this simple word δίκη, have the compound καταδίκην, which signifies "condemnation."

16. *It is not the manner of the Romans.* Like to barbarous cruelty, or tyrannical impotency, as Apuleius speaketh.

[1] Joseph. Ant. lib. xx. cap. 5. [2] Joseph. Bell. Jud. lib. ii. cap. 15.

*To deliver any one to die.* In the Greek it is, "To gratify one with another's destruction," to wit, at the request of any.

17. *When therefore they were come.* The elders of Jews intending to prosecute Paul with all severity.

*Hither.* To Cæsarea.

*I sat on the judgment seat.* To give judgment.

*And commanded the man to be brought forth.* To wit, Paul, who was in prison.

18. *When they stood up.* Greek, σταθέντες, "standing," that is, when they stood before the judgment-seat.

*They brought none.* As if he had said, I suspected that they should lay some heinous wickedness to Paul's charge, but they had nothing to say against him but some frivolous things, I know not what, concerning their own superstition. Gallio, deputy of Achaia, spoke to the same purpose in Paul's cause, when he was accused by the Jews; above, ch. xviii. 14.

19. *Of their own.* To wit, Jewish.

*Superstition.* Superstition is a vain and ridiculous worship of God, as also an anxious and excessive dread of him, when he is thought to be offended at those things which yet he is no ways offended at. This profane man speaketh impiously of that worship of the true God which the law of Moses appointeth. "Nothing,' saith the renowned Beza, "reverencing the presence of king Agrippa. For these governors of provinces used to prefer themselves even to kings by reason of the greatness of the people of Rome, and it is probable also that this Agrippa, following the footsteps of his fathers, did so profess the Jewish religion, as that he should not offend the Romans."

*Against him.* To wit, Paul.

*And of one Jesus, which was dead.* And that inhumanly murdered.

*Whom Paul affirmed to be alive.* Raised up from the dead.

20. *And because I doubted,* &c. "Here," saith the famous Beza, "Festus palliateth his sin, and bewrayeth himself. For why did he not absolve a supposed criminal against whom nothing could be proved? Or what occasion was there for his doubting? Therefore if he had declared the plain truth, he would have confessed that he would therefore have had Paul carried up to Jerusalem, that he might ingratiate himself to the Jews, and expose an innocent person to the cruelty of his enemies, to be murdered by them, either by the way, or in the city: wherefore, he gave just cause of appeal,

seeing the right of appeal of old granted to the people, but afterwards to Cæsar, was granted to a Roman citizen by most firm laws.

21. *But when Paul had appealed to be reserved to the hearing of Augustus.* That is, that he might remain in custody until Nero the Roman emperor could cognosce of his cause and defence, and determine thereupon. Now all the Roman emperors were called Cæsars from the first of their emperors Caius Julius, whose family's surname was Cæsar; and from their second emperor Octavianus Cæsar, all his successors to this very day have the name of Augustus. But Octavianus himself, for his singular virtue, and many good deeds to the commonwealth, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, according to the opinion of Munatius Plancus, but the sixteenth year of his empire, which he happily governed fifty-six years, was called Augustus; an excellent and very honourable title, which signifies one that is venerable, and to be sacredly revered as God.

22. *I would.* That is, I have a great desire.

23. *But on the morrow when Agrippa was come.* To wit, into the judgment-hall.

*Agrippa and Bernice.* That is, together with his sister german Bernice; of whom above, ver. 13.

*With great ambition* [*cum multâ ambitione.*] Greek, "with great phantasie," that is, with most sumptuous clothing and royal ornaments; or as it is in the English, *with great pomp*, as the Greek author speaks, 1 Mac. ix. 37, where also the Vulgate Latin interpreter renders it, "with much ambition," that is, vain ostentation.

*And entered the place of hearing.* That is, into the conclave appointed to take cognizance of and judge causes.

*With the chief captains.* To wit, military, who were set over one thousand soldiers.

*Principal men of the city.* That is, the nobility and gentry of Cæsarea.

*Paul was brought.* From prison to the said conclave.

24. *And Festus said.* Addressing himself to the assistants.

*Jerusalem and here.* To wit, at Cæsarea; see above, ver. 6, 7.

*Crying.* Greek, "crying aloud." To wit, at Jerusalem, before Claudius Lysias, the chief captain; above, ch. xxii. 22. But at Cæsarea, before Festus, the procurator, where above, ver. 7, the Jews accused Paul of heinous crimes without cause.

25. *But when I found*, &c. The like testimony the Pharisees also bear to Paul of his innocency; above, ch. xxiii. 9. King Agrippa and his sister Bernice, below, ch. xxvi. 31.

*To send him.* To wit, Paul, to Domitius Nero Cæsar; see above, ver. 21.

26. *No certain thing.* That is, known and determinate.

*To write to my lord.* That is, to the emperor. Octavianus Cæsar Augustus, by an edict, prohibited the title of lord to be given to him, which had its rise from "parasites," and indicated according to the import of the related words, as if the Roman citizens were the emperor's servants: witness Dion and Suetonius. But after his decease the custom became universal, and that even among good princes and emperors, of not refusing this title, as appears from Pliny's Letters to Trajan.

*I have brought him forth before you.* Who are now come here together.

*Especially before thee.* As being well seen in the Jewish laws and controversies.

*Examination had.* Or, as Pliny speaks, "inquisition made."

27. *Unreasonable.* That is, foolish and absurd.

*To send a prisoner.* To Rome, to the emperor.

*And not to signify.* Supply, "by letter."

*The crimes laid against him.* That is, the accusations brought against him, or misdemeanours laid to his charge.

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

1. *Thou art permitted.* By Festus, the governor, and me.

*To speak for thyself.* That is, to plead and defend thy cause.

*Stretch forth his hand.* As they used to do who are to make a large oration, or a long discourse; not so much that they may procure silence, as that their freedom and ingenuity may thereby be more evident.

*Answered for himself.* That is, he began thus courageously to defend his innocency from the calumnies of his adversaries.

2. *I think myself happy.* This Ovid would have expressed, "I am glad at this, with all my heart." Apuleius also, in the beginning of his first Apology to Maximus, the proconsul: "I rejoice, that while thou art judge I have both power and liberty

granted me to purge philosophy among the unskilful and approve myself."

3. *Questions.* Which, to wit, are controverted. What Paul says here of Agrippa the younger, he affirmed almost the very same of Felix the governor; above, ch. xxiv. 10, 11.

4. *Life.* That is, "my custom of life and living," as Cicero speaketh. So Apuleius and Pliny the younger used the word *vita*, "life." This,[1] speaking of a certain candidate: "He himself spoke for himself; he declared his life." The other:[2] "What more copious commender, what more sacred witness of my life, can I produce?"

*Among my own nation.* That is, among the Jews.

*Know all the Jews.* Especially they of Jerusalem.

5. *Which knew me from the beginning.* That is, to whom I was very well known long ago.

*If they would testify.* To wit, of my by-past life.

*After the straitest.* That is, famous above all the other sects of the Jewish religion, for the commendation of wisdom and skilfulness in the law of God. See what we have said on Matt. iii. 7.

*Sect.* Greek, "heresy." See what we have said on this middle or indifferent word above, ch. xxiv. 5.

*Of our religion.* That is, of the Jewish, in which, besides the sevenfold sect of the Pharisees, there were the sects of the Sadducees and Essenes. Josephus[3] calls *heresies* "philosophies." Jerome against Jovinian[4] calls them *dogmata*, "opinions." They might also be called "parties," as the renowned Drusius observes. "For," says he, "חלק, 'party, sect,' that is μέρος, Acts xxiii. 6; and אומות, 'nations.' Truly in the commentators on Aboth, where speaking of the Sadducees, 'They were made a nation by themselves, אומה לעצמו. The nation of the Sadducees, as the nation of Gramarians,' &c. The Hebrews properly call a sect כת, and a heresy, מינות, whence מינים, 'heretics,' and from thence 'minæus,' that is, מיני. *Sect* also in the Acts is called ἡ ὁδὸς, that is, 'way,' and in Jochazim מנהג, that is, 'use, custom.'"

*I lived a Pharisee.* Paul testifies the same of himself above, ch. xxiii. 7; Phil. iii. 5.

6. *And now*, &c. As if he had said, But now I am accused, because I maintain the hope of the promise made to our fathers. "By hope," saith Wolzogenius, "he seems to understand metony-

[1] Ep. lib. iii. cap. 20. [2] Apolog. 2. [3] Ant. lib. xiv. cap. 9.
[4] Lib. xviii. cap. 2. [5] Lib. ii. cap. 9.

mically the things hoped for, as appears by what follows. Some expound that hope of the resurrection of the dead, of which above, ch. xxiii. 6; xxiv. 15. But others take it for the hope of the deliverance of the Jews by the Messiah, or of salvation to be obtained by Christ. Nor without reason; for although here below, ver. 8, there is expressly mention made of the raising of the dead, yet that does not militate against this opinion, which may be seen there. Again, the raising up of the just that are dead is comprehended in that hope of salvation by Christ, as being of larger extent. Moreover, it cannot be clearly shown that the promise of the resurrection of the dead was made by God to the fathers of the Jews, which is here immediately subjoined. But it is manifest that it was made of Christ, not obscurely, but expressly, as we shall straight see. To pass by that, what is spoken in the following verse can scarce be rightly said of the hope of the resurrection, to wit, that the twelve tribes of Israel hoped that they should come to it; seeing there were many among those twelve tribes who had no persuasion of the hope of the resurrection of the dead, as the Sadducees, and those who favoured their opinion."

*To our fathers.* To wit, the ancestors of the Jews.

*Of the promise.* To wit, of the Messiah, or Christ the Saviour.

*Made of God.* To Abraham, Gen. xxii. 18. To Isaac, Gen. xxvi. 4. To Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 14. To Judah, Gen. xlix 10. To the Israelites, Deut. xviii. 15. To David, 2 Sam. vii. 12; Psa. cxxii. 11; Isa. vii. 14; ix. 6, 7; xi. 1; Jer. xxiii. 5; xxxiii. 14, 15; Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24; xxxvii. 24, 25; Hos. iii. 5; Mic. v. 2; vii. 20. "Paul," saith Wolzogenius, "everywhere preached the Messiah promised by God of old, and then as yet hoped for by the Jews, but really already shown, and that that Messiah was Jesus, whom God raised up after that he was crucified by the Jews; and for this very reason was he persecuted by the Jews."

*I stand and am judged.* This Ulpianus would have said, "I appear personally in judgment."

7. *Unto which.* That is, for the obtaining of which promise. The sense of this whole verse is the same as if he had said: But whosoever of our nation carefully worship God, and exercise themselves night and day in the duties of godliness, they are inflamed with this hope, that they will sometime obtain that everlasting salvation and blessed immortality, which the Messiah, the author of salvation, will bestow on all them that obey him.

*Our twelve tribes.* So are the posterity of Jacob called, who

was Abraham's grandchild, named Israel, from whose twelve sons the twelve tribes of the Israelites are propagated. And although the ten tribes that were long ago carried into Assyria, 2 Kings xvii. 23; xviii. 1, did not all return together with the two tribes of Benjamin and Judah, yet that not a few of them were scattered among the two tribes that returned from the Babylonish captivity, is declared, Ezra vi. 17; viii. 35; see also Kimchi on Jer. l. 4.

*Night and day.* That is, without intermission.

*Serving.* To wit, the living God. In the Greek is added ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ, which is the same as ἐκτενῶς, 1 Pet. i. 22, "earnestly, instantly, fervently."

*Hope to come.* Or, to attain.

*For which hope I am accused of the Jews.* As if he had said, It is imputed a crime to me by the Jews, because I declare that the hope which they all have of Christ, from the promises of God, is already fulfilled, and that the promised Christ is already exhibited by God, and that he is that very Jesus of Nazareth, whom, after he had suffered a cruel death, God raised from the dead, and gave him all power in heaven and earth.

8. *Why?* "So," saith Beza, "the Greek annotations distinguish; nor do I doubt but this is the genuine reading: but besides that otherwise the sentence would be incoherent, this speech is also full of solid gravity;" for it strenuously and nimbly anticipates their tacit objection, who among his hearers were either heathens or Sadducees; for they might imagine and say, Thou preachest that Jesus of Nazareth, after that he was slain by a cruel death, resumed life again, which cannot be believed.

*Should it be thought a thing incredible with you?* Judging by the mean capacity of human intellect.

*If.* That is, "that," as below, ver. 23, and εἰ, "if," saith Daniel Brenius, "for ὅτι, that, as כִּי with the Hebrews, Gen. xlvii. 9; Num. iii. 30; Psal. lxiii. 7; cxxxix. 10; Isa. iv. 5."

*God.* Whose immense power is not bounded within the narrow limits of human understanding.

*Should raise the dead?* To wit, by his efficacy; or, as the Vulgate Latin interpreter speaketh, Phil. iii. 21, *according to the working of his power, whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself.* See that golden physico-theological treatise, of the Possibility of the Resurrection, written by the Honourable Robert Boyle, Esq., a very great man by the suffrages of all.

9. *I verily.* Before that I certainly knew that Jesus, who was

crucified, lived again, and that he is the Messiah promised in the law and the prophets.

*Thought.* By a preposterous zeal for the law of Moses, and burning with a pertinacious and mad rage. Lactantius, the most famous for eloquence amongst the assertors of Christian verity, thus refels the Gentiles who defended their religion by tormenting those that dissented from them:[2] "But," say they, "sacred rites publicly professed are to be defended. O with how honest a desire do these miserable men err! for they think that there is nothing in human affairs more excellent than religion, and that it must be defended with the utmost power; but as they are mistaken in the religion itself, so are they in the kind of defence. For religion must be defended not by killing, but by dying; not by cruelty, but by patience; not by wickedness, but by faith. For those are the deeds of evil men, these of good; and it is necessary that good be practised in religion, not evil. For if ye will defend your religion by blood, if by torments, or evil, it will no more be defended, but polluted and violated. For there is nothing so voluntary as religion, in which, if the mind of its professor is averse, it is straight vanished, it is now none. There is therefore good reason that ye should defend religion by patience or death, in which if faith be preserved, it is both well-pleasing to God, and addeth authority to religion." Socrates relateth, Hist. iii. 21, that Jovinian the emperor was mightily commended, because he permitted every man to profess religion as he thought fit, and every one to worship as he pleased. So Flavius Josephus, in his Life writeth, that every one ought κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν, "according to his own choice worship God;" ἀλλὰ μὴ μετὰ βίας, but "not by constraint, neither ought we to act so as to give cause to others to repent that they came over to us on the account of security." Athanasius, Apol. 2: "Deaths and bonds are far from being allowed by our religion." Tertullian to Scapula, cap. xi.: "We worship one God whom ye naturally know, at whose lightnings and thunder ye tremble, at whose benefits ye rejoice; ye also fancy the rest to be gods, which we know are devils. Yet it is of human right and natural liberty, that every man worship what he thinks fit, nor does one's religion either incommodate or advantage another. But neither is it the duty of religion to impose religion, which ought to be embraced willingly, not by constraint." Council of Toledo IV. can. 56: "As man died by obeying the

[1] Instit. lib. v. cap. 19.

serpent out of his own free will, so, in the call of the grace of God every man is saved, through faith, by the conversion of his own mind. Wherefore the Jews are not to be compelled by force, but are to be persuaded, that they may be converted out of their own free will." Nicolas, the first Roman bishop of this name, answering the demands of the Bulgarians (cap. 41): "But as concerning those who refuse to embrace the Christian religion, and sacrifice, and bow their knees to idols, we can write no other thing to you, but that ye convince them to embrace the true faith by admonitions and exhortations, and that ye endeavour to persuade them that they are vainly wise, rather by reason than by violence." See what is said above, ch. v. 39; xvii. 3, 17.

*With myself.* Greek, ἐμαυτῷ, "in," or "to myself," which the Syriac, Arabic, and the famed Beza construe with the verb immediately going before ἔδοξα, as if it were put for παρ' ἐμαυτῷ, so that the sense is, "I judged with myself," or as the Vulgate Latin interpreter, "I thought." But the said Vulgate Latin and Erasmus refer it to the verb δεῖν, "I behoved" or "ought," which follows. The most learned Lewis de Dieu is of opinion that this is not to be altogether despised. "For although," saith he, "it is more usual to say ἔδοξα ἐμαυτὸν δεῖν, yet the dative case is sometimes used even by the most approved authors. Aristotle, in his Problems, δεῖ τῷ πυρὶ διελθεῖν τοὺς ἅλας, 'it is necessary that salt undergo the fire.'"

*Contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth.* *Name* is here taken either for his very person whose name it is, as above, ch. iv. 12; or for the whole profession of the gospel or religion delivered by Jesus, as above, ch. v. 41; Matt. x. 22; 1 Pet. iv. 14; Rev. ii. 3.

*Ought.* As of bounden duty, in regard I thought that Jesus was a seducer, an impostor, and grand adversary to God.

*To do many things.* By vexing, afflicting, and persecuting them, who professed themselves the disciples and worshippers of Christ.

10. *Which thing I also did.* With an impetus of blind zeal, and inflexible obstinacy.

*In Jerusalem.* In which metropolis of Judea and of all the east, I was taken and cast into bonds.

*And many of the saints.* That is, of those who follow the way and doctrines of Jesus of Nazareth, who are called saints, because they are separated from the profane multitude of men, by the profession of that religion and doctrine which Christ delivered to them. But when Paul persecuted them with outrageous vio-

lence, he accounted them profane, and every way detestable villains. See above, ch. viii. 3; xxii. 4.

*And when they were put to death.* To wit, the Christians by the unbelieving Jews.

*I gave my voice.* That is, I gave my approbation to the madness of those unbelieving Jews, and by my suffrage, approved of their bloody cruelty, whereby they destroyed the Christians. See above, ch. viii. 1; xxii. 20.

11. *And in every synagogue.* By the name of *synagogue*, are usually denoted the places where the Jews made their public prayers, as also frequently their juridical and civil conventions, as, 1 Mac. vii. 12, the additions to Daniel xiii. 41. It is also used for Christian assemblies met to perform divine service, James ii. 2. Here therefore by *synagogues* may be understood, either those meeting-places of the Christians, into which Paul sometimes violently broke in, and haled them forth to insupportable torments, or the juridical and civil assembling places of the Jews, before whom the Christians that were apprehended by Paul were brought; or finally, the places appointed for prayer, in which, it is not improbable that sometimes the punishment decreedagainst the guilty, was put in execution. For Epiphanius makes mention of a certain Jew that was scourged in a synagogue, when he was deserting the Jews and turning over to the Christians. And in Eusebius,[1] a book is cited written against the Montanists in the reign of Commodus, where it is said, that no woman of that flock "was either punished with stripes, or stoned in the synagogue of the Jews."

*I punished them oft, and compelled them to blaspheme.* That is, I frequently caused the Christians to be put to torments, that by the sharpness of them I might drive them to curse Christ. That this was done in the time of the persecutions by some that were not found Christians, Pliny witnesseth, lib. x. epist. 97, to Trajan the emperor.

*And being exceedingly,* &c. As if he had said, But further, my mad rage against the Christians increasing every day, I was not satiated with tormenting them all manner of ways at Jerusalem only, but carried on that inhuman prosecution of them further, even to cities situate without Judea.

12. *Whereupon.* That is, in the meanwhile that I was a doing these things, or exercising myself in these things, as above, ch. xxiv. 18.

[1] Hist. Eccles. lib. v. cap. 16.

*As I went.* Greek, πορευόμενος, "and going," that is, while I went with that purpose or mind.

*To Damascus.* The metropolis of Syria, of which above, ch. ix. 2.

*With authority.* As if he had said, Having obtained from the chief priests letters of proxy, whereby I had full authority, and also the care was committed to me of doing that which I went about. See above, ch. ix. 1, 2. 14; xxii. 5.

*Commission.* Greek, ἐπιτροπῆς, "permission."

13. *At mid-day.* That is, about noon, as it is the Greek text, above, ch. xxii. 6.

*In the way.* To wit, when I was not far from Damascus. See above, ch. ix. 3; xxii. 6.

*I saw,* &c. See above, ch. ix. 3; xxii. 6.

14. *I heard,* &c. See above, ch. ix. 4; xxii. 7.

15. *I,* &c. See above, ch. ix. 5; xxii. 8.

16. *But rise, and stand upon thy feet.* Because both he and all those who were present with him, companions in his journey, being dazzled with the brightness of the light, which exceeded that of the sun, were fallen down upon the earth. See above, ver. 14.

*For I have appeared unto thee for this purpose.* That is, for this end have I, who am taken up into heaven, and there sit at the right hand of God, whom the heavens must contain until the times of the restitution of all things, and who must at the last day come down from heaven; I, I say, Jesus of Nazareth, whose countenance while I was on earth, shone as the sun, Matt. xvii. 2, now reigning in heaven, have shown myself to thee in the brightness of light more resplendent than that of the sun.

*To make thee.* Greek, προχειρίσασθαί, "That I may take thee in my hands." See what we have noted on this Greek word above, ch. xxii. 14.

*A minister and a witness,* &c. As if he had said, As he whom I will employ for a preacher and witness, both of those things which thou hast now seen, and also of those things which shall afterwards be showed thee by me. "Paul's many visions," saith Grotius, "are had respect unto above, ch. xviii. 9; xxiii. 11; 2 Cor. ii. 2." See what we said above, ch. xxii. 15.

17. *Delivering thee from the people and the Gentiles.* That is, promising my protection, whereby thou shalt be delivered from those dangers which shall attend thee from the Jewish people and strange nations, for the discharge of that ministry.

*Unto whom now I send thee.* First, indeed, to the Jewish nation,

but especially afterwards to the Gentiles, of which I peculiarly make thee an apostle. See above, ch. xxii. 21.

18. *To open.* That is, that by the preaching of the gospel thou mayest open.

*Their eyes.* Not of the body, but of the mind; a metaphor taken from the body, as Isa. xlii. 7; Eph. i. 18.

*To turn them from darkness.* To wit, of ignorance and wickedness. See Col. i. 13.

*To light.* That is, to the perfect knowledge of gospel truth, and godliness flowing thence. In the Greek *in* is put for *ad*, as in the verse immediately preceding.

*And from the power of Satan.* Which wicked and envious spirit, while he maliciously fights against God and men, by his errors that he sows, and vices that result from them, he keeps men, that are ignorant of the truth revealed by God in his own power and dominion, as under tyranny in miserable slavery, drawing them into utter destruction.

*Unto God.* That is, to the true and sound way of worshipping God.

*That they may receive,* &c. As if he had said, That believing in me, they may receive a free pardon of their sins, and be partakers of the everlasting inheritance which God hath appointed to those who are separated from the multitude of the profane.

*Lot.* That is, as it is in the English, *inheritance*, because inheritances used to be distributed by lot. By that lot or inheritance is understood everlasting communion in that heavenly beatitude which God himself enjoys.

*Among the holy.* [Latin, *inter sanctos*;] Greek, "in the sanctified." That is, as it is in the English, among them that are sanctified, or among them who, by the efficacy of the Holy Spirit, are separated to God from the ungodliness and ignorance of worldly men.

*By faith.* Excellently saith Calvin: "Some read wrong in one context, 'Among those that are sanctified by faith,' because this particle is extended to the whole complex; therefore the meaning is that by faith we come to the possession of all the good things that are offered in the gospel."

*That is in me.* Faith in Jesus Christ, or confidence reposed in him as a Saviour, and in his promises, and that lively and working by charity and obedience to his commands, joined with a sincere repentance of their by-past life, of which below, ver. 20; and above, ch. xx. 21. This faith, I say, is the means by which through the

grace of God are obtained those excellent benefits above-mentioned, viz., remission of sins, deliverance from the punishments deserved by them, especially from the second or everlasting death, the gift of the heavenly inheritance and everlasting life. See Gal. v. 6; James ii. 17, 22, 26; John iii. 23. But that faith in Christ, and hope joined therewith, through Christ, goeth to the same God whom the Jews profess themselves to be worshippers of. See John xii. 44; 1 Peter i. 21.

19. *Whereupon.* That is, "wherefore," as Heb. iii. 1; vii. 25.

*Incredulous.* Latin, *incredulus;* in the Greek, as also the English it is, *disobedient*, to wit, by stubbornness and inflexible obstinacy. "As powerful as that call was," says Grotius, "yet it did not take away the power of resisting. God will have voluntary obedience, not forced." See Isa. l. 5; Psalm xcv. 7; Heb. iii. 7, 8, 15; iv. 7.

*Unto the heavenly vision.* That is, the divine will, which I learned from Christ showing himself to me; above, ver. 16.

20. *But.* Obedient to the heavenly revelation in all things.

*First unto them of Damascus.* See above, ch. ix. 19, 20, 22.

*And at Jerusalem. Ibid.* ver. 28.

*And throughout all the country of Judea.* That is, through other cities of Judea, besides the metropolis; yea, also without Judea, among the Jews that inhabited other countries. See above, ch. xiii. 5, 14, 16; xiv. 1; xvii. 2, 10; xviii. 4, 19; xix. 8.

*And the Gentiles.* Strangers to the Jewish people. See above, ch. xiii. 42, 48; xiv. 1, 15, 21, 25, 26; xv. 35; xvi. 13, 32; xvii. 17, &c.; xviii. 4; xix. 10.

*Declared.* The evangelical doctrine of Christ.

*That they should repent.* That is, that they might be sorry that they have offended God.

*And be turned.* To wit, from the wickedness of their ways.

*To God.* To wit, the true God who is to be worshipped devoutly and piously.

*Works meet for repentance.* That is, works agreeable to virtue, and becoming a person who repents sincerely of a vicious and flagitious life. See what I have said on Matt. iii. 2, 8.

21. *For this cause.* That is, because I preached these things among the Jews and other nations.

*The Jews caught me while I was in the temple.* See above, ch. xxi. 27, 30.

*Went about to kill me.* Greek, ἐπειρῶντο διαχειρίσασθαι, "they

attempted to kill me with their hands." That is, by force and violence to kill me uncondemned.

22. *But having obtained help.* Greek, οὖν, "therefore," as also the English, instead of the adversative particle "but," as Matt. xiii. 12.

*Of God.* Who verily, according to Christ's promise above, ver. 17, having a design to deliver me from snares that were laid for me, out of his mercy provided those means for me to escape out of the hands of my enemies, of which see above, ch. xxi. 31—32, 33; xxii. 23, 24; xxiii. 6, 9, 10, 16, 24; xxv. 10, 11.

*I continue unto this day.* Safe and sound.

*Witnessing both to small and great.* That is, instructing and teaching all ranks of men from the highest to the lowest, those things that I have known of Christ.

*To the lesser and greater.* [Latin, *minori atque majori.*] Greek, as also the English, *small and great.* A Hebraism, as Deut. i. 17, 1 Sam. xxx. 2, 5, 9, xxx. 2, 19; 1 Kings xxii. 31; 2 Kings xxiii. 2

*Saying none other things.* Of Christ.

*Than what the prophets did say should come.* And set down in their writings.

*And Moses.* The principal of all the prophets, both by his prophecies, and also by his types and figures inserted in his Pentateuch, hath foretold of the Messiah, see Luke xxiv. 27.

23. *If.* That conditional conjunction is taken in this place affirmatively, and signifies "that," as above, ver. 8. Paul therefore explains those things which Moses and the prophets foretold were to come of Christ, to wit, that he should suffer very great pains, and should rise first to immortal life, and would bestow the light of truth on the Jews first, and then also on the Gentiles.

*Should suffer.* That is, was designed to undergo the utmost torment. All the sacrifices of the old covenant, and all David's calamities, did typify this. David prophesied the same, Ps. xxii.; as also Isa. liii., and Dan. ix. 26.

*If.* That is, "that," as immediately above.

*First of the resurrection of the dead.* That is, the first that should be raised from the dead to immortal life; see Ps. xvi. 10; xxii. 32; Isa. liii. 10. The prophecy of Jonah has also a reference hereto, Matt. xii. 40. Hence Christ raised up to perpetuity of life, 1 Cor. xv. 20, is called *the first fruits of them that sleep;* and Col. i. 18, *the first begotten among the dead;* and Rev. i. 5, *the first begotten of the dead.*

*Light.* Of most sound doctrine and true godliness; see Matt. iv. 16; John i. 4; viii. 12; 2 Tim. i. 10.

*Should show.* That is, Christ himself, after he is risen, will show it by the ministry of the apostles' preaching, according to the the prophecy of Isaiah, ch. xlii. 6; xlix. 6. See Eph. ii. 17; 1 Pet. iii. 18, 19.

*Unto the people.* Of the Jews first.

*And to the Gentiles.* That is, and then to the rest of the nations. See above, ch. xiii. 46, 47; Luke ii. 32.

24. *And as he thus spake for himself.* As if he had said, But when Paul defended his cause by the lively oracles of the law of Moses and the prophets, and proved his defence by the evidence of his reasons.

*Festus.* Procurator of Judea, unwilling to be persuaded that the doctrine of the gospel was divine, lest afterwards his conscience should indite him, that he must lead his life according to its prescript, and torment and prick him when he was negligent in his duty.

*Said with a loud voice.* That is, cried out.

*Paul, thou art beside thyself.* Worldly men who are addicted to fleshly pleasures and this life, and therefore refractory to the gospel, think it a madness to profess the religion of Christ and the doctrine of so contemptible and abject a man, who was crucified even by his countrymen, and put to so infamous a death; to acknowledge him for a heavenly king and lord, and worship him, even when he is risen from the dead, and on his account to despise all things, and suffer hard things, and finally to expect from him the reward of everlasting life and glory. See 1 Cor. i. 18, 23; ii. 14.

*Much learning.* That is, most profound erudition and science.

*Doth make thee mad.* Or drives thee to madness. Those who sequestering themselves from the care of other things, give themselves wholly over to study, use sometimes, melancholy being thereby increased in their bodies, to be reduced to madness and phrensy. See Aristotle's Problems, sect. 30.

25. *Most excellent Festus.* See what is said above, ch. xxiii. 6; xxiv. 3. Paul giveth Festus, the procurator, most honourable titles, although he opprobriously twitted him with his mad wisdom. Let us learn hence to give magistrates their due honour, even then when they take away our good name, though undeservedly.

*I speak the words of truth and soberness.* A Hebraism. That is, I speak true words, and which flow from a sound mind.

26. *For he knoweth of these things.* To wit, of the undeserved death of Jesus Christ, and of his glorious resurrection to immortality, and of the preaching of his evangelical doctrine, that was made famous by the miracles which were wrought by his disciples.

*The king.* To wit, Agrippa the lesser or younger, son to Agrippa the greater or elder, who is here present. It was reckoned by orators to be the best defence criminals could make, to appeal even to the conscience of their adversaries or the judges. Paul had recourse to this succour here, and above, ch. xxv. 10.

*Before whom also I speak freely.* As if he had said, And on this confidence, to wit, that the king is ignorant of none of these things I speak, I freely appeal to his conscience.

*For this thing was not done in a corner.* To wit, any of these things which I said of Jesus of Nazareth was not done in secret, but all were brought about in very noted places. And although Christ, after he was raised from the dead, was not shown but to his disciples, yet it seems very likely, from what happened to the watch of his sepulchre, who, being astonished at the admirable approach of the bright angel to his sepulchre at the time of his resurrection, told what was done there to the chief priests, and afterwards, being bribed with money, denied it, Matt. xxviii. 4, 11, 15; that afterward, by degrees, the report of this matter spread amongst men; [and] that the same was carried a great deal further by so many of Christ's disciples, who spoke it openly, very confidently, and constantly, as being eye-witnesses thereof, nothing terrified with the vehement afflictions they by reason thereof exposed themselves to.

27. *King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets?* Who have plainly prophesied to us those things of the Messiah a long time before, which I myself affirm are fulfilled in Christ Jesus, with all asseveration.

*I know that thou believest.* It is a frequent custom, both in civil affairs and common discourse, to ask one and to answer for him. Pliny the younger, lib. ix., epist. 12, saith, "Hark ye; did ye never do that which your fathers could reprove you for? I say, ye have done it." Cicero, de Nat. Deor., "Do ye think God such a one as I or you are? Certainly you do not."

28. *But Agrippa unto Paul.* Supply, out of the Greek text, "said."

*In a little.* [Latin, *in modico.*] That is, as it is in the English, *almost.* "It is," saith Grotius, "an elegant Greek speech; for

even Plato said, in his Apologetic, ἔγνω οὖν καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τοῦτο: 'in a little,' that is, almost, 'I have known the same of the poets.'"

*Thou inducest me to be a Christian.* That is, as it is in the English, *thou persuadest me to be a Christian.* Nothing stood in way of it why he did not receive the doctrine of Christ more fully but his vices, which Agrippa would not part with: not unlike to his grand uncle, Herod Antipas, who feared John the Baptist, and sometimes heard him gladly, Mark vi. 20, but would not obey him when he enjoined him to put away Herodias, his brother Philip's wife. "Paul's defence," saith Daniel Brenius, "did so far prevail with Agrippa, that although he did not embrace the Christian religion, yet, as ecclesiastical histories relate, he granted to the Christians, who during the Roman war against the Jews fled into cities subject to his government, liberty to stay there and have their meetings without molestation." Yet it is very like that this was spoke in a smiling way by Agrippa to Paul, and that by a politic craft, lest Festus and the rest that were present should judge him to be mad with Paul, whom the same Festus had but now in plain and express terms upbraided with madness.

29. *And Paul,* answering Agrippa with a sedate mind, saith.

*I would to God.* That is, I pray God who is the turner of hearts.

*Both in little and great* [Lat. *in modico et in magno.*] That is, not only almost, but plainly and altogether.

*Not only thou.* Who hast said this.

*But all that hear this day.* Me, discoursing of Jesus Christ.

*Be such as I am.* That is, become the disciples of the same Jesus Christ, like to me in all things.

*Except these bonds.* That is, save in my prison and keepers that are set about me. For Paul was kept free from bonds in open prison; see above, ch. xxiv. 23. But, as Grotius well observes, "Vulgar speech did not take bonds in so strict a sense as lawyers." Such is that of Virgil, Æneid viii. 651.

"And Clelia, 'scap'd from bonds, the river took."

"For pledges are never bound," saith Servius. Excellent here is that of Calvin, as for most part his use is: "Truly it is very requisite that all the godly be endowed with this meekness, that they may calmly bear their cross; but that they may desire that others do well, and as much as in them lies endeavour to ease them of all their trouble, but that by no means they envy their rest and joy. This mild temper and moderation is very far different from

the bitterness of those, who by wishing their evils may befall others, comfort themselves with the thoughts thereof."

*And.* Supply out of the Greek text, "when he had thus said," to wit, Paul, as it is also in the English,

*The king rose up.* Agrippa, from the place whereon he sat attentively and patiently hearing Paul's strong and irrefutable defence.

*And the governor.* Festus, procurator of Judea. See our annot. above, ch. xxiii. 26.

*And Bernice.* Sister to king Agrippa. Of whom above, ch. xxv. 13.

*And they that sat with them.* The chief captains and principal men of Cæsarea. Of whom see above, ch. xxv. 23.

31. *And when they were gone aside.* Into some place where they might consult what to do with Paul, apart, and where none might overhear their discourse.

*Bonds.* That is, prison. See above, ver. 29.

*This man.* To wit, Paul, whom they had just now heard plead his cause. "That Paul," saith Calvin, "was absolved by the judgment of all, did not a little tend to the credit of the gospel. And Festus assenting with the rest condemned himself, as having cast Paul into these straits by his injustice, in betraying his life to the plots of his enemies, under pretence of changing of place. But although an appeal seems to be dangerous to the holy man, yet, in regard this was his only shelter to save him from death, he rests contented, nor goes about to extricate himself out of that trap: not only because it was not candid for him to do so, because he was admonished by a vision, that he should be also called by God to bear testimony at Rome." See above, ch. xxiii. 11.

32. *This man might have been set at liberty.* Freed from his confinement, as being innocent, and not convicted of any crime.

*If he had not appealed unto Cæsar.* By appeal, the power of the judge from whom the appeal is made becomes altogether null, not only to condemn but also to absolve, that the whole cause may be reserved to the cognizance of the superior judge to whom the appeal is made.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

1. *But when it was determined.* To wit, Festus, governor of Judea, now also decreeing it, as he did before, ch. xxv. 12.

*That he should sail.* The common Greek Codexes have ἡμᾶς, "we." That is, that Paul should set sail from Cæsarea, together with his companions, to wit, Luke who committed these things to writing, and Aristarchus the Macedonian of the city Thessalonica, who is mentioned in the immediately following verse.

*And to deliver Paul.* That is, and that Paul should be delivered. Greek, παρεδίδουν τόν τε Παῦλον, "and they delivered Paul," to wit, they who kept him in open prison.

*Into Italy.* That famous country of Europe, in whose metropolis Rome, Cæsar, whom Paul appealed to, had his residence. See what we have said of Italy, above, ch. xviii. 2.

*With other prisoners.* That is, with some others who were kept in custody, and by reason of the intricacy of their cause that were to be cognosced, were sent to Rome to Cæsar.

*Of Augustus's band.* That is, of the band of the Augustan legion. "For," saith Grotius, "Augusta was the name of a legion in the ancient stone, in Lipsius on the second book of Tacitus's Histories." A legion under the Cæsar's was divided into ten regiments, every regiment into three maniples, and every maniple into two companies. This legion therefore consisted of six thousand soldiers, and it had ten regiments, thirty maniples, sixty companies. See Salmasius of the military affairs of the Romans, ch. ii. 3.

2. *And entering into a ship of Adramyttium.* As if he had said, But seeing there was no ship there, which was bound straight for Italy, we went aboard of a ship which set forth from Adrumetum, or, as the Greek text has it, "Adramyttium," to traffic on the coast of Judea. Adrymes, or Adrymetus, or Adrumetum was a city of Libya; Pliny makes mention of it (Nat. Hist. lib. v. c. 4.) Strabo (lib. xvii.) calls it Adryme. That it was a fortified city appears out of Diodorus Siculus (lib. xx. of his Historical Library,) seeing Agathocles laid siege to it; "While, says he, these things were in hand, Agathocles now having the plains in his hands, he took the castles near Carthage by force, and brought the cities over to his side, some through fear, others by reason of their hatred of the Carthaginians, and having fortified his camp near Tunis, and left a sufficient garrison, he advanced to the cities near the sea, and having taken a new city at his first assault, he showed himself very merciful towards the captives, whence going forward to Adrymes, he besieged it." But Adramyttium was a city of Mysia, near Caicus, a river of the same Mysia, as Pliny testifies (lib. v. c. 30.) Ptolemy (lib. v. c. 2 of his Geography) reckoneth Adra-

myttium among the cities of the greater Phrygia; now Phrygia the greater was conterminous to Æolis, which in ancient times was also called Mysia. Adramyttium was a very noted city, a colony of the Athenians; it had a harbour and road for ships, as Strabo has committed to memory (lib. xiii.), where he says the famous orator Xenocles had his birth.

*Meaning to sail by the coast of Asia.* As if he had said, Which ship was bound for the maritime towns of Asia the Lesser, of which Mysia is a part. The Greek vulgar Codexes have μέλλοντες πλεῖν, "beginning to sail," or, as Beza renders it, "about to sail."

*We launched.* Greek, ἀνήχθημεν, "we were carried away," as above, ch. xvi. 11; xviii. 21; xx. 3, 13; and below, ver. 4.

*One Aristarchus being with us.* This man had accompanied Paul from Macedonia even to Judea; above, ch. xix. 29; xx. 4. The same man would freely accompany Paul, now in custody, out of love to him and to the truth he preached, and was the first that assisted him at Rome, Phil. 24, and became his fellow prisoner, Col. iv. 10.

3. *And the next day we touched.* Greek, κατήχθημεν, "we were carried."

*Sidon.* That famous city of Phœnicia, of whose largeness and antiquity the sacred scriptures will have us in no wise doubt, for Josh. xix. 18, it is called צידון רבה, "Sidon the large." See what we have said of Sidon and Tyre in our literal explanation on Joel iii. 4, and Matt. xi. 21.

*Gave him liberty,* &c. At Paul's entreaty he gave him liberty to go to visit his Christian friends in that part of Phœnicia at his pleasure, that they might take care and provide what was necessary for him.

4. *And when we had launched thence.* That is, parted from Sidon.

*We sailed unto Cyprus.* If the wind had favoured they would have steered their course straight from Sidon to Myra, above the island Cyprus, leaving it on the right hand. But now they must fetch a compass and turn under the island, leaving it on the left hand, and so in a manner compass the island. Hence the Syriac and Arabic render it, "we compassed near Cyprus." Which the Syriac renders more plainly below, ver. 7, where μὴ προσεῶντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀνέμου, ὑπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κρήτην, the Syriac has, "and because the wind suffered us not to go the nearest way, we tacked about near Crete." That is, when we could not, by reason of the

wind, go a straight course from the island Cnidus into the Adriatic Sea, above Crete, and leaving it on the left hand, we turned below it, and so having it on the right hand, we encompassed it. "These phrases," saith Lewis de Dieu, "are still in use with mariners, that as they sail by any place that is in their view, they are said to sail above it when they are carried a straight course, under it when they are forced to decline and tackle. The former is signified in Greek by the word ὑπερπλεῖν, the other by ὑποπλεῖν. And therefore we applaud the most renowned Beza, who below, ver. 16, renders, νησίον δέ τι ὑποδραμόντες, 'and carried under a certain little island.'" See what we have said above of the island of Cyprus, ch. iv. 36.

*Because the winds were contrary.* That is, because we could not keep a straight course by the island of Cyprus for the wind.

5. *The sea of Cilicia and Pamphilia.* Greek, τό τε πέλαγος τὸ κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν διαπλεύσαντες, "and having sailed over the sea that is by Cilicia and Pamphylia." See what we have said of Cilicia above, ch. vi. 9; and of Pamphylia, ch. ii. 10.

*We came to Lystra, which is of Lycia.* [Latin, *Venimus Lystram.*] Lystra is not a city of Lycia, but of Lycaonia, situate in the continent, far from the sea; and therefore the Vulgate Latin edition should be amended, and should be read, "we came to Lymira, or Limyra, or Lamira, or Myra." Pomponius Mela maketh mention[1] of a river called Lymira, and a town of the same name in Lycia, near the sea; and Pliny (Nat. Hist. v. 27), Lymira, a city of Lycia, having its name from the river Lymirus, which it is situate by, is mentioned by Strabo (lib. xiv.), by Ptolemy (lib. v. cap. 1), by Scylax in Lycia, and by Stephanus Byzantius, who also writeth of Lamyra, a city of Lycia, in its own place; but seeing this author uses of one and the same city to make several, I easily believe that it is the same town. Finally, the metropolitan city of Lycia, situate near the river Lymira, and a town of the same name, on a hillock, distant twenty miles from the sea-shore, commonly called Strumita; it is called by Ptolemy (lib. v. cap. 3), Μύρρα; by Pliny and others, Myra, in the neuter plural, Myroi, in the rationary; and by Stephanus, Μύρων. Lycia was a part of the Asian province. "First it was governed by the emperor's lieutenants, then under Justinian it was reckoned among the consular provinces, being divided into the Inner and Outer, or Maritime: it had on the west Caria, on the north a part of

[1] Lib. i. cap 15.

Lydia, and of Pacatiana the southerly, on the east Pamphylia, on the south the Rhodian sea," saith Frid. Spanheim, in his Introduction to Sacred Geography. Besides, Stephan. Mela testifies[1] that this province had its name from King Lycus, son to Pandion. The monster chimæra was feigned to be on Cragus, the most famous mountain of this country, which frequently casts up fire, as Ætna, of Sicily, does, which the father of poets graphically describes, Il. vi. ver. 181, which description Lucretius has thus imitated, lib. viii.

A lion's head, a dragon's tail, its middle the chimæra itself.

Where Lucretius has imitated, and rendered more to the life Homer's description, than Ovid, Metam. vi.

On whose tops chimera fed, her parts who takes,
Middle of buck, upper from lion, tail of snakes.

That mountain gave occasion to the poets of feigning this monster, in whose top lions abode, in its middle goats, at bottom of it serpents, whose fable they applied to love, which invadeth one as a lion; nor doth it leave one till lust be satisfied, which the goat, being a libidinous animal, representeth, but in the end it leaveth the bitter sting of remorse, which is like to the biting of a serpent. They fable that this monster was killed by Bellerophon, whose description see in Strabo, lib. xiv., and Ptolemy, lib. v. cap. 3. Stephanus makes mention of another Lycia, by Cilicia, "in which," saith he, "Sarpedon reigned." But Strabo, lib. xii., where he mentions two sorts of Lycians, placeth neither of them near Cilicia. For he calls the one of them Troics, and the other inhabitants of a country near Caria. "Moreover, the two sorts of people called by the name of Lycians, give grounds to suspect that the same nation, either of the Troics or of those that dwelt upon the borders of Caria, sent colonies into the other so called." Eustathius declareth the same.[2] It is probable that Virgil speaks of Troic Lycia (Æn. iv. ver. 143), when he saith:—

Returning from cold Lycia, so appears
Phœbus, when he to native Delia goes.

But Servius knew nothing of Troic Lycia, nor of that of Cilicia, and he interprets that of Lycia, absolutely so called, as also does La Cerda. Lycian arrows and quivers are also made mention of by the poets, of which see the same author on Virgil's Æneid. lib. vii. ver. 814.

Her royal habit wondering to behold,
Her tresses plaited with a jem of gold.
Then how her Lycian quiver she did bear.

[1] Lib. v. cap. 15. [2] Ad Per. ver. 857.

6. *And there the centurion, finding a ship of Alexandria.* That is, a ship which was come thither from Alexandria, in Egypt. See what we have said of this city above, ch. vi. 9; xviii. 24.

*Sailing.* Straight.

*Into Italy.* Whither frequently both victuals and much merchandise were transported from Egypt in Alexandrian ships.

*He put us.* From the Adrumetin or Adramytten ship, which we had gone aboard of; above, ver. 2.

*Into her.* Which was going straight to Italy, nor was she to touch anywhere by the way.

7. *And when.* By reason of contrary winds.

*We had sailed slowly many days.* That is, when we beheld how small a space of the sea we had got over in so long a time. "Nor was it any wonder," saith Pricæus, "that they complained of this, who compassed the bays, seeing they, who have favourable winds, think they make small enough progress." Even swift passage seemeth slow to those that are sailing, saith Servius on Æneid. v.

*And scarce were come over against Cnidus.* That is, come near Cnidus, or Gnidus, a maritime town in Doris, a peninsula of Caria, and situate on a promontory, over against the island of Crete.

*The wind not suffering us.* Supply out of the Syriac interpreter, "to go a straight course."

*We sailed to Crete.* Greek, ὑπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κρήτην, "we sailed under Crete." See above, ver. 4. Crete, a very great island, which is now commonly called Candy, was in ancient times famous, by reason of many fables, as the arrival of Europa, the loves of Pasiphæ and Ariadne, the cruelty and fate of the Minotaur, the works and flight of Dædalus, and the sepulchre of Jupiter, whereon the inhabitants showed his name engraven, as Mela, lib. ii., has committed to memory. Therefore Sallustius, in Servius on that of Virgil, Æn. viii. ver. 349:—

> Then did a reverential terror move,
> And rustics tremble at the rock and grove.

saith, that the Cretians first found out religion, because that Jupiter is fabled to have been born among them. It was called by writers Hecatompolis, because it contained a hundred cities, which Horace calls towns. And therefore Paul left Titus in Crete, that he might ordain elders, κατὰ πόλιν, in every city, or, as Erasmus renders it, town by town. According to Ptolemy, lib. iii. cap. 17, it was bounded on the west by the Gulf of Venice, on the north by the Cretian sea, on the south by the Lybic, on the east by the Carpa-

thian. Its principal cities were Gortyna, Phalasarna, Cydonia, Cnossus, the palace of Minos. Virgil, Æn. iii. ver. 104 :—

> Jove's birth-place Crete lies circled in the main,
> There is Mount Ide the nursery of our race ;
> A hundred cities hath this wealthy place ;
> Our grandsire first, hath not my memory fail'd,
> Teucrus from thence to Rhœtian confines sail'd.

For it was accounted a certain truth, that the Trojans departing from the island of Crete under the leading of Teucrus, came into Phrygia, and gave name to Ida a mountain in Troy, from Ida a mountain of Crete, in which mountain, Varro affirms in his book, which he composed of maritime places, that even in his days Jupiter's sepulchre was visited there, as Solinus reporteth, ch. xvii. In testimony whereof they said that Teucrus consecrated a temple to Sminthian Apollo. For the Cretians called a mouse sminthus, which the Trojans had in great reverence, as Strabo affirms (lib. xiii.) Crete was also renowned for that most famous labyrinth framedbyDædalus at the command of Minos. Minos and Rhadamanthus have made it famous, who for their extraordinary justice, were fabled by poets to be judges of the infernal regions; of whom Minos also gave laws to the Cretians. Lycurgus also, the Lacedemonian legislator, extended its fame by his volutary exile. Epimenides, and George the Trapezuntian, a famous philosopher, were also Cretians; the former wrote of the nature of things in verse, as Lucretius did amongst the Latins. George the Trapezuntian, although he was born in Crete, yet he would rather have his name from Trapezunt a city of Capadocia, whence his father's family had their original; he very much admired Aristotle, but made light account of Plato; he translated many pieces out of the Greek into Latin, nor did he write a few in Latin. They say that in his utmost old age he forgot all things, even his own name, of which see Vossius of the Latin historians, lib. iii. cap. 8.

*Overpast Salmone.* The eastern promontory of Crete, over against Cnidus and Rhodes, which otherwise they call Salmonium. "Therefore," saith Beza, "they were forced to turn aside to the left hand, that they might turn in from the eastern point of Crete to the southern coast."

8. *And scarcely.* That is, and with great difficulty, by reason of contrary winds.

*Sailing near it.* That is, sailing or passing by that promontory. Greek, παραλεγόμενοι, "coasting by." Παραλεγέσθαι is a word used by mariners. Virg. Æn. iii. ver. 127, *crebris legimus,* &c.

> Pass through seas sow'd thick with isles.

where Servius: "*Prætermus;* we pass by. A speech drawn from mariners, because that by hailing up their cable, that is, by gathering it in, they escape rough places."

*We came to a certain place.* Of the said island of Crete.

*Which is called the Good Havens.* [Latin, *Qui vocatur Boniportus.*] In Greek, as also the English, it is *Fair Havens.* Καλὴ ἄκτη, that is, "pleasant shore," a city of the Cretians, as Stephan and Ptolemy say,[1] of Eubœa as Herodotus (lib. vi. cap. 23), of Cicilia, which by Cicero is called Calata, and its inhabitants Calatini.

*Nigh whereunto was the city Thalassa.* Greek, Λασαία. "There is no mention," saith Beza," of the city Lasæa in any geographers that I ever read. Pliny reckoneth Lason also among the cities of Crete, but an inland town. Ptolemy also calleth a certain city Lisson, but next to the eastern part of it. The Vulgate Latin instead of Lasæa has Thalassa, which Jerome says, is corrupted, and would have it read Laræa. But what if this, as well as that, be corrupted? For in Stephan I find the city Thalassa, but its situation is not described. I had rather therefore read it Elaia, which is reckoned by Pliny among the principal maritime cities of Crete."

9. *Now when much time was spent.* Past in slow and incommodious sailing, contrary to the expectation of mariners and passengers.

*And when sailing was not safe.* As if he had said, And sailing began to be dangerous.

*Because the fast was now already past.* Luke describes the time according to the custom of the Jews, and uses the fast for the time that the fast was kept. "But seeing," saith the famed Heinsius, "it is said absolutely *jejunium,* 'fast,' there is no doubt but that it is to be understood of that fast which is called great, or צום הכדול; which is also called יום צום, 'fast-day,' absolutely and compendiously יה, which is יום הכפורים, 'day of purification, or expiation.' On which day the Jews gave themselves over to very great lamentation, so that for above the space of twenty-four hours, they, clothed with white garments, pray and fast without interruption: that so they may detest the memory of that horrid sin, to wit, that of making the calf, and may avert the punishment due to so great a wickedness. Which fast falleth on the tenth moon of September; in which month, as the seven stars called Pleiades set, so also the sea begins to be tempestuous." Of this solemn annual fast of the Jews, see Lev. xvi. 29, &c.; xxiii. 27, &c.

*Encouraged.* [Latin, *consolabatur.*] Greek, παρήνει, "exhorted,

[1] Lib. iii. cap. 15.

admonished," to get the ship into some harbour, and make a little stay in their course.

10. *With hurt.* That is, not without much damage.

*Not only of the burthen.* Wherewith the ship is laden.

*And of the ship.* Which, by being tost with tempests and storms, will be endamaged.

*But also of our lives.* Which will be endangered.

*This voyage begins to be.* [Latin, *incipit esse navigatio.*] In the Greek these words are expressed by the infinitive, μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι τὸν πλοῦν, "the voyage to be," for μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι ὁ πλοῦς, "the voyage will be." Hence it appears that the word ὅτι put after the verb θεωρῶ in the beginning of this verse, is either redundant, as Matt. xxvi. 72; Mark xii. 19, or is taken for the affirmative participle *utique*, "certainly," as 1 John iii. 20.

11. *But the centurion.* Julius, of whom above, ver. 1, 3.

*The master.* That is, he who directed the steering of the ship.

*And owner of the ship.* That is, who was set over the ship, and appointed every mariner his office. He that discharges this naval office, is by Cicero called *naviculator*, and *navicularius.*

*Believed more.* That is, thought it more reasonable to hearken to them, as being expert in naval affairs.

*Than those things which were spoken by Paul.* By divine presage.

12. *The haven.* Which they call Καλοὺς λιμένας, "Fair or good haven," or Καλὴν ἀκτὴν, "pleasant harbour." See above, ver. 8.

*To winter in.* That is, to pass over in that place the winter season, no ways convenient for sailing.

*The more part advised.* That is, it was determined by the advice of the greatest part.

*To depart thence.* That is, to loose from that harbour, very inconvenient to winter in. Supply, "being desirous to try."

*If by any means they might attain to Phœnice.* Greek Φοίνικα. "Ptolemy," saith Beza, "calls the town itself so, but the harbour he calls Φοινικοῦντα, in the southern shore of Crete." See Ptolemy, lib. iii. cap. 17.

*To winter.* That is, to pass over the winter time there.

*An haven of Crete.* An island, of which above, ver. 7.

*Lying towards the south-west.* That is, the wind from Africa or Libya, which bloweth betwixt the south and the west.

*And to the north-west.* That is, the wind that bloweth betwixt the west and the north. "If," saith Lewis de Dieu, "we believe

the maps, that harbour lay in that part of Crete which looked directly to Africa, and therefore to the south. How then did it lie to the north-west and south-west, which are two western winds, the one composed of the west, verging to the north, the other to the south? I answer, that the harbour was full of windings and turnings, which, if ye look to it wholly in itself, lies directly to the south; but if ye have respect to its windings and use, it is towards the south-west, that is, that point of western meridian where the south-west is opposed to the north-west in a direct line, and therefore this harbour was very convenient for their voyage; for that way had a straight course into the Adriatic Sea."

13. *And when the south wind blew.* As if he had said, When a most gentle south wind blew very fair for us.

*Supposing that they had attained their purpose.* That is, the mariners now nothing doubting but that all things were according to their desire.

*Loosing thence.* Their anchors, or, when they had loosed from the harbour, as it was agreed upon by most of them; above, ver. 12.

*They sailed close.* Greek, ἄσσον, without any preposition, which sufficiently indicates that *asson* here is an adverb signifying close, and not a little town of Crete, which by Stephanus is called Ἄσος, Asus, with a single *sigma*, or that inland town, which by Pliny is ranked among the principal cities of Crete, and is by him called Asum in the neuter gender, Nat. Hist. lib. iv. c. 12, much less that city called Asson, that is, near Troas, very far distant from the island of Crete, whose coast they were now sailing by; of which above, ch. xx. 13.

*By Crete.* That is, as above, ver. 8. They sailed along Crete, or sailed along the coast of it; but, as is said, ἄσσον, "close," so that they as it were shaved the very coast of Crete. As being in no wise afraid lest they should dash upon the shore, sailing as near as could be by it, because the south wind breathed very gently, as appears by what is said immediately before.

14. *There arose against it.* That is, beat in upon the island of Crete, or rushed violently upon it.

*A tempestuous wind.* A violent and raging whirlwind.

*Called Euro-aquilo.* Greek, "Euroclydon." Eurus is the east wind, flowing from the winter east, from whence this compound name, adding the word Clydon, which in Greek signifies a wave, because this wind raiseth up huge waves by its blast. In the

Vulgate interpreter it is "Euro-aquilo," north-east, as it were the east wind inclining to the north. "Whether," saith Beza, "that he read it Εὐροακύλων, for so likewise Luke calls Aquila, Ἀκύλαν; or, that he thence judged that this was north-east, or a wind blowing from the east towards the summer solstice, because the ship was driven from the shore of Crete, partly towards the west, and partly towards the south, to wit, towards Malta, which lies between Africa and Sicily; especially seeing they are said to have feared lest they should be driven in upon the quicksand towards the south. Therefore this conjecture does not altogether dissatisfy me, seeing Virgil also calls the east wind tempestuous, and this wind is very suitable to the winter season. Yet I have retained the word Euroclydon, which I have found in all Greek copies I met with; whence it is understood that this was an east wind, and that very stormy. For the Greeks call a wave κλύδων. This therefore is that which the Hebrews call רוח קדם; the Latin poets, 'watery, cloudy, black, raging, thundering.' Therefore, although the east wind did drive the ship towards the west, that is, into Italy; yet it is no wonder that in so great a storm they could not keep a straight course, but were driven hither and thither by the force of the waves. But if this wind was north-east, it beat them back from Italy; and it was a wonder that the ship was not driven in upon the coasts of Africa. The Syriac retained the same Greek names: the Arabic cancelled the word Euroclydon, as being a word altogether unknown to him."

15. *And when the ship was caught.* To wit, by the most violent whirlpools, "whereby the tossed ship was driven crookedly, ungovernably," as Quintus Curtius expresseth it, lib. ix.

*And could not bear up unto the wind.* That is, "withstand the wind," as the Syriac renders it. Greek, ἀντοφθαλμεῖν τῷ ἀνέμῳ, "stand before the wind." Ἀντοφθαλμέω properly signifies, according to H. Stephan, "I look upon one that beholdeth me:" ἀντιβλέπω ἐξ ἐναντίας, "I look over against me," as Suidas hath it. Gaza in Scipio's Dream, interpreted *solem adversum intueri*, "to look upon the sun over against them," ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι τῷ ἡλίῳ; ἀντοφθαλμεῖν metaphorically is, "to resist, to strive against." Eccles. xix. 5, Ὁ δὲ ἀντοφθαλμῶν ταῖς ἡδοναῖ στεφανοῖ τὴν ζωὴν αὐτοῦ, that is, as Drusius interprets it, "But he that resisteth pleasures, crowns his life." Also Grotius observes that ἀντιβλεπεῖν is frequently so used by Josephus. The original of the metaphor seems to be hence, that he who opposes any turns his eyes on him,

and a ship going against the wind, has its prow turned towards it, a certain part whereof is called ὀφθαλμὸς, "the eye," as the famous Beza has noted out of Pollux. Virg. Æn. v. 20:—

> Gusts rising shift, the black west grows more loud,
> And the whole air condens'd into one cloud.

*We let her drive.* Not whither we would, but whither the impetuous violence of the wind drove us.

16. *And running under a certain island.* Greek, "Being carried under a certain little island." See what is said above, ver. 4.

*Which is called Clauda.* Greek, Κλαύδη. In some copies Καύδη. So also some copies of the Vulgate Latin edition have Cauda. The Arabic אקלודא, *iclauda.* The Syriac קורא, *cauro;* but the famous Bochart will have us read it קודא, *caudo.* Suidas: "Caudo is an island near Crete, wherein are brought forth very great wild asses." But that this island was by Mela, lib. ii. cap. 7; and Pliny, lib. iv. cap. 12, called Gaudon, by Ptolemy Claudon, after Joachim Vadian, the now cited Bochart observes. There was also another island, which by Strabo, lib. vi. is called Gaudos, but by Stephan and others Gaulos, in the Sicilian Sea towards Africa, as Mela declareth, lib. ii. cap. 7., one of the three islands, in old times inhabited by the Carthaginians, which, according to Scylax, were, Melite, Gaulus, and Lampas. Solinus, cap. xxxii., reporteth almost the same of this Gaudo, or rather, Gaulus of the Carthaginians, as Pliny says of the island Galata, near to the said Gaulus, "that neither is any serpent brought forth there, nor if it be transported thither does it live, wherefore the dust of this island being cast upon any other ground, driveth away serpents, and being thrown upon scorpions, it immediately kills them."

*We had much work to come by our boat.* That is, we could hardly take in our ship-boat tossed with the winds from the raging waves, lest it should be beat to pieces on the ship. Σκάφη, a ship-boat is called a small vessel, which was drawn after the ship, whereby, if necessity so require, they sail where a great ship cannot come. It was called σκάφη ἀπὸ τοῦ σκάπτειν, a verb signifying, "to make hollow," because they first were used to be made of a whole great tree, by making it hollow.

17. *Which.* To wit, ship-boat.

*When they had taken up.* To wit, from the sea into the ship, to which it was fastened. "They are contraries," saith Grotius, "αἴρειν σκαφήν, 'to take up the ship-boat,' and χαλᾶν, 'to let it down.'"

*They used helps.* To wit, of the mariners, or, as some will, of ropes, chains, and hooks.

*Undergirding the ship.* To wit, putting ropes on both sides, underneath the boat, and so binding the sides of the ship on both sides, that it might not be beat to pieces by the force of the winds and waves.

*And fearing lest they should fall on the quicksands.* That is, lest the ship together with them, should be driven upon shallows and the sirts, and should stick fast thereon, and be overwhelmed with a heap of sand. Sirts, or quicksands, are called all shallow places, which as it were draw the ships that are driven on them, and keep them fast, and at last swallow them up. Lucan has described the nature of these sirts, lib. ix. 304, which is thus Englished by Sir Arthur Gorges:—

When nature did at first dispose,
These sirts and shap'd their figure out,
She left it to the world in doubt,
Whether it should be land or seas;
For utterly it doth not please,
To sink itself beneath the main:
Nor yet the land cannot restrain
The waves, but they will have a share,
And such a dangerous place prepare,
That there to travel none shall dare.
For here the sea doth channels strain,
And there the lands do rise again.
Here is a long-stretch'd tract of shore,
And there the swallowing whirlpools roar,
So nature wretchedly designed,
This portion of her proper kind.
Unto no use, or else of old,
Those sirts more waves in them did hold,
And with the seas were over-roll'd.
But that attractive Titan's beams,
(Feeding upon the ocean's streams,
That to the torrid zone were nigh)
Some of the weltering waves did dry.
And yet the ocean in despite,
Resisteth Phœbus' parching might.
But yet his beams (as they draw near)
And wearing time those seas will clear,
And make the sirts firm land appear.
For scarcely now a little boat,
Can on the superfices float,
Of those drown'd sands where water stays,
And more and more that sea decays.

They are the most famous of the sirts, which Sallust describes

thus: "There are two gulfs almost towards the utmost parts of Africa of unequal bigness, but of the same nature, of which those that are next the land are very deep, but the rest, as it chanceth, at one time are deep, at another shallow. For when the sea begins to swell and rage with the winds, the waves draw slime, sand, and great stones together in heaps; and so the figure of these places is changed together with the winds." They are called sirts, from "drawing." From these two sirts, that part of the Lybian sea, which floweth by Africa, properly so called, is named the Sirtic sea, in Seneca, (*lib. de Vit. Beat.*) See more concerning these in Mela, lib. i. cap. vii; Pliny, lib. v. cap. iv; Solinus, cap. 30.

*Letting down the vessel.* [Latin, *summisso vase.*] That is, when we had taken down the sail-yard with the sail fastened to it. "For," as saith Seneca, "when the wind is grown too strong and too great to bear sail to, the yard is taken down." Hence that of Ovid:—

> The yard let down escapes the winter storms.

It is a Hebraism very frequent in the scripture, whereby any moveable thing is called a vessel.

*So.* To wit, having taken in our sails from the storm.

*Were driven.* That is, floated on the waves, whithersoever their force drave us.

18. *And we being exceedingly tossed with a tempest.* As if he had said, But when our ship, tossed with the furious tempest, now was lifted up, as it were to the heavens, anon was tumbled down between the gaping waves, as it were into a pit or gulf. See a lively description of a dreadful tempest, Psal. cvii. 25, 26, which Virgil imitating, hath elegantly expressed in these words, Æn. iii. ver. 564:—

> At heaven we tilt, then suddenly we fell,
> Wat'ry foundations sinking low as hell.

*The next day they lightened the ship.* That is, the mariners cast out of the ship the heaviest lading, and the more weighty merchandize, that the ship, being lightened of its burden, might draw less water, and so might not so easily be overwhelmed by the waves.

19. *And the third day.* To wit, from the rising of that dreadful tempest.

*They cast out with their own hands the tackling of the ship.* Greek, as also the English, *we cast out with our own hands the tackling of the ship.* To wit, we who were passengers in the ship together

with the mariners. Some copies have ἔῤῥιψαν, "they cast out." To wit, the master and mariners. Now all marine utensils wherewith a ship is accoutred, as the mast, yard, oars, cables, and such like, are called the tackling.

20. *And when neither sun nor stars appeared.* As if he had said, But when the firmament was darkened night and day with a black fog. A usual description of a very great storm. So in Virgil, Æn. i. ver. 92.:—

> When from the Trojans sight dark clouds restrain
> Heav'n and the day, black night broods on the main.

*In many days.* Without intermission.

*And no small tempest lay over us.* That is, lay upon us. As if he had said, And when a turbulent and thundering tempest did now afflict and distress us.

*All hope that we should be saved was then taken away.* Grotius excellently observeth, "that this was spoken according to all human probability, such as are many other things in holy writ." The meaning therefore is the same as if he had said, All hopes seemed to be cut off of escaping death, which now all appearances portended to be impending over us.

21. *But after long abstinence.* That is, and when they who were in the ship, being tossed with the tempest, had endured a long hunger through want of appetite, but not through scarcity of food, as appears afterwards, ver. 36, 38.

*Paul stood forth in the midst of them.* With whom he was aboard in that tossed ship.

*You should have hearkened to me.* By giving heed to me when I presaged this storm we are now tossed with.

*Not have loosed.* Supply, "anchors."

*And to have gained.* That is, have prevented. He that evites the damage that he was like to sustain is said to gain, and be fortunate, according to Aristotle, lib. ii. Mag. Moral. cap. 9. Hence by Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 39, Sutorius Priscus is said to have gained an injury, which he committed unpunished, and suffered no punishments for inflicting it.

*This harm.* That is, this boisterous rage of the winds.

*And loss.* To wit, of the merchandize, and tackling or furniture of the ship.

22. *And now.* That is, "now, therefore," as above, ch. v. 38; or, "but now," to wit, "seeing that," as Silius expresseth it, "the cruel storm groweth worse and worse."

*I exhort you to be of good cheer.* I again and again beseech you, who by the event have had experience of the truth of my former sayings, that ye be not dejected in your minds.

*For there shall be.* In this voyage, how dangerous soever.

*The loss of no man's life.* That is, person, as above, ver. 10.

*Among you.* To wit, as appears below, ver. 31, if ye hearken to me otherwise than ye did before. "Such speeches," saith Grotius, "are everywhere in the holy scripture, which contain in them a tacit condition, easy to be understood, either from the words preceding and subsequent, or from the nature of the thing itself. 1 Sam. ii. 30; xiii. 13, 14."

*Out of the ship.* That is, but the ship only shall be cast away. "An exceptive particle," saith Grotius, instead of an adversative, as Luke xxiii. 28; John viii. 10; in the Greek, 1 Cor. xi. 11; Phil. i. 8; iii. 16; iv. 12; Rev. ii. 25.

23. *Whose I am.* That is, to whom I am devoted.

*And whom I serve.* That is, and whom I worship with true piety. Jonah said the same of himself of old, when he sailed in the company of heathens, Jonah i. 9.

24. *Thou must be brought before Cæsar.* As if he had said, Thou shalt be presented alive before Cæsar, to whom thou appealedst; above, ch. xxv. 11.

*Lo,* &c. As if he had said, God has so liberally granted thy request that not one of them that are carried with thee in this ship shall perish, provided they obey thy wholesome advice, and use all means that in them lie for their preservation. See below, ver. 31. The verb "give" is taken in another contrary sense, above, ch. xxv. 11; but is used in a like sense to this, above, ch. iii. 14.

25. *For I believe God.* Without the least doubt or hesitation.

26. *Howbeit we must be cast upon a certain island.* Greek, ἐκπεσεῖν, "fall on." How this prediction was fulfilled is declared below, ch. xxviii. 1.

27. *Fourteenth night.* To wit, from the raising of the storm by the winds.

*As we were sailing.* [Latin, *Navigantibus nobis.*] Greek, διαφερομένων, "driven up and down," as it also is in the English, *tossed hither and thither.* "Plutarch," saith Grotius, "hath used διαφέρεσθαι, for 'to be carried hither and thither.'"

*In Adria.* That is, in the Adriatic Gulf, or Sea, which is described by the poets as very tempestuous. Adria, or Hadria, a city belonging to the Picentes, or Piceni, according to Ptolemy

(Geog. lib. iii. cap. 1), was a colony of the Tuscans, who, before the Romans attained the government, commanded all by land and sea, as Livy recordeth in his book v. ch. 3. Hadrian Cæsar's progenitors had their original from this city, as Ælius Spartianus in his life declareth. The same city, after the Tuscan empire was buried in oblivion, was made a colony by the Romans, as you may see in the Epitome of Livy, lib. xi. From this city also the sea, which by the Greeks is called, Ἀδριάτικον πέλαγος, or Ἀδρίας κόλπος, the Latins call the Adriatic, or Adrian Sea, or Gulf. The poets also call it Adria, after the manner of the Greeks, and Adriacum, which anciently was called Atriacum; as also the city Atria, as Pliny reports, lib. iii. cap. 16, in these words:—"The Tuscans began to make first out of Sagis all these rivers and ditches, diverting the impetus of the river into the Adrian marshes, which are called the Seven Seas, and made a famous haven of Atria, a town of the Tuscans, from whence that was before called the Atriatic, which now is called the Adriatic Sea." Pliny speaketh of the river Po, which the Greeks call Eridanus, which emptied twenty rivers, with itself, into the sea. But whether Adria and Atria were the same city, we leave to the learned to judge. Stephan. Byzantius thinketh that they were different cities, for he mentions each of them in their peculiar place; but it is usual with him to make two of one and the same city, as Thomas de Pinedo hath observed. But this is certain from Strabo, Ovid, Statius, and Ptolemy, that not only that gulf which lies betwixt Venice and Corcyra is called Adria, or Adrian, and most usually Adriatic, but that that name is extended even to the Ionian Sea. "Therefore," saith Grotius, "Procopius calls the sea reaching from Methon to Sicily, and elsewhere from Cephalenia to Calabria, by the name of Adria, and in another place he makes a part of it the Gulf of Adria; and expressly in his first of the Vandals, he placeth as well Gaulon as Melite, in Adria."

*That some country appeared to them.* In the Greek, προσάγειν τινὰ αὐτοῖς χώραν, "that some country drew near them." A kind of speech peculiar to mariners, because to their sight, when sailing, the land seems to come near, or depart from them, when they in their voyages draw near to land, or make from it. Such is that of Virgil, Æn. iii. ver. 72:—

> We launch, and fill the strands,
> And sail from cities, and retreating lands.

28. *Who also letting down their line.* [Latin, *summittentes*

*bolidem.*] *Bolis* is the seaman's plumb-line, or lead fastened to the end of a rope; by throwing of it into the sea, which by reason of its weight moves quickly downward, the mariners search out the depth thereof, and they besmear it with fat when they have a mind to try whether the ground is rocky or sandy.

*Found it twenty paces.* [Latin, *passus.*] Greek, ὀργιὰς, "fathoms." A fathom is a measure very well known to mariners when they search out the shallows, containing so much bounds as when both arms are stretched out aside, may be comprehended between the tip of one middle-finger to that of the other hand. "This interstice," saith Beza, "consisting of five Roman foot, among the Greeks consisteth of six of their own foot, that is, six and a quarter Roman." *Passus*, "paces," therefore used twice in this verse for the Greek ὀργιὰ, is taken for the interval of the arms when stretched out, but not for the interval of the feet when stretched out in walking.

29. *Should have fallen on rocks.* Greek, ἐκπέσωμεν, or ἐκπέσωσιν, "we should have fallen off," or "they should." That is, lest the ship should dash upon rugged or rocky places.

*Out of the stern.* That is, the hinder part of the ship.

*Casting four anchors.* To wit, that the ship being kept stedfast at the four corners by the four anchors, might not be driven by the waves.

*They wished for the day.* The light is most desirable to any that are afflicted with any evil. Suetonius saith, "Caligula, sometimes sitting upon his bed, sometimes wandering through very long galleries, he used frequently to invocate, and desirously wait for the light." Curtius, lib. v.: "The much-desired day diminished the frightfulness of all things, which the night rendered more terrible." But the words of Germanicus, in Aratæus, are very pertinent to his purpose.

> And when black night the seaman's fears increas'd,
> He in vain beheld the much desir'd east.

30. *And as the mariners were about to flee out of the ship.* That they might escape the impending danger of shipwreck. Cicero, lib. ii., de Invent.: "Afterwards also the storm began to toss them more vehemently, so that the master of the ship, who was also the director of its course, fled into the ship-boat."

*When they let down the boat into the sea.* Which they had taken up out of the sea into the ship; above, ver. 16, 17.

*Under colour,* &c. As if he had said, They pretended that they

had let down the boat, that they might go into it, and cast anchors also out of the forecastle, or fore part of the ship, for they had need of may anchors when the sea was boisterous.

31. *Paul said.* Being sensible of the rash resolution of the seamen, and the promise of God made to him conditionally; above, ver. 22.

*To the centurion.* Julius, of whom above, ver. 1.

*And to the soldiers.* Who knew no more of the intended flight of the mariners than the centurion did.

*Except these men abide in the ship.* That is, unless ye prevent the flight of the mariners out of the ship.

*Ye cannot be saved.* Paul, indeed, and those who were in the ship with him, were not saved by the mariners' industry, which could not preserve them from shipwreck; yet it was not without its own advantage, because they brought the ship so far that it was very near land, so that after the shipwreck they might all get safe to it; which could not have been had the mariners fled in boat when they designed it, and were yet a great way from land. Hence it appears, that although we must not lay too much stress on second causes, nor give ourselves over to desperation, if by the providence of God we are deprived of them, yet that they ought not to be neglected for our preservation when they may be had.

32. *Then.* To wit, when the centurion and soldiers understood by Paul's words, how disadvantageous the flight of the mariners might prove to them.

*The soldiers cut off the ropes of the boat.* By which it was as yet made fast to the ship, that they might go out into it.

*And let her fall off.* That is, drive far into the sea, lest the mariners should make that bad use of it, as to get away.

33. *And while the day was coming.* That is, in the morning twilight.

*To take meat.* To recover the strength of their bodies.

*This is the fourteenth day that ye have tarried and continued fasting.* That is, this is the fourteenth day since you, tossed with the storm, have continued without taking that sustenance that is requisite for upholding your bodies.

*Having taken nothing.* To wit, that was sufficient for repairing your strength. This is a hyperbolic speech, for without the use of all food, in a body otherwise sound, a man cannot, according to the ordinary course of nature, protract his life above seven days. By the like hyperbole, John, who abstained from ordinary meat and

drink, is said, Matt. xi. 18, *neither eating nor drinking.* See what we have said in our literal explication on that place.

34. *Wherefore,* &c. Here Paul's exhortation is expressed, from whence we may again observe, that his judgment was, that means were not to be neglected, but were to be made use of, although he nothing doubted but that God, as he had bountifully promised, would preserve all those who were in the ship with him by his favour, so that not one of them should perish in the shipwreck.

*For your health.* That is, that your former strength, that is impaired by your fasting, may be repaired. If they had not refreshed their strength with food, they had not been able to endure labour, nor to swim out in the approaching shipwreck.

*For.* If ye follow my advice.

*There shall not a hair fall from the head of any of you.* A proverbial kind of speech, whereby it is signified, that they should not suffer the least damage. The like speech is to be seen, 1 Sam. xiv. 45; 2 Sam. xiv. 2; 1 Kings i. 52; Luke xxi. 18.

35. *He took bread.* As if he had said, Paul, that he might invite them by his example to shake off the fear of death, and take food convenient for keeping up their strength; he took the seamen's, or common bread into his hands, and when he had taken it:

*He gave thanks to God.* God hath granted man food for the keeping up his body, on this condition, that he may show himself thankful for so great a mercy, and not come near to take it without first giving thanks for it, as Paul himself exhorteth, 1 Tim. iv. 3, 4, 5. Hence we read that even Christ himself when he went to eat gave thanks, Matt. xiv. 19; xv. 36; John vi. 11.

*In presence of them all.* Showing an example which they might follow.

*And when he had broken.* That sea or coarse bread; which being broad and not very thick, was rather broken than cut with knives, as Matt. xiv. 19; xv. 36; Mark viii. 6—19; Luke xxiv. 30.

*He began to eat.* That is, he ate; a Hebraism very usual in scripture of which we have spoken above, ch. i. 1.

36. *Then were they all of good cheer.* That is, when they were encouraged by Paul's words and example, of the truth of whose predictions they had already had experience, laying aside all cares and removing sadness a little from their hearts.

*They also took meat.* To appease their craving stomachs. Pertinently says Petronius, "None unwillingly hears when he is either urged to take meat, or to live."

37. *We were in all two hundred seventy-six souls.* That is, persons, as above, ch. ii. 41; and ver. 10, 22, of this chapter.

38. *And when they had eaten enough.* That is, as Virgil expresses it, Æn. i. ver. 220:—

When hunger was allay'd and boards remov'd.

*They lightened the ship.* That is, they cast out the ship's lading, that the ship sailing more light, they might get the nearer to land, and so easilier escape to shore.

*Casting out the wheat into the sea.* It appears that this Alexandrian ship carried corn or wheat from Egypt into Italy, and that she was laden with that merchandize. But this method is used in lightening a ship, which also we have in this history. First, the more weighty fardels and ponderous goods are cast out, as above, ver. 18; then the furniture, or materials of the ship, as above, ver. 19; and finally, the food, as in this 38th verse.

39. *And when it was day.* And the sun-beams had expelled the darkness.

*They did not know the land.* That is, the mariners knew not what climate they were in, or how that land was called, to which they suspected that they were come near, above, ver. 27, but now they saw that they were upon it.

*But they discovered a certain creek with a shore.* That is, but they perceived a certain part of the sea that was not beset with steep rocks, but intercepted by shores not far distant one from another. "Κόλπος in the Greek," saith Grotius, "in Latin *sinus*, 'a bay or creek,' sometimes is spoken of the sea, sometimes of the land, as here; for it is distinguished from the shore. But these are some bays of the sea which have no shore, but are encompassed with steep rocks."

*Into which.* Seeing the Greek word αἰγιαλὸς, which signifies the shore or border of the sea, is of the masculine gender, the relative pronoun may as well here be referred to *sinus*, "creek," as to *littus*, "shore." The seamen indeed were desirous to get the ship to the shore, as is declared in the next verse, but possibly they first desired to get to that creek of the sea that was encompassed with shores.

*They thought.* Greek, ἐβουλεύσαντο, "They were minded." That is, they unanimously determined.

*To thrust in the ship.* That is, that they might get free of the tossings of the sea into a safe place.

40. *And when they had taken up.* Cutting the ropes to which they were made fast.

*The anchors.* The four that were cast into the sea; above, ver. 29.

*They committed themselves unto the sea.* Greek, εἴων εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, "they let into the sea." It seems to signify that their anchors that were cut off were left in the sea, "or," as Grotius saith, "it is a compendious speech for, εἴων τὸ πλοῖον ἰέναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, "they let their ship go in the sea," to wit, that which was betwixt the place where their ship was and the land.

*Loosed the rudder-bands.* That is, the bands wherewith the rudders are joined and fastened to the ships. "When these bands," saith Grotius, "are loosened, then the rudders fall down into the waters, and by their weight keep the ship from being overwhelmed with the winds." As also when the junctures or rudder-bands are loosed, the mariners can with greater ease drive the ship whithersoever they will. Moreover, they are called here rudders by Luke in the plural number, either, because in general, the rudders of any ships are designed, or because, as Grotius hath noted, ancient ships had two rudders, one in each side of the stern.

*And hoisting up the main sail to the wind.* That is, and spreading out the small sail to a gale of wind, that the ship might go softly and easily. "Luke here," saith Grotius, "calls that sail that is next to the forecastle (which Pollux calleth Dolon and Livy in two places) ἀρτέμων, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρτᾶσθαι, because it is hung up. It is rather an additament to, than a part of the ship, saith Javolen.[1] Mariners make use of it, when they fear lest the greater sails should take in too much wind, and overset the ship. But it was here so much the more necessary, because we have heard above that the mast was cut down."

*To the wind.* For these three words, the dative case of the participle feminine is the Greek, τῇ πνεούσῃ, "blowing," and αὔρᾳ, or πνοῇ, "blast," is understood. "Nor," says Grotius, "is it less incongruous to say, πνοὴν πνεῖν, "to blow a blast," than πλοῖον πλεῖν, "to sail a ship."

*Made to shore.* Greek, κατεῖχον εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. "Pliny, Herodotus, and Plutarch," saith Grotius, "use κατέχειν, for 'to make toward.'"

41. *And falling into a place where two seas met.* That is, into a

[1] L. Malum de Verb. Signif.

double-seaed isthmus, or into land rising in the sea like an isthmus, which was washed on both sides by the sea.

*They ran the ship.* On a long row of rocks, "which usually are in great numbers," saith Grotius, "not far from the shore, yet so as that the sea flows betwixt them and the shore." Of these sort of rock, Pliny saith in his proem to his Natural History, "the numerous rocks of the white shallow frighten the ships."

*And the forepart stuck fast.* That is, and the forepart of the ship indeed, seeing it stuck fast on the rock.

*Remained unmovable.* That is, though beat upon by the stormy sea, yet it was not so much as moved.

*But the hinderpart was loosed by the force of the sea.* That is, but the hinderpart gaped with chinks, and was broken by the beating of the waves into planks and boards, of which it was made up.

42. *But the soldiers.* Who guarded those who were sent bound to Rome.

*Counsel.* That is, purpose or design.

*Lest any.* To wit, of the prisoners, or fettered, if their bonds were loosed, should swim to land.

*Should swim out and escape.* And so escape their deserved punishments.

43. *But the centurion.* Julius, of whom above, ver. 1.

*Willing to save Paul.* Towards whom he had shown himself kind and courteous; above, ver. 3.

*Kept them from doing it.* That is, he forbid his soldiers to kill the prisoners, or chained.

*Who could swim.* That is, who were skilled in swimming, and were of strength enough to perform it.

*Should cast,* &c. That is, should jump off the ship into the sea, that they might swim out to the shore, that was not far from them.

44. *And the rest.* Who had not skill or strength to swim.

*Some on boards,* &c. That is, they got to shore on joists or planks, which use to be had in rowers' seats, hatches of the ship, or place where the oars are fastened.

*Some upon those things which were of the ship.* That is, but others they saved from the shipwreck on broken pieces of the split ship.

*And so it came to pass that all the souls.* [Latin, *omnes animæ.*] That is, the two hundred seventy-six persons which were in the ship, as is said above, ver. 37.

*Escape to land.* Safe and sound, as Paul had foretold above, ver. 24, 34.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. *And when we were escaped.* From the dreadful shipwreck to land.

*Melita.* It was already foretold by Paul, ch. xxvi. 26, that the place of their escape, after the violence of the storm driving them thither, in their designed voyage, should be an island which is now called by its name Melita. There are two islands recorded of this name, one being attributed to Sclavonia, or to Dalmatia, a part of Sclavonia, and the other to Africa. Pliny makes mention of the former, lib. iii. cap. 27, (whence he alleges that Callimachus calls little pretty dogs for women to play withal by the name of Catuli Melitæi) and saith that it is situate betwixt Corzola, or Melena, and Sclavonia, but Scylax placeth it near Corzola. The latter lieth betwixt Sicily and Africa, and that from thence little pretty dogs are called Melitæi Catelli is asserted by Strabo in his sixth book, where he says, "That before Pachynus a promontory of Sicily, Melita is to be seen, whence little dogs are called Melitæi." This expression, Catelli Melitæi, "Malta bitlings," became a proverb, applied to things that men purchase to themselves merely for pleasure, without respect to any serious matter, as being of no use thereto. The African Melita far surpassing that of Dalmatia or Sclavonia, passes now somewhat corruptly under the name of Malta, the habitation of the cross-bearers, called the Knights of St. John, which Charles the First, King of Spain, vouchsafed them, after they had been expelled Rhodes, their former residence, by Solyman the Emperor of the Turks. It appears by Diodorus Siculus, lib. iv. Bibl. Hist., that it was a colony of the Phœnicians. Wherefore Bochart, in his first book of the Phœnician colonies, cap. 26, ingeniously derives its etymology from the Hebrew word מלט, "malat," whence arises מליטה, "melita," that is to say, "evasion, refuge," in regard that it was a place of refuge for the Phœnician merchants, as Diodorus doth attest in the places we just now cited, declaring, "That this African isle, Malta, is a colony of the Phœnicians, whose traffic being propagated even to the western ocean, had this island for a refuge, since it had a most convenient harbour, and was situate in the middle of the sea." This island was also Melitan, that is, a place of refuge to Ulysses, if Melita be, as Cluverius endeavours to prove at large, not distinct from Ogygia, Calypso's island. Besides, Ovid, lib. iii. Fast., gives us account that Anna, sister to Dido, that died at Carthage, being driven thence, withdrew to this island, which long

since had been the king's dwelling-place. Again, it is commonly believed that Paul arrived hither after shipwreck. Indeed, Constantine surnamed Porphyrogennitus, thinketh that the Sclavonian or Dalmatic Melita, was the place of refuge to Paul in his shipwreck. "This opinion," saith Bochart, in the place above quoted, "seems to some probable. First, upon consideration that Paul is driven up and down in Adria before his arrival to Melita, Acts xxvii. 27. Hence they conclude that mention is made of an island in the Adriatic Sea. Secondly, forasmuch as barbarians inhabited the same, Acts xxviii. 2, 4, whilst the Greeks had the African Melita in their possession long ago. Thirdly, because Luke makes no mention of any town in the island Melita, and yet in the African there is a town of the island's name remaining to this very day. But these small objections are not of such weight, as that thereby the assent of any man should be denied to the common opinion confirmed by the most solid arguments.

"For, *in the first place*, while Paul was sailing close by Crete, as you have it, Acts xxvii. 13, 14, there arose a tempestuous wind, called Euroclydon, or as the Vulgate Latin interpreter reads it, Euroaquilo, that is, the north-east wind: which reading being admitted, the conclusion is plain, for the ship could not be driven by the north-east wind from Crete into Sclavonia. The situation of the places makes evident that this could have been brought about by the south-east wind, and not by the north-west directly opposite to the former. But read it which way you please, it is plain that this wind Euroclydon drove them rather to the south than to the north, seeing that the mariners feared to be cast upon the quicksands of Africa by the violence of this wind, Acts xxvii. 17. Now there had been no grounds for such a fear, supposing the ship to be driven by this wind to Sclavonia, a coast opposite to Africa, and the forementioned quicksands.

"*Secondly.* Acts xxvii. 41, *Having fallen into a place where two seas meet, they ran the ship aground.* Into a place where two seas meet; that is to say, into an isthmus; hence is that of Horace, Od. 7. lib. i.:—

> "To Ephesus, or the strong walls
> Of Corinth, where an isthmus swells.

Ovid also, Eleg. 10. lib. i.; Fast.:—

> "We sail'd by the isthmus where two seas meet.

This isthmus lies to the summer east of the island, and at this

day passes among the inhabitants under the name of La Cala di S. Paolo, which being interpreted, is 'St. Paul's Arrival.'

"*Thirdly*, Acts xxviii. 7. In the same quarters were possessions of the first of the island, whose name was Publius. Him I take to be whom the Romans made governor of the island; for it may be gathered from this place, that the chief governors of this island were commonly so called, as also from an ancient inscription which Quintinus reports himself to have seen at Malta, written in Greek on marble. Λ. ΚΑ. ΥΙΟΣ. ΚΥΡ. ΙΠΠΕΥΣ. ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ. ΠΡΩΤΩΣ. ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ. 'L. Ca. the son of Cyrus, a Roman knight, the first of Malta.' The Carthaginian governors had certainly before the same name, being styled by a phrase peculiar to that place הראשונים, 'the first.' So Dan. x. 13: Michael is reckoned one of the first or chief. Therefore ראש 'head, general, prince,' and ראשון 'first,' are words of one original and importance. And in this very place for 'first,' the Syriac hath ריש, and the Arabic ריים 'head.' A further confirmation of this is, that as אול signifies in the Arabic, 'the first,' thus אאל denotes to 'set over,' also to govern a nation, as if one should say, 'to be the first.'

"*Fourthly.* Paul with the centurion and the rest tarried in that island three whole months; Acts xxviii. 11. *The number of the men was two hundred threescore and sixteen souls;* Acts xxvii. 37. This hardly any person can believe to be said of Dalmatian Melita, which is but four miles distant from the main land, and having Epidaurus, a most famous harbour and most convenient for strangers within sight. The Roman centurion had rather steer his course thither, than take up his winter quarters in a pitiful island, where it was impossible for so many strangers to be entertained without great incommodities.

"*Fifthly.* The account of their being carried to Puteoli in a ship of Alexandria that wintered in the same island (Acts xxviii. 11), is inconsistent with its being understood of the Dalmatian Malta, since it is almost impossible to avoid the African Malta, when ye sail from Egypt to Puteoli. But whosoever sailing from Alexandria to Puteoli, directs his course to Dalmatian Malta, he may be said to wander out of the way, if not so far as heaven is removed from the earth, yet at least the breadth of the whole sea.

"*Sixthly.* This is further affirmed by Luke declaring that after their setting forth from Malta, they arrived first at Syracuse, and then at Rhegium, Acts xxviii. 10, 13; which way, as it is straight upon the supposal of their setting sail from the African Malta, so

it will prove preposterous and full of wanderings, if it be once granted that they departed from the Dalmatian Malta; for Rhegium being nearer to the Dalmatian Malta than Syracuse, the way is rather by Rhegium to Syracuse, than by Syracuse to Rhegium.

"*Seventhly.* Now if we will dispute by authority, Constantine Porphyrogennitus is not comparable for antiquity to Arator Subdiaconus, who, in the second Book of his Apostolical History, says that Melita, into which Paul was cast when he suffered shipwreck, is the isle Malta by Sicily. Neither is it a work of any difficulty to dissipate what may be objected to the contrary. For the ship arriving at Malta is said to be tossed in Adria, Acts xxvii. 27. Yet not in the Gulf of Venice, the Adriatic sea having far greater extent than that gulf; for the Gulf of Venice ends with Sclavonia, but the Adriatic sea comprehends all that part of the Mediterranean sea, which is called Ionian. Hesychius: 'Ionium, a sea now known by the name of Adria.' Juvenal's ancient scholiast: 'Being about a tedious voyage from the sea of Tuscany to Adria, made use of Adria for Ionium.' For Juvenal expresses himself thus:—

> "He underwent the raging Tuscany,
> And likewise the fierce Ionian Sea.

Hence Ptolemy affirms that the Adriatic sea boundeth Sicily on the east, Epirus and Achaia on the south, and Peloponnesus, and consequently Crete on the west. Ovid also makes frequent mention of the Archipelago's being divided from Adria by the Corinthian isthmus. Thus he speaks, lib. iv. Fast.:—

> "Wide Adria, and Corinth where the land
> An Isthmus hides, and dreadful makes by sand.

And in the first Book of his Trist. and tenth Elegy:—

> "When th' blustering storms of winter tost me sore
> In Adria, the muses I implore.
> Or after that the Isthmus danger's past,
> And one ship's us'd for saving us in haste.

In pursuance hereof Philostratus, lib. ii. Imaginum, in Palemone, attests that the forenamed isthmus is betwixt the Egean and the Adriatic sea. Again, the same author in his Apollonius, lib. iv. cap. 8, records that Nero had a mind to cut this isthmus, to the end that Adria might disburden itself into the Archipelago. The same appears by Suidas on the word Alpheus, and again on the word Arethusa, saying that the river Alpheus does flow from Peloponnesus into the fountain Arethusa of Sicily, entering into

the main sea through the Adriatic Sea. Hence Pausanias in his Arcadics says of the river Alpheus, 'Neither could Adria stop its course.' See more at large there. Moreover the Adriatic Sea has its extent even to Africa, if credit may be given to Æthicus and Orosius, by whose testimony the province of Tripolis, where be Arzuges and Leptis the Great, has the Adriatic Sea on the north, and on the south Crete is bounded with the Lybian Sea, which is also called the Adriatic. Jerome also, in the Life of Hilario, is of this opinion, where it is said that such as purpose to arrive at Pachynus in Sicily, from Parætonium in Egypt, sail through the midst of the Adriatic Sea. But Procopius, in his Vandalics, lib. i., makes most of all for our purpose in asserting that the islands Malta and Gaul divide the Adriatic and Tuscan sea. The sacred writer, therefore, wittily and answerably to the constant verdict of geographers, asserts, that after their being driven from Crete to Malta, they were tossed in the Adriatic Sea by the violence of the imminent winds. Moreover, we observed, that the inhabitants of Malta were styled by the name of barbarians, from a remnant of Carthaginians that inhabited their fields. Luke makes no mention of the town of Malta, it being altogether needless. Even so, Acts xxi. 1, Paul is said to have arrived at the islands Coos and Rhodes, without the mention of any cities, though in each of them there were cities of the islands' name."

2. *The barbarous people.* That is, the Carthaginians that came from Africa to Malta, or the inhabitants of Melita, descended of the Carthaginians. By the ancients, all such as were not Greeks by birth or language were called barbarians. Whence Plautus, according to Festus, called Nævius, the Latin poet, a barbarian. And in his prologue of his comedy, termed Asinaria, *Marcus vortit Barbaré*, that is, Plautus rendered it into Latin. And in the Capteiveis you may read the 'barbarian law' for the Latin law. After the same manner the Latin authors called all that used not the Roman tongue barbarians; as Cicero, in his Epistles to his brother Quintus, denominates the Africans, French, and Spaniards. Moreover, it is observed by Eustathius on the third Iliad, that the Lacedemonians called all guests and strangers barbarians. The Greeks, indeed, and Romans, were wont to give this name to other nations, because of the harsh and confused sound of their words; for *barbar* denotes a mumbling or muttering noise, as Julius Cæsar Scaliger, a man of an accurate judgment and universal learning, relates; or, as the same worthy author conjectureth, they were

therefore called barbarians because they inhabited the deserts, living after the custom of wild beasts; for *bar* signifies a desert in the Arabic. The apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 11, calls him a barbarian that useth a strange and unknown tongue, in which sense the author of the Chaldaic translation uses the word, Ps. civ. 1. In the Syriac *bar* imports "without;" hence, in the opinion of Drusius, arises *barbar* by doubling the syllables, as from *rab rabrab*. Ovid, *Amorum*, Eleg. iii. 7, takes barbarity for clownishness or rudeness.

> Of old, wit was priz'd above pure gold:
> But now to be poor is reckon'd the greatest clownishness in the world.

That is to say, he is esteemed rude and clownish that is poor.

*Shewed us no little kindness.* As if he had said, We met with kind entertainment at their hands, beyond their barbarous custom, since we were strangers and shipwrecked guests.

*For they kindled a fire.* That is, a bundle of sticks. Among the chief acts of kindness usually demonstrated, especially in the winter season, is the presenting a fire to warm men.

*And refreshed us.* Greek, προσελάβοντο, "they received." That is, they kindly admitted us to the use of the fire, that we might be warmed.

*Because of the present rain.* That is, which violently assailed and sorely vexed us.

*And the cold.* Wherewith we were chilled by reason of the winter season of the year; as also, because we not only sailed, but were likewise constrained to swim in the cold waters, and were at last exposed to the violence of the present tempestuous rain.

3. *When Paul had gathered.* Greek, συστρέψαντος, "when he had rolled round together." Either that he might gather into a bundle the small sticks scattered up and down, or that, being once gathered, he might roll them to the fire, seeing Paul was not able to carry the bundle.

*Of sticks.* Greek, φρυγάνων, "of brush-wood," so called because of their aptness to burn, being [dry] they easily catch fire, and produce a sparkling, though short-lasting heat. This name is not only attributed to sticks and superfluous shrubs of the rank vine, but also to any kind of twigs, dry and ready to take fire. Basil, in one word, calls a gatherer of brush-wood φρυγανιζόμενον, which, in the Hebrew, would be מקשש עצים, as it is Num. xv. 32; whose feminine מקששת, we read, 1 Kings xvii. 10.

*And laid them on the fire.* That is, when he had thrown into the fire the twigs or sticks once gathered, to the end that by the

greater heat thereof both the bodies of those that did swim out of the waters might be warmed and their wet clothes dried.

*A viper.* This poisonous and noisome kind of serpent is so called because it brings forth by violence, as it were, or rather, for that it brings forth young ones alive; for the viper's travail is therefore the harder, because she brings forth living, or quick brood, while other serpents lay eggs only.

*And coming out of the heat.* It is very well known that vipers, and other such like serpents, used to leap violently out of bushes and twigs. Hence, in Palladius's Lausiakes, cap. 20, Macarius, digging a well, was bitten by an asp, nigh the rushes and shrubs or twigs that lay there. And Lucian, in his Philopseudes, gives us account that Midas, the vine-dresser, lay dead after he was bitten by a viper. "For while he was a tying the vine-branches, and supporting them with forks," says he, "a beast creeping out from thence, did sting the great toe of his foot." Thuanus, de Vita sua, lib. iii.: "When we came the next morning from the church, every one approaching in all haste to the fire, not thoroughly kindled as yet, there leapt a serpent out of a bundle, moist either by reason of the rain or the low cellar whence it was brought, and after its being exposed to open view, we had well considered it, we thought it like an amphisbæna, a serpent which had a head on both ends, and goeth both ways. In like manner Paul's viper broke out of the twigs, neither did she assail him while he was gathering the sticks, being then benumbed with cold, for it was winter." Hence Prudentius, in the preface of his first book against Symmachus, ver. 28 :—

While Paul of twigs an heap did make,
To dissipate the cold,
He to the fire the shrubs did take,
To cause the flame wax bold.
He carelessly his hand did set,
Into the heap of wood;
In which a viper cold, did get
A place for her abode.

But when Paul cast the twigs or sticks, in which the viper did lurk, into the fire, she, being either refreshed by a gentle heat or exasperated by the excess thereof, assailed Paul. Thus Phædrus, lib. iv. fal. 18.

One having brought a frozen snake to life,
By heat's approach; he made himself a knife,
To cut his throat. For when the heat she smelt,
Her poisonous smart the patient soul soon felt.

*Assailed his hand.* Greek, καθῆψε τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ. That is, as the English translation renders it, *fastened on his hand*, to wit, that she might sting with her raging tooth. The Æthiopic reads it, "hung on his hand." The Syriac, and both Arabics, "did bite his hand;" of which opinion were some of the fathers. To this purpose, Tertullian, speaking of Paul, in his book intituled Scorpiacus, or Little Scorpion: "He set at nought the viper's sting." And Ambrose, in his Hexaëmeron, lib. vi. cap. 6: "A viper did bite Paul." Prudentius, also, in the fore-cited place:—

> The smoke of th' fire reviv'd the viper's sense,
> Whence stretching forth her neck, she does commence
> A demonstration of her rage; the hand
> Of Paul she stings, and sticks close to the wound,
> That all might hear the poison's hissing sound;
> So that each one at this amaz'd did stand.

And Arator, in his second book of the Apostolical History:—

> On whom the snake
> Her devilish darts at th' fires approach did shake,
> A wound by wonted rage and poison cold,
> His hand sustains, as all behold.

Œcumenius, also: "A viper having thrust her teeth into the apostle's hand." But the most famous Bochart, is (with far greater probability) of opinion that the viper was restrained from fastening her noisome teeth into the apostle's hand, by the same God that by his angel shut up the mouths of lions, insomuch that they could not hurt with their teeth the prophet, Dan. vi. 22. "Which," says he, Hierozoici, p. 2, lib. iii. cap. 3, "the words of Luke seems plainly to declare, ἔπαθεν οὐδὲν κακὸν, 'he sustained no hurt.' For he could not be said to sustain no hurt that was stung by a viper. Neither, for aught I know, does καθάπτειν, import to bite or sting, nor to assail or hang, but 'to fasten,' as the simple word ἅπτειν." Having proved, by divers authorities, which you may see cited at large in the Latin edition of this Literal Explication on the Acts of the Holy Apostles, he concludes thus: "Wherefore, Stephen adds ἑαυτὴν to the words of Luke, καθῆψε τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, rendering it thus, 'she tied herself to his hand, or fastened on it.'" So Basilius thought good to say, while he gives account of the same story in his Ninth Homily on the Hexaëmeron, or Six Days, φρυγανιζομένῳ τῷ Παυλῷ ἐνάψας ὁ ἔχις, understand ἑαυτὸν, 'the viper having fastened on Paul while he was a gathering of sticks.' Nevertheless, by others it is rendered 'hang,' because ἀφάπτειν, and ἐξανάπτειν, signify 'to

hang by, or on:' and here it is immediately subjoined, *when the barbarians saw the venomous beast hang on his hand.* Others again, choose rather to say, 'did bite or sting,' as if it should be read, καθήψατο. For καθάπτεσθαί τινος, in the passive conjugation is 'to bite,' yet not with teeth, but with cavils and scoffing taunts. And indeed Chrysostom, on this place, for καθήψε, reads καθήψατο. Which, notwithstanding, he takes in another sense, to wit, for simple ἥψατο, that is, 'assaulted, set upon.' For he expresseth himself to this purpose in the subsequent exposition: 'A viper coming out of the fire, set on his hand: what follows makes it manifest that he was assailed.' By all means, Chrysostom must be so rendered. In regard that ἅπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπου, is 'to assail a man,' as Stephanus makes out of Plato, Thucydides, and Plutarch. Whence it is that a great many render καθῆψε τῆς χειρὸς, 'assailed his hand,' as if καθῆψε or καθήψατο were not distinct from ἥψατο. But there is no need to change anything, nor to add strange unusual notions to the common word, since it is most pertinent to say that the viper fastened on Paul's hand. For a serpent is said to tie whatever is compassed with her windings. Hence the prince of poets:—

> Two serpents fierce Laocoon assail'd,
> And bound him fast by windings that prevail'd.

Nicander likewise, in his Theriacs, or Antidotes against Poison, ver. 475, advises to take care that the little spotted serpent burn thee not, tying fast thy body by the strokes of her tail. Leo Byzantius, also, in Bœoticis, by the testimony of Plutarch, in his book of Rivers, speaking concerning the boy Cythæron, insinuates that he was killed by a serpent that tied him with her windings. And Cicero, of Roscius, in his first book on Divination: 'The nurse in the night being awakened by the light that was brought, saw a serpent winded close about the child.' Again, in his second book: 'It may be an untruth that Roscius himself was tied fast by the windings of a serpent.' This is further confirmed by Ælian, in the sixth book, cap. 21, of his History, where he asserts that the dragon that set upon an elephant, 'having crept up to his neck, and striking him with one part of his tail, and binding him fast with the other, strangled the beast with an unusual halter.' Macrobius, in the Description of Hercules's Knot, Sat. lib. i., cap. 19: 'Those dragons tie one another towards the middle by a knurle called Hercules's knot.'"

4. *And when the barbarians saw.* That is, the inhabitants of

Malta. "Those men," says Bochart, "were accounted barbarians, because the most of them who inhabited the island of Malta, were neither Greeks nor Romans, but Phœnician or Carthaginian inhabitants, as is proved elsewhere by the testimonies of Scylax, Diodorus, and Stephanus." Wherefore, if credit may be given Orosius in his fourth book, cap. 8: "Atilius the Roman consul, in his sea-expedition against the Carthaginians in time of the first Punic war, passing through Sipara and Malta, noble islands of Sicily, quite overthrew them. And at the second Punic war, T. Sempronius sailed over from Lilibæum now called Mazara, into the island Malta, possessed by the Carthaginians. As soon as he arrived, Amilcar the son of Giscon, governor of the garrison, together with two thousand soldiers, or thereabouts, and the town of the island were surrendered to him." Thus Livy, in his first book of the third Decade: "Besides, we observed already that Melita is a Carthaginian name. It remains then that the inhabitants of Malta, as also the other African Carthaginians, were a part of the barbarians, from whom the country itself was at length named Barbary."

*The venomous beast hung on his hand.* On which, to wit, she had fastened. Bochart says that "θηρίον denotes not only a beast in general, but also a serpent, or venomous beast. Ecclesiast. xii. 17, "Who should show pity to an enchanter bitten by a serpent, or any such as approach to beasts?" understand *venomous*, that is, vipers, or serpents. Dioscorides, lib. i. c. *de Vitice*, or park-leaves, τὰ φύλλα ἐποθυμιώμενά τε καὶ ὑποστρωνύμενα θηρία διώκει, which Pliny renders thus, lib. xxiv. cap. 9: The leaves once perfumed or strowed drive away venomous beasts. Hence in the Books of Physicians, θεριόδηγμα and θηριόδηκτος are every where spoken of one bitten by a serpent, and θηρίακα φάρμακα, are such medicines as cure men of serpents' venom. In this sense Josephus, in the second book and fifth chapter of his Antiquities, calleth Ethiopia θηριοτρόφος, because it brings forth many serpents. And the Marsi that feed on serpents, are by Galen styled θηριοτροφοι μαρσοὶ. Likewise Dionysius Halicarnassus calls the Greek σῖγμα, θηριώδης, 'a serpentine letter,' because it resembles serpents hissing. Moreover the word חיה importing any wild beast to the Hebrews, is a serpent in the Arabic language. Neither observe the Chaldees much difference in the words חויא and חוא, the former signifying a beast in general, and the latter a serpent. So that Luke's τὸ θηρίον is a serpent, and consequently a viper."

*A murderer.* That is to say, one guilty of slaughter, or some other great offence. "The particular," says Bochart, "is here put for the general." By which figure one of the Furies gets the name of "Tisiphone," from τίειν τοὺς φόνους, "punishing murderers." And yet she was not thought an avenger of murder alone, but also of all other offences.

*Vengeance.* Greek, ἡ δίκη, Justice the goddess. Δίκη was the name the ancients gave the goddess Justice, says Bochart. Hesiod, in his Husbandry, ver. 254: "Dice is a virgin descended of Jupiter, famous and venerable in the eyes of the gods inhabiting heaven." And whensoever any revile her unjustly, she forthwith tells her father Jupiter the son of Saturn, the evil thoughts of such men. Orpheus, ver. 349, of the Argonautics, ver. 344: "Let the governess Dice with the avenging Furies be witnesses to this oath." In Euripides's Medea, Jason curses Medea, whose hands were polluted with the slaughter of the children with this imprecation, ver. 1389: "But may Erinnys the avenger of slain children, and Dice of slaughter, destroy thee." Aristotle, or whoever passes by that name, in the close of the book *De Mundo*, speaking of the great God, observes that he is attended by Dice the avenger of the transgressors of the divine law. In Orpheus's Hymn on Hours, "Dice is one of the daughters of Themis and Jupiter the king." We are presented with a curious and exact picture of her by Chrysippus in Gellius, lib. xiv. cap. 4. She is said to be a virgin, which betokeneth her being undefiled, and unexorable by the wicked, suffering no specious oration, or prayer, or flattery, or any such like thing. Wherefore she is deservedly painted with a grave and frowning countenance, that she may be a terror to the wicked, yielding hope and confidence to the just, since such an aspect is pleasant to the just, and grievous to the unjust. Plutarch in his book of the late Divine Vengeance: "If there be any that suffer not condign punishment for their misdoings in this life, they are given up to Dice after death to be punished more severely." In Aratus's Phœnomena, she is said in the golden age to have lived familiarly with men; and also in the silver age, though more seldom; but in the brazen age, when they began to eat the working oxen, she withdrew herself to heaven.

> First they began to eat the labouring oxen;
> Then Dice hating the vain race of men,
> Went up to heav'n.

Nazianzen, alluding hereunto in his third Metree: "Virginity

leaving ye shall return to Christ, as Dice did of old after the slaughter of the ploughing ox. Nor is it to be wondered that the fame of the Greek goddess should come to the inhabitants of Malta, the most of whom were Phœnicians; forasmuch as before the Romans' invasion of Malta, the government of the island did change by courses, so among the Greeks and Phœnicians, that sometimes the one, sometimes the other commanded in chief, as we have made appear elsewhere by the testimony of competent witnesses. The worship therefore of this goddess being borrowed from the Greeks, they attribute to her that Paul being delivered from the peril he was in upon the sea, fell into another danger no less than the former. Their opinion is so far allowable, as they hold it impossible for transgressors to go unpunished. Plato spoke a great truth in his fifth book of Laws, where he says that all injustice is attended with punishment. And Horace, in the second song of his third book:—

> The wicked man that walks with braz'n face,
> Is seldom left by vengeance's halting pace.

Further, that vipers are used by God for the punishment of the wicked is recorded, Eccles. xxxix. 35, 38; the teeth of wild beasts, and scorpions, with vipers, and the sword that despatcheth the wicked. The Egyptians were fully of the same mind with reference to the asp, named Thermuthis, Ælian, lib. x. cap. 31. They say of her, that she does no hurt to the good, whilst she kills the wicked. 'Which if it be so,' says Ælian, 'the justice of the universe has highly honoured this asp.' That is, the goddess Dice, that punishes a great many by this instrument. Therefore there was something in the barbarians' judgment of Paul not altogether to be despised. But yet it is manifest that they judged amiss in many respects. As, first, in that they do not attribute the punishment of the wicked to the true God, but to an idol the work of men's hands, which by some is named Dice, by others Themis, by other some Astrea, or Erigone, as also Nemesis, or Adrastia. Secondly, because by this course they hold that the wicked are always punished in this life, whilst they are very often reserved for the future, where God makes up the slowness of his judgments by their weight. Thirdly, because they think none falls into any heavy calamity, but he is proportionably guilty, not knowing or considering that affliction is the lot of the best, as we find in the instances of Job, and him that was born blind, though neither he

nor his parents were guilty of any notorious sin, John ix. 3. Wherefore prosperity nor adversity are not to be reckoned as the measures of any man's virtue or wickedness. But the judgment of what is unrevealed must be left to God alone, the great judge of all men. Fourthly, they also sinned in their rash judgment of Paul, without expecting the event. Whereupon they conclude him utterly undone, with no less confidence than if they had seen his death in the event. Whence they say in the preterite tense, 'Justice or Dice has not suffered him to live;' as by others it was said of David, Psalm xli. 8, *An evil disease cleaveth fast unto him, and now that he lieth, he shall rise no more.* Nevertheless David rose out of his bed beyond their thoughts and expectation. Even so it befell Paul at this time. For he died not of the viper's bite, which the barbarians saw hang on his hand."

*Suffereth not him to live.* Greek εἴασε, "suffered," in the preterite. See what we have but now observed. A certain man suffering shipwreck, got safe to land in Libya; where, sleeping on the shore, he is said to have been killed by the biting of a viper. Of whom Statilius Flaccus has a very eloquent poem, Antolog. lib. iii. cap. 2, to this purpose.

> From raging sea one shipwreck'd 'scap'd to land,
> And laid him down upon the Libyan sand,
> Close by the shore dead sleep did him o'ertake,
> Naked, and wearied after his dire wreck;
> Where he was killed by a deadly snake.
> Why did he vainly with the waves contend?
> On land he meets with his deserv'd end.

An accident very like this happens to Paul. For a viper assails him when he scarce had escaped from shipwreck into Malta, an island near Libya; but with a very different event. For this encounter was no ways fatal to Paul, but to the viper, as immediately follows.

5. *And he shook off the beast into the fire.* If we will give credit to Œcumenius, the viper of its own accord threw itself into the fire, as punishing itself, for that it had set upon a body it ought not to have meddled with. "It leapt," saith he, "into the fire, as acting revenge on itself, because it had invaded a body that did not at all belong to it." But Luke expressly affirms, that Paul shook it off, and that into the fire that was near, not far off into the air, as it is asserted in Prudentius's preface to book i. against Symmachus:—

> He shook a great way off the venemous snake:
> It thus beat off, its way through the air did take.

This by some is referred to the old serpent, to wit, the devil, who in vain setting upon the faithful is at last thrown into hell fire. Arator, in his Apostolic History, lib. ii.:—

> For the beast hanging on his hands,
> Shak'd off is thrown into the burning brands;
> It's rightly cast into the fire which it
> Occasioned first, which sin did first commit,
> A fire which heated hath the infernal pit.

*Felt no harm.* That which Christ promised to his apostles, Mark xvi. 18, that they should destroy serpents, was fulfilled by this miracle unexpected by the barbarians. "And it seems," saith Bochart, "that that serpent fastened itself on Paul's hand, not with design to hurt him, but to adorn him. For a serpent twisted about the wrist or arms, was by the ancients used among the kinds of bracelets, which is recorded by Nicostratus in Athenæus, Philostratus in his thirty-ninth epistle, Hesychius and others: as by Nonnus, lib. v. Dionysiac, a bracelet is described, which

> Like serpents had its body twisted round.

6. *But they thought that he should have swollen.* That is, that Paul would swell to a vast bigness. "The Greek word, πίμπρασθαι properly is," saith Bochart, "to burn and be inflamed;" as also, "to be blown up and swell by reason of heat." Hesychius, πιμπρᾶν, "to inflame, to puff up, to burn." Ælian, lib. i. cap. 57, saith that the people called Psylli cure easily those that are bitten by a serpent having horns like a ram, and a little body, provided they are called before the whole body is swollen. For Dioscorides writeth that the whole body of those that have been bitten by such a serpent riseth into a tumour like that of the Varixes. The etymologian, speaking of buprestis, a kind of herb, saith, 'buprestis is so called, as they say, because those who eat of it do swell exceedingly,' which in the Greek is φυσᾶσθαι. And Nicander saith of the animal buprestis, in the 344th verse of his Alexipharmacs:—

> Sometimes the heifers, sometimes gor-bellied calves,
> She doth inflame.

And in his Theriacæ, speaking of the hæmorrhous, ver. 306:—

> When she doth bite, the gums all over are huge raised, or also inflamed.

For so the scholiast, πίμπραται, "it is inflamed, burnt, and scorched." And a little after, πυρακτοῦνται, καὶ ἀναβράζουσι, "they grow fiery and boiling hot. Nor is it otherwise taken in Lucian, when speaking of the dipsas, a kind of serpent, he saith, πιμπρᾶσθει ποιεῖ, 'makes it inflamed.' For it follows, 'And they cry out,' to wit,

those who are bit, 'as those do who are lying in the fire.' It may therefore be rendered either way in Luke. And therefore one of the Arabics in this place has, 'they expected that it would burn.' And Castalio, 'while they expected that it should burn.' But Jerome, 'they thought that he would be turned into a tumour,' that is, that he would swell; which Arias and Beza follow, and many other of the Neoterics. Nor without reason, seeing this is one of the principal and most notable symptoms that attend the stinging of serpents, that the part stung immediately swelleth. Dioscorides, lib. vi. saith, 'those who are bit by a viper, their body swells, and is exceedingly dried up.' Nicander, speaking of those that are stung by a viper in his Theriaca, ver. 240, saith, 'noisome tumours bubble up, as if the body were burnt with fire.' So also Paul Ægineta: 'Blisters break forth in the part that is bitten, as in those that are burnt.' And Ætius writeth of a wound inflicted by a viper: 'that a bilious tumour ensued, very hot, full of bubbles, somewhat red,' &c. And Avicenna, in the chapter of the Biting of Serpents, towards the bottom of page 137, saith: 'Then appeareth a hot tumour red, full of pimples and pushes as from the burning by fire.'" Thus far Bochart. "The learned," saith John Price, "dispute, whether the word πιμπρᾶσθαι denote a tumour or inflammation: I think it signifieth both. Excellent is that place of Lucan to this purpose, and so far as I know, untouched," lib. ix. ver. 780, &c., thus Englished by the above-mentioned Sir A. Gorges:—

The fiery prester (with his sting)
Nasidius to his end doth bring.
Nasidius that (with his plough-shares)
The Marsian fields for grains prepares.
His face is coloured fiery red.
His puffed swollen skin at large is spread.
All form and shape his looks hath lost,
The tumour so his corps imbost.
And so his veins the poison feeds,
That human measure he exceeds.
One lump doth all his parts confound,
Within a formless body drown'd.
His harbergeon was not of space,
His swollen carcase to embrace.
The boiling caldron's frothy scum,
Doth not in bubbles rise so plumb.
Nor yet the sail doth swell so fast,
When it is puff'd with windy blast.
The misshap'd corpse could scarce contain,
The limbs that so with swelling strain.

> And that same trunk's confused heft
> They durst not to the funeral weft,
> But to the fowls untouch'd it left,
> And for a prey unto wild beasts,
> If thereon they durst make their feasts.

The import of that word, πιμπρᾶσθαι, could not be more accurately set forth. Even from that place (besides the so clear description of both the symptoms) you may see how emphatically the ancient Latin interpreter translates here, 'should be turned into tumour;' or, to wit, that he is no more the same man, but altogether a tumour; or, to use the words of Lucan, 'that his form and shape should be lost.'"

*Or suddenly fall down and die.* That is, that he should suddenly fall down dead. Avicenna saith that "the greatest part of them who die by the biting of a serpent, die the third day, and sometimes continue until the seventh." Ætius saith that "for the most part they die in seven hours' space." In Pliny, lib. xi. cap. 53: "The Scythians dip their arrows in vipers' poison and human blood;" that irremediable wickedness bringeth instantly death at the lightest touch. And in the Bæotics of Pausanius it is declared by a certain Phœnician, "that a man, to escape the assault of a viper that was pursuing him, quickly got upon a certain tree, whither, when the viper came a little after, it discharged its poison on the tree, and that thereupon the man died." So there is a sort of serpents among the Arabians called giaria, which immediately kills. Whence Muhamed Addamirius, who is commonly called Damir, in his Proverbs of the Viper, saith: "God hath given him over to the serpent giaria" [which] is as much as to say, he hath exposed him to an irremediable evil; because whosoever is bit by this serpent dieth in the very moment. Indeed, the biting of a viper is more pernicious, by reason of the nature of the place or ailment, and if it bites fasting, or in the hottest weather, and when it is provoked. For then its bile being stirred up, the poison is much stronger. Besides, some bodies, and in one and the same body, some parts less resist the poison. Seeing therefore there are so many causes why vipers kill either quicker or slower by their biting, the time of death cannot certainly be determined. But that serpent that assailed Paul might be supposed to have most ready poison, because it broke out of the midst of the fire more stirred up and provoked.

*After they had looked a great while.* As if he had said, But when these barbarians had a considerable time expected that Paul's death would ensue upon the biting of the viper.

*And saw no harm come to him.* That is, and saw that no hurt befell him, whence he could be accounted guilty of any crime, as they suspected.

*Changing their minds.* That is, passing from their former into a contrary judgment; as,

> The clownish rabble cannot hold the mean,

And :—

> Fools shunning one vice run into a worse.

*They said he was a god.* Whom before they concluded to be a murderer. But as Paul was not a murderer, so neither was he a god, but a faithful servant of God, whom, when they judged a murderer, they were guilty of a breach of charity: when a god, they sinned grievously against faith. For, as Œcumenius observeth, the Gentiles used thus "to account any a god, when they did any thing above the reach of ordinary men." So above, ch. xiv. 10, 19; those of Lystra appointed divine worship to be performed to this same Paul, because he had healed a lame person: but afterwards the very same persons stoned him.

7. *In the same quarters.* Greek, "in those that were about that place." That is, in that place, as the Syriac rightly renders it, or, in the country near that coast. Τοῖς περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον is put for τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ, as by an elegant phrase of the Greeks οἱ περὶ τὸν Παῦλον is said for ὁ Παῦλος; above, ch. xiii. 13, saith Lewis de Dieu.

*Were possessions of the chief man of the island,* &c. That is, a certain man had lands, whose name was Publius, or, as others read it, Poplius, whom the Romans had set over the island Malta. See what we have said on ver. 1, out of Bochartus.

*Who received us and lodged us three days courteously.* As if he had said, who being very rich and civil, lodged us all for as great a number as we were, three days, and very lovingly bestowed upon all, those things that were necessary for our sustenance.

8. *He prayed.* On his knees, as above, ch. xx. 36; xxi. 5. See our annotations on the same places. Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. v. cap. 5, saith that the Christian soldiers, who under the Emperor Marcus Aurelius obtained rain by their prayers, "prayed with their knees bended even to the earth, according to that gesture of prayer peculiar to Christians."

*Saved him.* [Latin, *Saluavit eum.*] That is, healed him, according as Christ, when he was risen again from the dead, had promised to his disciples that believed in him, Mark xvi. 18, *They shall*

*lay their hands upon the sick, and they shall recover.* Now imposition of hands is a visible sign of prayer, which James maketh mention of, ch. v. 14. Paul therefore conjoined the sign with the thing signified, that is, imposition of hands with prayer, when he restored to health Poplius or Publius's father, who was sick of a fever and bloody flux. Moreover, every promise that belongs to the body is conditional, and has the exception included in it, except God shall see it fitting otherwise for just causes, although unknown to us. For not the apostles themselves indeed, although present, could restore to health all that were sick in the church after the manner prescribed, James v. 14; as you may see, Phil. ii. 26, 27; 2 Tim. iv. 20. For health of body sometimes prejudices that of the mind, and sickness of body sometimes is the means to attain soundness of mind, and as Seneca of Providence saith, cap. 4., "calamity is the occasion of virtue;" or as Minutius Felix expresseth it, "calamity is frequently the discipline of virtue." Hence Salvianus, presbyter of Massilia, of God's Government, lib. i., "We must not be grieved at the affliction of infirmities, which we understand to be the mother of virtues."

9. *When this was done.* That is, when Poplius or Publius's father was restored to health by Paul's prayers, when he laid on his hands on him.

*Others also which had diseases in the island.* That is, all the rest also which were afflicted with sickness in this island of Malta.

*Came.* To Paul, that he might lay his hands upon them, and implore the help of God for healing them.

*And they were healed.* At the prayers of Paul who laid his hands upon them.

10. *Who.* Those that were recovered from their sickness.

*Honoured us with many honours.* As if he had said, having a grateful remembrance of their miraculous recovery, not only did they highly honour Paul, at whose prayers they were freed from their diseases, but also me Luke, the writer of this history, and the rest of Paul's attendance.

*And when we sailed.* As if he had said, And when we loosed from the island Malta, to sail further.

*They put.* Into the ship.

*Such things as were necessary.* That is, large and liberal provision.

11. *And after three months.* Of the winter, elapsed from the time of our arrival at the island Malta.

*We set sail.* [Latin, *navigavimus.*] That is, we were carried forth.

*In a ship of Alexandria.* As also before we were carried from Lycia in a ship of Alexandria bound for Rome; above, ch. xxvii. 6.

*Whose sign was Castor.* That is, Castor and Pollux, who are called Διόσκουροι, that is, Jupiter's sons by Leda, daughter of Thestius, wife to Tyndarus king of Laconia; both have the name of Castor from one of them. Whence Pliny, lib. x. cap. 43, "Above the temple of the Castors." Arnobius, lib. v.; against the Gentiles, "The Castors, sons of Tyndarus; one used to tame horses, the other was a good champion," &c. Minutius Felix: "Castor and Pollux die by courses, that they may live." They, when first they grew to men's years, scoured the seas of pirates, and for that reason were accounted gods of the sea, whom mariners used to invocate in storms. Afterward they went into Colchis with the Argonautæ; in which expedition Pollux killed Amycus, king of the Bebrycians, who laid an ambush against him. Then returning home they took back their sister Helena, who was ravished by Theseus, when they had stormed the city of Aphydna in the absence of Theseus. At length, when Castor died, they say that Pollux, who having been born of the same egg with Helena was immortal, out of love to his brother, begged of Jupiter that he might share his immortality with his brother, which having obtained, they are said to die alternatively and live again. Which fiction arises from hence, because as Servius saith on Æn. vi, the constellation Gemini, that is assigned to them, is so, that when one star of it setteth the other riseth. Yet Macrobius, Saturnal, lib. i. cap. 21, as he referreth all the other gods, so them also to the sun, when he saith, "But the Gemini, who are supposed to die and live by courses, what else do they signify but one and the same sun, now descending into the lower hemisphere, anon mounting to the highest altitude of this?" "Moreover, the Castors, or Castor and Pollux, were usually painted, like handsome young men, most decently apparelled, and sitting on horseback," saith the famous Lightfoot. And they appeared thus equipped, if you'll believe the relator, in the engagement at the lake Regillus, leading on the Roman cavalry, and defeating the enemy, so that the victory was obtained by their conduct." (Dionys. lib. vi. Rom. Antiq.) Yet sometimes they are drawn on foot. But that the ships of Alexandria used to have the effigies of Castor and Pollux on their snout, that notable place of Cyril indicates, which the most renowned Heinsius citeth out of

Catena Patrum upon Isaiah, not yet published. "But also," saith he, "the author of the Acts of the Apostles saith, that they who were with him went aboard of a ship of Alexandria, whose sign was Castor and Pollux. For it is usual for Alexandrian ships to have such ensigns painted on the right and left side of their fore-castle." Moreover, we may observe that Paul did not refuse in case of necessity to make use of that ship, which has the image of an idol upon it. For seeing an idol hath no virtue to pollute things consecrated to it, a Christian making use of these things in case of necessity, where there is no just cause of offence, is not defiled, if they be referred to civil uses. See 1 Cor. viii. 4, 7—10.

12. *And landing at Syracuse.* Syracuse, or, as it is commonly used in the plural number, Syracusæ, the most famous city of the island of Sicily, a colony of the Corinthians, was built by them together with the Doric Grecians, under the command of Archias the Corinthian, above seven hundred years before the birth of our Lord, about the same time that Naxus and Megara, cities of Sicilia, were built, as Thucydides, lib. vi. Strabo, lib. vi. and others have left on record. It had its name from a marsh that lies near it, called Syraco, of which Stephen speaketh when he treateth of Syracuse. Marcianus Heracleota in his Periegesis:—

> The Dorians inhabited the west side
> Of Italy, whom Archias of Corinth bid
> To come to him, who did their labour use,
> Building the famous city Syracuse.
> Its name from the adjacent marsh they choose."

"It was," saith Thomas de Pinedo, "of old divided into four parts, according to Cicero, in Verrem, lib. iv. One, which Strabo calls Ortygia, (lib. vi.) was by them called Nasos (that name in the Doric dialect, which the Syracusians used, signifies an island), famous for two harbours, and the royal palace of Hieron, where the prætors had their residence. In this part of the city there were many consecrated temples, two whereof surpassed the rest, to wit, Diana's temple, and Minerva's. There was also a fountain of sweet water, whose name was Arethusa, of incredible largeness, celebrated not only by poets, but also by prose writers, very full of fish, which would have been wholly covered with the waves, had it not been parted from the sea by a fortified wall and certain heaps of stones. The second part was called Acradina, wherein were a very large market-place, stately galleries, a public hall extraordinary well adorned, a very spacious court, and a most excellent temple of

Jupiter Olympus. The third part of the city was named Tyche, because it was an ancient temple of Fortune (so the Greeks call Fortune) in which there was a spacious college, and very many consecrated houses. But the fourth part, because it was built last, was called Neapolis, in which there was a large theatre, and two stately temples, the one Ceres's, the other Proserpina's, and that surpassingly beautiful and big image of Apollo, which they called Temenites. These four parts of Syracuse were of that extent, that Cicero, in the above cited, place calls every one of them a city, and therefore Ausonius in his poems, which he made of the most considerable cities of the Roman empire, calls Syracuse Quadruple. Epipolæ also, whercin were Euryleus, Labdalum, and Temenus, of which we have spoke in their proper places, is by others mentioned among the parts of Syracuse, but we have followed the most learned of Romulus's offspring, from whose fountain we have watered these gardens. In Epipolis was that famous prison called Latomiæ, a large and stately work of kings and tyrants; it was all of a rock digged to a marvellous depth, according to Cicero's Oration against Verres, lib. v., who in the same oration avers that it was made by Dionysius the cruel tyrant. The pleasantest of these caverns had its name of Philoxenus the poet, wherein he is said to have composed Cyclops, the choicest of all his poems, as Ælian reporteth, Hist. Var. lib. xii. cap. 44. Suetonius saith, in Tib. cap. 74, that that image of Apollo, called Temenites, so much commended by Cicero, was transported from Syracuse to Rome. The Romans made themselves masters of this most opulent and famous city, when Marcellus was their general, after that they had sacked it, as Livy in his twenty-fifth book, and Florus, lib. ii. cap. 6, sufficiently testify; the words of the latter I thought fit to insert here. Sicily, that was committed to Marcellus, did not long hold out, for all the island was overcome in one city. That great, and before that time invincible metropolis, Syracuse, though it was defended by Archimedes's wit, at last submitted. Its triple wall, the same number of castles, that marble haven, and celebrated fountain, availed it nothing, save only to procure compassion, that being overcome it might be spared for its beauty. Strabo, lib. vi., saith, that Augustus Cæsar repaired it. It was anciently the metropolis of all Sicily, as also the greatest and most powerful seat of tyrants, now a bishop's seat, between Catena and the promontory Pachynus; it retains the same situation at this day, and its name is a little altered, for it is commonly called Saragossa.

citizens by the Latins were called Syracusans. It hath produced several men famous for learning, amongst the rest Flavius Vopiscus the famous historian, Philemon the comic poet, but Archimedes, the geometrician and excellent mathematician, hath surpassed them all in fame, whose sepulchre Cicero, Tusc. Quæst. lib. v., makes his boast that he found out among briers and brambles, when it was unknown to the Syracusans. But I know not on what account he calls so admirable a man contemptuously, 'vile little man.' If ye desire to know more of this city, consult Cluverius, lib. i. Sicil. Ant. cap. 12, and Goltzius on Syracuse."

*We tarried there.* To wit, at Syracuse.

13. *Thence.* That is, when we had tarried three days at Syracuse, we parted thence.

*We fetched a compass and came to Rhegium.* A city of Greeks, built by the inhabitants of Chalcidia, as Strabo testifies, lib. vi. Hence Solinus, cap. 8: "It is well known that Rhegium was built by the Chalcidians." It retains the name at this day, for it is called Reggio by the Italians; it was of old the chief city of the Brutii, now of Calabria the farther, in the kingdom of Naples. It is situate on the border of the Sicilian Straits over against Sicily; it is dignified with a bishop's seat, according to the testimony of Alexandrinus and Michael, Antonius Baudrand of Paris, on his Geographical Lexicon. Authors are not agreed as to the etymology of its name, some say that it was so called because it was a large city, and as it were royal, but others ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥήγνυσθαι, that is, "to be broken," because that before, that I may use Virgil's words, Æn. iii., that land and Sicily:—

> Divided were, land that conjoin'd was,
> A huge flood did with violence divide,
> Parting Sicilia from Hesperia's side;
> Cities and fields retired with swelling waves,
> A narrow sea their margin interlaves.

Strabo, in the fore-cited sixth book, and Eustathius on Dionysius's Perieget., ver. 345, are my authors for both the originations. Strabo, in the same book, reporteth that it was destroyed by Dionysius, the first of that name, king of Sicily, and repaired by his son, and called Phœbia, and that it was augmented by Augustus Cæsar, out of his own navy, when it was but thinly peopled. It is called Rhegium Julium, by Ptolemy, lib. iii. cap. 1, either for that Julius Cæsar sent a colony thither, or because Julia, the daughter of Augustus, by Scribonia, being banished into Rhegium for her

lewdness, died there, as Tacitus testifies, book i. of his Annals. If any desire to know further of this city, let him consult Leander Albertus's Description of Italy, dedicated to Henry II., King of France, Cluverius, and others.

*And after one day.* To wit, past at Rhegium.

*The south wind blowing the next day.* After our departure from Rhegium.

*We came to Puteoli.* In the Greek, the Latin name being a little corrupted, it is Ποτιόλους. Varro, book iv., of the Latin tongue: "From the word *putei*, 'wells,' the city Puteoli has its name, because about that place are many cold and hot waters, except it be rather called so from *putor*, 'stench,' because it has often a noisome smell of brimstone or alum." This city of Tuscany, that is, Etruria, is called by three names, by Stephen Byzantius, in their proper places. For by him it is called Dicæa, Dicæarchia, and Potioli. In Potioli he saith that it was built by the Samians, and in Dicæa that it was a colony of the Ionians. St. Jerome, in Euseb. Chron. lib. ii., Olymp. 64, art. 4: "The Samians built Dicæarchia, which is now called Puteoli." Strabo saith of this city, after his description of the lakes Lucrinus and Avernus: "Next are the shores, or the coasts, about Dicæarchia, and the city itself. It was once a dock of the Cumans, built on the brink of the shore. But about the time of the war with Hannibal, the Romans sent a colony thither, and changing its former name, Dicæarchia, they called it Potioli, from *putei*, 'wells.' Others from *putor*, 'stench,' because of the stench of its waters." The same Strabo, a little after: "But the city was made a great mart town, having artificial harbours for ships, by reason of the natural convenience of the sand." Dicæarchia, as for the most part it is called by the Greeks, is by Pliny (lib. iii. cap. 5) called the colony Dicæarchia. It appears from the thirty-fourth book of Livy, that Puteoli, Vulturnus, and Liternus were made colonies of Roman citizens, when Publius Cornelio Scipio Africanus was consul for the second time in the consulship of Titus Sempronius Longus, and that three hundred men were sent into each of them. If Puteoli did not afterwards lose its right of colony, Cornelius Tacitus was mistaken when he said, book xiv. of his Annals: "Puteoli, an ancient city in Italy, obtained the right of a colony and surname from Nero." Benjamin Tudelensis saith, in his Itinerary, but without any author for it, that this city was anciently called Surento, and that it was built by Hadarezer, who

is made mention of, 2 Sam. viii. 3, "when he fled from before the face of David," as the Hebrews express it, which fable the counterfeit Joseph Ben. Gorion also relateth, lib. i. cap. 3; but the contrary appears from Ptolemy, with whom, ch. i. of his third book of Geography, Puteoli and Surentum are distinct cities. Puteoli is is now by the Italians called Pozzuolo, which is the same name a little corrupted. C. Cæsar Caligula joined Baiæ to its bulwarks by a bridge, which were most four miles distant, either in emulation of Xerxes, who bridged over the Hellespont, or that he had a mind to terrify Germany and Brittany, whom he was invading by war, with the report of this huge work; or rather, because Thrasyllus, the mathematician, had foretold that Caius the emperor should not more be emperor than he could ride upon horses over the Bay of Baia, as Suetonius relateth in his Caligula. "Marcus Tullius Cicero," saith Thomas de Pinedo, "called his village Puteolanum, because it was near Puteoli, where Ælius Spartianus, in the life of Adrian the Emperor, saith that this emperor was interred; in which Antonius Pius, his successor, made him a temple instead of his sepulchre, and a game every five years like to the Olympian, and priests, and colleges, and many other things which belonged to the honour, as it were, of a god, as the same Spartianus declareth. In the middle of the city there is a most ancient temple to be seen, somewhat defaced by the violence of earthquakes, of old consecrated to Augustus, but now to Saint Proculus, where men's bones are to be seen of a vast bigness, as Leander Albertus, an eye-witness, testifieth in his Campania. For he placeth this city in that part of Italy."

14. *Where we found the brethren.* That is, the Christians who possibly were converted from Judaism to Christianity. Josephus makes mention of the Jews that dwelt at Dicæarchia, that is, Puteoli, Ant. lib. xvii. cap. 4.

*And were desired.* By the same brethren.

*To tarry with them.* Greek, ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, "'Επὶ," saith Lewis de Dieu, "is seldom put for παρὰ, 'at;' yet it is not altogether out of use, as, ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις, 'at the doors,' 'at the gate,' is in use almost with all writers, and in Thucydides, lib. iii., ἦν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ, 'it was situate by the river.'"

*Seven days.* To wit, as many as Julius the centurion had appointed to stay at Puteoli, who had shown himself extraordinary civil to Paul: as ye may see above, ch. xxvii. 3, 43.

*And so.* After those fourteen days spent at Puteoli.

*We came to Rome.* That is, as it is in the English, *we went toward Rome*, for then they were not yet come to Rome, as is understood by the verse immediately following. To *come* in this place signifies nothing else than to *go*, as Luke xv. 20; John vi. 17.

15. *And from thence.* That is, from the city of Rome.

*When the brethren.* That is, the Christians who then dwelt at Rome, to whom Paul had written an epistle before, which is superscribed, *To the Romans.*

*Had heard.* That Paul was going a prisoner from Puteoli to Rome, accompanied by Luke and Aristarchus.

*They met.* That is, many went out to meet.

*Us.* To wit, who were on our journey for Rome.

*As far as Appii-forum and the Three Taverns.* As if he had said, Some indeed met us at Appii-forum, but others, who set later out, met us at the Three Taverns, which were nearer to Rome than Appii-forum. Zozimus, lib. ii., maketh mention of the Three Taverns, and that Severus Cæsar, when he was going to Rome, when he came to that place, which was called the Three Taverns, he was seized by the ambush which Maxentius had set against him in that place, and put to a cruel death, having had his neck broke with a halter. Jerome thinks that Appii-forum was so called from Appius, a certain consul; from whom also the way called Appian had its name. It was a town farther distant from Rome than the Three Taverns, as Cicero showeth, Ad Attic. lib. ii. Epist. 10.: "From Appii-forum at four o'clock; I had given another a little before at the Three Taverns." Behind the mountain Albanus, in the Appian Way, there is a city called Aricia, which Strabo, lib. v. saith is distant from Rome one hundred and sixty furlongs; but Dionysius, lib. vi. and Philostratus, lib. iii. of the Life of Apollonius, say it is only one hundred and twenty furlongs distance from it. But these verses of Horace plainly prove that Aricia was nearer Rome than Appii-forum, Serm. i. Sat. 5:—

> From stately Rome I walk'd a little way,
> And reach'd Aricia first, and there I lay;
> My company as good as man could seek
> The lawyer Heliodore a learned Greek:
> Then Forum Appii, that's a paltry town,
> With mariners and pedlars throng'd, and those alone.

*Which when Paul saw.* Coming out to meet him.

*He thanked God.* Whose bountiful providence had at last granted him the happiness of speaking with the Christians that

dwelt at Rome, which he had always so begged of God in his prayers, that he could not have asked it more earnestly, Rom. i. 10.

*He took courage.* That is, he began to hope that his confession of the faith would not be destitute of its fruit among the Romans, and so he hastened to Rome more cheerfully, because of the defence of the gospel he was to make there.

16. *And when we came to Rome.* In the Greek is added, "The centurion delivered the prisoners to the governor of the army." Who, to wit, was otherwise called the prefect of the Prætorium, and was over the prætorian soldiers, who were always present at Rome for the emperor's use. "It is evinced by many places of Tacitus," saith Grotius, "that the keeping of the prisoners was committed to this prefect's charge." Burrhus Afranius is thought at that time to have been Nero's prefect; this excellent soldier, Tacit. lib. xii., his jaws swelling by degrees, and the passage of his breath being stopped, died, in the consulship of P. Marius and L. Asinius, Tacit. lib. xiv.

*But Paul was suffered.* Whom possibly Festus, procurator ot Judea, had testified by his letters, since the time that he was sent to Rome, that he was guilty of no crime.

*To dwell by himself.* That is, apart from other prisoners, where he would.

*With a soldier that kept him.* To wit, to whose left hand Paul's right hand was fastened after the manner of the Romans with a long chain, which Paul holding, below ver. 20, maketh mention of, also Eph. vi. 20. The scholiast upon Juvenal saith that it is called a camp prison, when the captives are delivered chained, so that the same chain fastens both the prisoner and soldier. See what we have said above, ch. xii. 6.

17. *After three days.* From Paul's arrival at Rome.

*He called the chief of the Jews together.* That is, Paul not only entreated, but also persuaded, those of the Jews at Rome that were eminent for dignity and learning, that they would come and visit him.

*I have done nothing against the people.* That is, I have done no wrong to the nation of Israel.

*Or customs of our fathers.* That is, neither have I in anything transgressed the laws that were delivered by Moses to our ancestors. For Paul did not hinder those that were born in Judaism from observing the legal ceremonies, but only taught, that the Gentiles who were converted to God and his Christ were not obliged to the observation of them.

*Prisoner from Jerusalem.* That is, since the time that the Jews would have killed me at Jerusalem, as a wicked man and one unworthy to live. See above, ch. xxi. 31, 33.

*I was delivered into the hands of the Romans.* Who governed Judea. See above, ch. xxiii. 24.

18. *Who.* To wit, the Roman procurators of Judea, viz. Felix, ch. xxiv., and Festus, ch. xxv.

*When they had examined me.* That is, when they had made inquisition into, and taken cognizance of my cause.

*Would have let me go.* Greek, ἐβούλοντο ἀπολῦσαι, "would have absolved, or set me at liberty." That is, they were strongly bent to set me free, as before Pilate was to set Christ at liberty, when he was delivered to him. See above, ch. xxiv. 28; xxv. 18, 25.

*Because there was no cause of death in me.* That is, because they acknowledged that I had done nothing worthy of death. Claudius Lysias, the chief captain, acknowledged above, ch. xxiii. 29, that Paul had done nothing that deserved to be punished by death. As also Felix, governor of Judæa, when he treated him kindly, above, ch. xxiv. 24; Festus, the governor, who succeeded Felix, ch. xxv. 18, 25; King Agrippa the younger, ch. xxvi. 32. So the servant, no less than the Lord, had a testimony of his innocency from these unbelievers.

19. *But when the Jews spake against it.* Who dealt with Festus to send me from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, to be there judged by the Sanhedrim, that they might have a fit opportunity to kill me by the way. See above, ch. xxv. 3.

*I was constrained.* Lest I should have been sent from Cæsarea to Jerusalem by Festus, who was willing to gratify the Jews. See above, ch. xxv. 19.

*To appeal to Cæsar.* See above, ch. xxv. 11.

*Not that,* &c. As if he had said, Yet not upon this account, that I might accuse the Jews, that without cause troubled me, of any crime, before the Roman emperor, but only that I might vindicate my own innocency. Beza has here supplied the ellipsis of the particle, "yet," rendering, "yet not that," and he hath taken notice of the like ellipsis of the same particle, Matt. ii. 6.

20. *For this cause therefore.* As if he had said, Lest ye should think I am disaffected towards my own nation.

*Have I entreated to see you, and speak with you.* That is, I have humbly prayed that ye would visit me, that I might have occasion to discourse with you.

*For the hope of Israel.* That is, for the Messiah, who is hoped for and desired by the Israelites. As if he had said, Because I teach and bear witness, that he who is hoped for by the people of Israel hath been already exhibited, when Jesus of Nazareth was exhibited, whom with all asseveration I affirm to be that Messiah who is promised in the law and the prophets, and who is desirously looked for by the Israelites, I am bound and fastened with this chain which ye see, as if I had been a wicked and flagitious fellow. Christ Jesus, 1 Tim. i. 1, is called *our hope*, because we hope through his merits to obtain the free gift of eternal life. See also Col. i. 27. See above, ch. xxvi. 6, 7. "Paul," saith Wolzogenius, "taught and confirmed, that this hope or thing hoped for, is now completed after so many ages, while the Messiah is really exhibited who is that Jesus of Nazareth. By this *hope* may also be understood the resurrection of the dead, which Paul confessed above, with the Pharisees against the Sadducees. See above, ch. xxiii. 6; xxiv. 15, 21. But this was also to be accomplished by the Messiah. That the former of them is chiefly here hinted at seems to appear, both from that place, ch. xxvi., now cited., and by the words of the Jews, below, ver. 22.

*With this chain.* Wherewith I am tied to this soldier. See above, ver. 16.

*I am bound.* As if I were guilty of some notorious crime.

21. *But they.* To wit, the Jews at Rome.

*Said to him.* To wit, to Paul the prisoner.

*We*, &c. As if they had said, There is nothing written against thee to us by those Jews who dwell at Jerusalem, nor hath any of them who are come hither to Rome accused thee to us.

22. *But we desire.* Greek, ἀξιούμεν, "we vouchsafe." That is, we do not refuse when we shall have leisure.

*To hear of thee what thou thinkest.* That is, what thou canst bring in defence of thy opinion about Jesus of Nazareth.

*For as concerning this sect.* To wit, that professeth that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah promised in the law and the prophets.

*We know that everywhere it is spoken against.* To wit, because of the crimes that are laid to the charge of the same heresy or sect of the Nazarenes, as they call it, by letters sent from the Sanhedrim to the synagogues of the Jews that are dispersed through the several countries of the world, a little after Christ's departure from earth. "The Jews say," saith Grotius, "that a copy of those

letters is kept in an ancient synagogue at Barbetomagum of the Vangiones, or as it is called at this day, Worms. Justin, against Trypho, reporteth that there were messengers sent from the Jews of Palestine to the synagogues after the death of "Christ, publishing that a certain wicked sect, contradicting the law, was raised up by a certain impostor, Jesus of Galilee." Thus the event has fully proved the veracity of Simeon's prophesy of Jesus Christ, *That he should be for a sign that should be spoken against.* Luke ii. 34.

23. *And when they had appointed him a day.* Whereon they should come to him and hear his discourse.

*There came to him.* On the day appointed.

*Into his lodging.* That is, the house where he tarried.

*Very many.* Besides those who had seen him before.

*To whom he expounded and testified.* That is, he declared with great asseveration, as a certain evidence. See above, ch. xviii. 5; Luke xvi. 28.

*The kingdom of God.* That is, that the kingdom that was to be erected to God by the Messiah, did not consist in ease, delight, or abundance of other transitory goods, as most of the Jews dreamed, but in the chief beatitude, whose beginning is holiness or newness of life upon earth, and its consummation blessed immortality in heaven. See Luke xvii. 20.

*Persuading them.* That is, and proved it to them by persuasive arguments.

*Concerning Jesus, both out of the law and prophets.* That is, all things that were foretold or prefigured in the law or the prophets, of the Messiah the Saviour and deliverer of the world, are fulfilled and accomplished in Jesus. See above, ch. iii. 18, 24; xiii. 27; xv. 15; xxvi. 22; Luke xxiv. 27.

*From morning till evening.* That is, for a whole day without intermission.

24. *And some.* As if he had said, But as it usually falls out, some of those Jews who then heard Paul preaching Christ, were persuaded with Paul's invincible arguments that Jesus of Nazareth was the same Messiah that was foretold and prefigured in the law and the prophets; but others rejected these arguments of Paul's with an obstinate and bitter spirit. In like manner the different effects of the preaching of the same Paul, are mentioned above, ch. xiv. 4; xvii. 4, 5, 32, 34; xix. 9. So the same seed of the word of God, when it is sown in different minds, or falls on differ-

ent parts of the earth, *to some it is the savour of death unto death, to others the savour of life unto life,* as the same apostle speaketh, 2 Cor. ii. 16; see also Luke vii. 11, &c.

25. *And when they agreed not among themselves.* That is, the believing and unbelieving Jews disagree and discorded among themselves. Excellently saith Calvin: "The malice and wickedness of unbelievers is the cause, that Christ, who is our peace and the only bond of holy unity, becomes the occasion of dissension, and setteth them by the ears who before kept up a mutual friendship. For lo, when the Jews came together to hear Paul, they are all of one mind and one mouth, they all professed that they embraced the law of Moses. But when they had heard the doctrine of reconciliation, a dissension arises among them, so that they are divided into several parties, yet we must not think that that dissension arises from the preaching of the gospel; but that private enmity, which before lay hid in wicked hearts, then began to discover itself; as the brightness of the sun does not create new colours, but shows the difference, which in the darkness was none at all." Therefore, the Gospel, which enjoins the most perfect love amongst all men, does turn the hearts of believers to peace and concord, but the incredulity of them who follow the dictates of the flesh, and have no relish of true godliness, and of the virtues which the gospel requireth, rebelleth against God, and is the mother of dissension. See our literal explanation on Matt. x. 35.

*They departed.* Greek, ἀπελύοντο, "they were dissolved;" that is, they went from Paul to their own houses, or they began to break up the assembly.

*After that Paul had spoken one word.* That is, after that Paul had added, for an epilogue or conclusion to his preceding sermon of Christ and his kingdom, this notable saying, to denote the stubborn contumacy of the unbelieving Jews.

*Well spake.* As if he had said, not hyperbolically, but most truly.

*The Holy Ghost.* To wit, when he foretold this contempt of the gospel, which I now behold, Isa. vi. 9, 10.

*By Esaias the prophet.* Who was purged with the fire of the Spirit, and obtained the gift of prophecy. Isa. vi. 7.

*To our fathers.* Contemporary with Isaiah, who thus set a brand on their malicious hearts, yet so as that in a mystical sense he rather denoted those of their posterity, who with a greater

degree of malice would reject the light of the gospel when offered unto them. See John xii. 40.

26. *Go unto that people.* As the messenger of the Lord, who appeared to thee in an august appearance and full of majesty, as a judge sitting in an exalted throne, Isa. vi. 6. But these are the words, saith Piscator, of one highly provoked. He does not say, "to my people;" but he accounteth them strangers, because they had estranged themselves.

*And say.* Not solicitous how the hearers will entertain thy discourse, only do thou discharge thy message faithfully, committing the rest to me. "As if he had said," saith Curcellæus, our countryman, "I know the perverse disposition of this people, and that they will not be moved to repentance by thy exhortation, but will rather thence take occasion to confirm and harden themselves in their malice. But although it fall out so, and that they become more blind, deaf, and hard-hearted by my word which thou shalt speak unto them, do not thou therefore cease from discharging the duty entrusted to thee, and admonishing them of their duty; if ye can gain nothing upon them by reason of their obstinate malice, yet it may at least serve for their conviction."

*Hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand.* That is, ye shall clearly, perspicuously, and often hear the ministers of God exhorting you to repent in his name, but ye shall not understand them.

*And seeing ye shall see, and not perceive.* That is, and constantly ye shall see benefits and miracles performed by God, and that, by reason of the horrible blindness of your minds, ye shall not see yourselves led to repentance by the goodness of God, being by the alone goodness and long-suffering of God, and not by some operation of his hardened. These words which are here expressed by futures of the indicative, are in the Hebrew text of Isaiah expressed by imperatives, "In hearing hear ye and understand not, and in seeing see ye and perceive not." On which place of Isaiah excellent is that of Hen. Moller, Pat. Hamburg: "It is not commanded that they should stop their ears in the assembly, or that all their senses should, of their own accord, be stupefied, but it is a most sad complaint, which is expressed after the manner of men with a kind of indignation and imprecation. As if he had said, Continue, ye hearers, to hear, and yet not understand, and despise my teachers and their threatenings, as hitherto ye have done, and see what will be the result of these things. For ye shall do nothing

else by your stubbornness but bring upon yourselves lamentable overthrow and destruction. This is the meaning of this verse, so that it is a complaint and sad expostulation, because they knowingly and willingly opposed the word of God. For the imperatives do not so much command them to do those things, as they upbraid them, as done already, or to be done at all times, and they have the force of a threatening prophecy. Therefore the Seventy interpreters, as also Christ, in his discourse to his apostles, Matt. xiii., resolve them into verbs of the future tense. *In hearing ye shall hear, and not understand ;* also, *the heart of this people is made fat.* And Paul, Acts xx., referreth what is attributed to the doctrine here to the corrupt affections of the nation, while he saith that the Jews petulantly rejected grace when offered. Therefore Clemens, Strom. i., saith rightly, where he explains the saying of Christ, *that seeing they should not see, and hearing they should not hear,* Matt. xiii : They are ignorant; not that ignorance is wrought in them by the Lord (for it is not lawful to think so), but a prophetical discourse of that which was to be, and signified that they would be inadvertent, not heeding those things that were spoken. For neither does the prophet blind any people, nor does God, when he causeth blindness in them, do this efficaciously. But seeing he daily showed them his will, and moreover did many and that stupendous miracles, yet they despised and made a mock of them all, God, provoked with their stubbornness, withdrew himself from them, and so suffered them to wander and perish blindfolded in their darkness, and that by his just judgment. He therefore upbraids them with this, that the justice of God may be conspicuous in punishing and casting off the people. But what befell Isaiah, to wit, that the Jews stopped their ears to his prophesying, the same Christ foretold would be his own lot, when he came in the flesh. For Isaiah and the rest of the prophets are a type of Christ, as to the office of teaching." See our literal explanation, Matt. xiii. 13, 14.

27. *Waxed gross,* &c. See our literal explanation, Matt. xiii. 15.

*Lest.* That by the Hebrew particle פן, and μήποτε and ἵνα, "that, lest perhaps, or lest at any time," as the sacred writers render it in the New Testament, does not alway signify the intent or purpose of the thing done, but sometimes the event, appears from, Rom. xi. 11; 2 Tim. ii. 25, &c.

28. *Be it known therefore unto you.* That reject the doctrine of

salvation, lest hereafter you should complain that you were not forewarned of it.

*That the salvation of God is sent to the Gentiles.* That is, that gospel of everlasting salvation that is to be attained by the grace of God through faith in Christ, and obedience performed to him; I say, that gospel that was first sent to the Jews descended of the holy race of Abraham, is now for their incredulity sent to the profane Gentiles.

*And they will hear it.* That is, they will be attentive and obedient to the gospel. Here respect is not had to the agreement of words, but of things, and the meaning, when a pronoun of the masculine gender is added to a noun that is of the neuter gender in the Greek and of the feminine in the Latin, as frequently elsewhere. See above, ch. xxvi. 17; Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; Rom. ii. 14. "Yet the apostle does not," says Calvin, "when he saith that the Gentiles will hear, make faith common to every one of them without exception. For he had sufficient experience, how many even of the Gentiles wickedly rejected God; but he opposes to the incredulous Jews as many of the Gentiles as believed, to move them to jealousy, as it is expressed in the Song of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 21. In the meanwhile, it signifies that that doctrine that was rejected by the Jews, should not be without success."

29. *The Jews departed.* That is, they went out of Paul's lodging to their own houses.

*And had great reasoning among themselves.* That is, controversy about those things that were spoken by Paul, some defending and stoutly maintaining them, others on the contrary rejecting and despising them. It is not the gospel, but the contempt of the gospel, that is the cause of dissension.

30. *Two whole years.* Which being fulfilled, if we may give credit to ecclesiastic writers, Paul was set at liberty by Nero; when he was now set free, they say that he preached the gospel throughout Italy, France, and Spain, for the space of almost ten years; that he was afterwards called back by Nero, and beheaded at his command. See Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 24; Jerome in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers.

*In his own hired.* That is, in a lodging, that Paul himself had hired, with his own money, to dwell in.

*And received all that came in unto him.* To wit, being mindful that he was no less an apostle of Christ and preacher of the gospel

in prison, than if he were free and at liberty, he thought it was not lawful for him to withhold himself from any that was ready to learn, lest he should neglect an occasion that God had put in his hands.

31. *Preaching the kingdom of God.* That is, the gospel of the kingdom of God, that was restored among men by the Messiah, who was promised in the law and prophets, and was to be further enlarged. See above, ver 23; Mark xv. 43.

*And teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ.* Excellently saith Calvin according to his custom, "He does not separate the kingdom of God and those things which concern Christ, as if they were different things, but rather adds this second as an explanation of the former, to the end we may know that the kingdom of God is founded and comprehended in the knowledge of our redemption purchased by Christ. Paul therefore taught, that men are strangers and exiles from the kingdom of God, till, being purged from their sins, they are reconciled to God, and renewed by the Spirit unto holiness of life; and that then only the kingdom of God is set up and prospers among men, when Christ our Mediator unites to the Father those who have received a free remission of their sins, and are begotten again unto righteousness; that, beginning a heavenly life upon earth, they may have their eyes fixed on heaven, where they shall have a full and solid enjoyment of glory."

*With all confidence.* That is, no difficulties could deter him from continuing to use his endeavour to teach all that he met with.

*Without prohibition.* That is, no man forbidding him. "Luke showeth," saith Calvin, "that it was the singular mercy of God that Paul had so great liberty granted him; for it was neither through the connivance or dissimulation of them that could hinder it, seeing they abhorred religion, but because the Lord shut their eyes. Wherefore Paul does not glory without reason, 2 Tim. ii. 9, that the word of God was not bound by his bonds." Paul also wrote many epistles when in bonds to the Galatians, Ephesians, the second to Timothy, to the Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon.

Thus far Luke has deduced his account of the things done by Paul in this his noble book; which, by Gregory Nyssen against Eunomius, and on the Psalms, and by Theodoret, Heret. Fab. lib. i. cap. 21, is called ἡ τῶν πράξεων ἱστορία, "the History of

the Acts," to wit, of the Apostles. But by the writer of S. Thecla's Life, it is called τὸ περὶ τῶν Ἀποστόλων σύνταγμα, "a Memorial concerning the Apostles." Now memorials are uninterrupted, and exact relations of things, but naked and without any ornament of figures. Whence Cicero, in book v. of his Familiar Epistles, in a very elegant epistle to the famous historian, L. Lucceius Quintus's son, saith that he will make a memorial of the transactions in his consulship, to the end that Lucceius might compose a history of them.

To the all-merciful God be praise for ever and ever. Amen.

THE END.

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